



QUEENSHIP AND POWER



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TUDOR QUEENSHIP

THE REIGNS OF
MARY AND ELIZABETH

EDITED BY
ALICE HUNT AND
ANNA WHITELOCK



TUDOR QUEENSHIP

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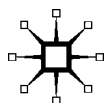


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TUDOR QUEENSHIP

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First published in 2010 by

PALGRAVE MACMILLAN®

in the United States—a division of St. Martin's Press LLC,
175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

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registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills,
Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

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ISBN: 978-0-230-61823-7

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Tudor queenship : the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth / edited by Anna
Whitelock and Alice Hunt.

p. cm.—(Queenship and power)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-230-61823-7

1. Monarchy—Great Britain—History—16th century. 2. Mary I, Queen
of England, 1516–1558. 3. Elizabeth I, Queen of England, 1533–1603.

4. Queens—Great Britain—History—16th century. 5. Great Britain—
Politics and government—1485–1603. 6. Great Britain—History—Tudors,
1485–1603. I. Whitelock, Anna. II. Hunt, Alice, 1974– III. Chawton House.
Library.

DA317.1.T83 2010

942.05'5092—dc22

2009053913

A catalogue record of the book is available from the British Library.

Design by Newgen Imaging Systems (P) Ltd., Chennai, India.

First edition: August 2010

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Printed in the United States of America.

For Florence and Mary

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The editors would like to thank Carole Levin and Charles Beem for publishing this volume as part of their “Queenship and Power” series and are grateful for their enthusiasm and comments. They would also like to thank Chris Chappell and Samantha Hasey at Palgrave in New York, and Michael Strang at Palgrave in the UK. The volume would not exist and would not have been such a pleasure to edit without the hard work and commitment of its contributors, and the editors would like to thank them all for allowing us to include their work, and for their cooperation and belief in the book. Finally, the editors would like to thank colleagues at Royal Holloway, University of London, and the University of Southampton, particularly members of the Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Culture.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>APC</i>	<i>Acts of the Privy Council of England</i>
<i>BL</i>	British Library, London
<i>Bodl.</i>	Bodleian Library, Oxford
<i>CP</i>	<i>The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom</i>
<i>CSPD</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers: Domestic</i>
<i>CSPF</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers: Foreign</i>
<i>CSPRome</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers: Rome</i>
<i>CSPScot</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers: Scotland</i>
<i>CSPSp</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers: Spain</i>
<i>CSPVen</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers: Venice</i>
<i>EETS</i>	Early English Texts Society
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>ELR</i>	<i>English Literary Renaissance</i>
<i>HJ</i>	<i>The Historical Journal</i>
<i>HLRO</i>	House of Lords Records Office
<i>HMC Salisbury</i>	<i>Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Salisbury</i>
<i>HoP Commons</i>	<i>The House of Commons 1509–1558</i>
<i>LP</i>	<i>Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII</i>
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>RQ</i>	<i>Renaissance Quarterly</i>
<i>SCJ</i>	<i>Sixteenth Century Journal</i>
<i>TNA</i>	The National Archives, London
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
<i>TRP</i>	<i>Tudor Royal Proclamations</i>

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INTRODUCTION: “PARTNERS BOTH IN THRONE AND GRAVE”

Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock

Mary and Elizabeth, England’s first crowned queens, share the same tomb in Westminster Abbey. In 1606, James I dug up Elizabeth’s body from its place in the tomb of Henry VII and his queen, Elizabeth of York, moved it to the left-hand side of Henry VII’s chapel where Mary was buried, and commissioned a monument heralding the reign of his predecessor. But the plaque on the tomb (see Figure 1.1) also acknowledges the presence of Elizabeth’s half-sister, Mary. It reads:

Partners both in throne and grave, here rest we two sisters Elizabeth and Mary, in the hope of one resurrection.

This volume of essays on the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth takes this seventeenth-century inscription as its starting point. Although the queens lie in one tomb, history has not often considered Mary and Elizabeth alongside one another or appreciated them as having anything in common beyond paternal blood. Instead, scholarship has tended to focus either on the reigns in isolation or has pitted one queen against the other, in, as is well known, Elizabeth’s favor. Whilst Mary has been presented as the barren Catholic bigot who married an unpopular Spanish prince—*à la* John Foxe—Elizabeth is the Virgin Queen and a beacon of Protestant nationalism. Mary is remembered as a religious persecutor, but Elizabeth, we are told, famously did not like making windows into men’s souls. Modern historians have condemned Mary as a “profoundly conventional woman,” fatally crippled by her sterility (and femininity), and have hailed Elizabeth as having triumphed by being “more masculine than any queen in English history.”¹ In short, Marian failure—“positive achievements there were none”—has been set against Elizabethan success, from her religious settlement to the defeat of the Armada.² The fact that the two queens experienced reigns of such radically different lengths—Mary’s five years against Elizabeth’s forty-five—has only contributed to the polarization of opinions, despite the Jacobean attempt to commemorate the two as “partners.”

More recently, however, Elizabeth’s golden reputation has been substantially and successfully questioned and revised. Julia Walker’s edited volume *Dissing Elizabeth* and Susan Doran and Thomas Freeman’s *The Myth of Elizabeth* expose how much the popular image of Queen Elizabeth owes to biased, Protestant historiography and English myth-making.³

Elizabeth has come to be viewed, as Patrick Collinson notes in his *ODNB* entry, less as a “great achiever” than as a “consummate survivor,” and attention has been paid to divisions at court, the queen’s lack of decisiveness, and England’s complex, multilayered political system.⁴ Elizabeth is now understood to have had less control over politics and policymaking than has been usually acknowledged. She was unable to impose her will on her forthright council or suppress criticisms of her policies, and her tactics in Ireland were met with great resistance. Although traditionally hailed as the Virgin Queen, such an epithet has been qualified by the argument that Elizabeth’s failure to marry and provide an heir jeopardized a smooth succession for her country. As John Guy’s edited collection *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade* emphasized, the end of Elizabeth’s reign was dogged by factionalism at court, poverty of the crown, resistance to fiscal and military demands, bad harvests, plague and influenza. Less politically adept in her “second reign,” Elizabeth “persistently dithered” and was met with much dissatisfaction.⁵ Consequently, Elizabeth is now a rather more tarnished icon than traditional scholarship, and Hollywood, have maintained.

As a more aged and less politically accomplished Elizabeth has been laid bare, Mary has enjoyed something of a makeover. Less “Bloody” than before, Mary, as the first Queen of England, has been moved closer to the center stage.⁶ Once seen as “weak willed” and lacking in leadership qualities, she is now heralded as courageous and warlike, educated for rule and politically determined, and as a woman who, lest we forget, secured her throne in a dramatic coup d’état against the odds.⁷ Despite the brevity of her reign, Mary extended royal authority in the localities, managed her parliament, rebuilt the navy, and reformed the coinage.⁸ She was also the first sovereign to model female monarchy, demonstrating that a “female king” might rule in a deeply patriarchal society where no queen had ruled before. Most recently, Eamon Duffy’s *Fires of Faith* has reexamined the religious program of Mary’s reign, arguing that much of the Catholic restoration can be deemed positive and that even the most notorious aspect of Mary’s regime, the burnings, was not only effective but also broadly accepted.⁹ So the myths of Bloody Mary and Gloriana have been somewhat debunked.

In practice, thinking about the queenship of Mary and Elizabeth has to be less about binaries than continuities. In his conception of the “strange variety of reigns” (from which developed the now defunct thesis of the mid-Tudor crisis), Francis Bacon did at least place the two queens alongside each other on a continuum of Tudor monarchs:

The strangest variety that in a like number of accessions of any hereditary monarchy hath ever been known: the reign of a child, the offer of a usurpation, the reign of a lady married to a foreign prince and the reign of a lady solitary and unmarried.¹⁰

Bacon’s labeling of Mary and Elizabeth as “ladies” defined by their marital status, or lack thereof, is clearly inadequate, but he nonetheless sees both

Mary and Elizabeth's reigns as sharing one problem: a problem, in a sense, of anomaly. By also addressing *both* queens, this collection of essays looks to take the successful revisionism of recent years further. It builds on the altered images of the queens but places these new perceptions alongside each other in order to reveal possible continuities, similarities, and reasonable points of comparison, and to offer further correctives. Apart from both facing sixteenth-century anxieties about female rule, Mary and Elizabeth shared much more than history has chosen to consider. At the same time, of course, the essays grouped together here do not seek to collapse the obvious differences between the two sisters; to do so would be counterproductive. Neither does the volume seek to "compare" Mary and Elizabeth on what would be distinctly unequal terms. While some essays do consider Mary and Elizabeth in the same space, others choose to discuss one or the other of the two. But, taken together, because the essays focus on a diverse range of issues, from politics and personnel to ceremony and costume, and from a range of perspectives, this volume demonstrates that thinking about both queens at the same time can be highly suggestive and propels us to revise, develop, and contextualize those traditional interpretations that much further. Many of the essays, for instance, highlight how much Elizabeth learnt from Mary, from the examples (and mistakes) of her reign, and how both queens exhibited considerable political acumen, often beyond the limitations of their sex. Some of the essays also point to the various ways in which both queens successfully exploited their femininity, turning it to their advantage, and how their often pragmatic practice of rule asks for a more subtle understanding of the part that their confessional differences may have played. At the heart of this volume, too, is a commitment to understanding both Mary and Elizabeth as Renaissance monarchs, to viewing them on a European stage. Many studies of Tudor monarchy are underpinned by an Anglo-centric approach that implicitly sidelines the importance of cross-cultural exchanges, alliances, and influences and the impact that England's shifting political scene had on mainland Europe. Some of the essays in this volume turn outwards, to think about how England and her queens were viewed from elsewhere. What all the essays share is a methodology that involves careful analysis and a reexamination of the pertinent primary sources in order to reveal, as far as possible, how a particular event or aspect of the queens' reigns—from the outcome of a battle to the announcement of a marriage—appeared or was perceived at its time, prior to later myth-making and historiography.

The monumental maneuverings played out in Westminster Abbey at the beginning of the seventeenth century form the subject of the volume's opening essay. Anne McLaren's investigation of memory and legitimacy argues that James VI and I partnered Mary and Elizabeth in the same tomb as part of a wider campaign to legitimize his own kingship. As such, James attempted to play down the differences between their reigns that had been emphasized by Elizabethan propagandists. But the attempt failed, and the narrative of Mary's failure versus Elizabeth's success, or Mary's unfortunate barrenness versus Elizabeth's chosen chastity, became

entrenched in new ways during James' reign. As McLaren shows, this is a tenacious narrative that continued to influence perceptions of this period through the centuries. Judith Richards' essay in this volume is indicative of the new wave of scholarship that has rescued Mary I from this narrative. It was Mary, Richards argues, who established the precedents for female rule and made it "familiar," and Elizabeth owes much to her sister. Paulina Kewes, in her essay on the pageantry for Mary and Elizabeth's coronation processions through London in 1553 and 1559 respectively, shows how, right at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, the memory of Mary was forefront and needed to be confronted. Those devising Elizabeth's pageantry picked up on and appropriated the examples and precedents already in place and, in shaping Elizabeth's image, had to borrow from Mary. The image of the godly queen, for example, was wrested back and made to fit Elizabeth, along with Mary's hand-me-down coronation robes. In her essay on the queens' coronations, Alice Hunt reminds us that, in 1553, there was no precedent for the anointing of an English queen regnant. Her essay shows how both Mary and Elizabeth attempted to stage-manage their ceremonies in ways that promoted their legitimacy, authority, and religious beliefs, but which also took into account the fragility of their political situations.

This volume argues for the need to acknowledge how much Mary and Elizabeth shared as young princesses—how, for example, both were groomed for rule despite falling in and out of favor. Jeri McIntosh's essay on Mary's short spell as the *de facto* Princess of Wales from 1525 to 1528 shows how Mary, presiding over her own court culture, was being presented as a future sovereign well before her actual accession and, consequently, how she was perceived as a significant political figure. It was this experience, McIntosh argues, that would prove crucial to Mary's success in 1553. Aysha Pollnitz points out that *both* princesses benefited from a humanist education, even though this was later appropriated as the pride of the reformed religion and thus represented as being something only Elizabeth was granted. Again, Mary's precedent was key when it came to educating the king's second daughter. Both McIntosh's and Pollnitz's essays reveal the ambiguities and contradictions surrounding gender and rule in this period, and in histories of the period. On the one hand, Mary and Elizabeth were being represented to the public as having been educated as ideal Christian women; on the other, Mary was the powerful head of a household, and Elizabeth has always been argued to have received an education worthy of an English male sovereign. It is still relevant to think about queenship as opposed to kingship—the horror that was voiced about a woman enthroned and bearing a sword is well known—but we also need to beware of under-acknowledging the period's own contradictions and subtlety of thought about female rule. Susan Doran's essay shows how Elizabeth was deliberately fashioned in male and female terms. Although the Virgin Queen has proved to be the enduring image, male writers' identification of Elizabeth with Old Testament kings, notably David and Solomon, was equally ubiquitous. Turning to consider how Mary and Elizabeth chose to fashion themselves, Maria Hayward tells us how both

women were well aware of the relationship between power and image, and how both, as princesses, learnt from their father how to “dress to impress.” Both liked clothes and jewels—Mary a bit more than Elizabeth, it seems—and both used clothes to project their sovereign authority and, sometimes, in particular circumstances, their womanhood.

Love and war are two areas in which the realities of the queens’ gender were keenly felt. In the case of Mary, anti-Spanish sentiment has much to account for. Elizabeth has been presented as wholly English as opposed to Mary’s Spanishness, exacerbated by her choice of a power-grabbing Spanish husband. But, as Alexander Samson’s essay points out, reactions to Philip of Spain on his marriage to Mary suggest that a slightly more nuanced view of Spain was held by the majority of the English. Indeed, Samson argues, contrary to much historiography, Philip and Mary’s marriage was in many ways a great success. His essay stresses—along with many others here—the need to think about how power could be and was disseminated in informal ways, particularly within a co-monarchy. Samson’s Philip emerges as a likeable, pragmatic, and flexible figure; his Mary, as independent and politically astute. Corinna Streckfuss also reassesses Philip and Mary’s marriage. Drawing on the many published accounts of the wedding festivities, her essay shows how widely publicized Mary and Philip’s union was throughout Europe. Her essay is a salutary reminder of the need to reframe England in its European setting in 1554 and in its very recent Catholic past. For many Europeans looking at England, Philip and Mary’s marriage was looked to as the great beacon of Catholic hope.

Considering the traditionally male domain of war, Anna Whitelock argues that, whereas Elizabeth is often invoked as the triumphant warrior queen who led the navy’s ships to victory against the Armada in 1588, Mary’s reign is mostly seen as a military disaster. She lost Calais, after all and—as fate would have it—right at the end of her reign. But the immediate reaction of contemporary commentators suggests that the loss of Calais was not so disastrous as later historians have claimed and prompts us to remember Mary’s significant military triumphs—and then Elizabeth’s failures. Elizabeth may have won in 1588, but there were other Armadas and many losses for England. Furthermore, it was Mary who seemed to deliberately fashion herself as a type of warrior queen. Elizabeth, perhaps as a response to Mary, chose to present herself as a patron of peace and it is only in relation to Mary’s failure—as with so much else—that Elizabeth’s 1588 victory over the Spanish has been exaggerated. Glenn Richardson in his essay on Elizabeth’s relations with the French kings also reminds us of Elizabeth’s limitations as a warrior queen. He points out how much Elizabeth borrowed from her father in terms of a chivalric diplomacy. Elizabeth, Richardson argues, deployed recognizable chivalric modes and gestures in order to publicize her worth as an ally, but she cleverly gendered this role to create her own version of a “warrior queen.” As such, Elizabeth made sure that she asserted herself as a vigorous female prince, and as a key player in international affairs.

History—since the seventeenth century—that has chosen to focus on the queens’ confessional differences has obscured some revealing continuities between the two reigns, which remind us not to categorize key political players too readily or to underestimate how much tradition and experience were valued. In their essays, Ralph Houlbrooke and Robert Braddock look at personal loyalties, pragmatic staffing choices, and matters of conscience. Houlbrooke’s essay traces the fortunes of Mary’s councilors after her death in 1558. Ten members of Elizabeth’s newly formed council of 20 were “hold-overs” from Mary’s council: they were men whose substantial military, administrative, or diplomatic experience Elizabeth could not afford to shun even though many of them were and remained “Catholic” in belief, and some in practice. Indeed, it is possible that retaining religious conservatives in the council was a shrewd, political move by Elizabeth. Robert Braddock’s essay moves us from the council chamber to “below stairs,” to the royal wardrobes and kitchens. His analysis argues for a continuity between Mary’s and Elizabeth’s households that borders on stagnation, economic madness, and inefficiency: servants seemed to own their offices like property and the appointment of a brand new “below stairs” staff that might be expected to accompany a regime change did not happen. Along with Jeri McIntosh’s essay on Mary’s preaccession household, Braddock’s essay points to the royal household as a counterintuitive locus of power and politics. Charlotte Merton also tackles the issue of personnel, but she focuses on Mary’s and Elizabeth’s female body servants, those who served the queens in their privy chamber and bedchamber—and who were also the queens’ “friends.” Of course, since Mary and Elizabeth were women, their privy chamber and bedchamber staff needed to be female. In Elizabeth’s case, Merton argues, she did not learn from Mary’s pragmatism, and she recruited friends whereas she would have done better to recruit allies. We are reminded again of understanding power in terms of people. “It was the queens’ memories,” writes Merton, “in the shape of friendship and trust, which determined how the court was constituted and functioned.”

James I’s inscription on Mary and Elizabeth’s joint tomb, with which we began, hoped for “one resurrection” for the two queens, framed as “partners”. It is an interesting, and odd, choice of phrase. While this volume certainly seeks to recuperate Mary and Elizabeth’s respective reputations, it does not seek to elide their differences. Instead, it reconsiders the women on their own terms as England’s first sovereign queens who were also sisters. As such, all of the essays in this volume, from their varying perspectives, contribute to a new understanding of Tudor monarchy—and of early modern queenship—and challenge some traditional interpretations of the period.

Notes

1. D. Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), 8; A. F. Pollard concluded that “sterility was the conclusive note of her reign”: A. F. Pollard,

- The History of England from the Accession of Edward VI to the Death of Elizabeth (1547–1603)* (London, 1910, repr. New York: AMS Press, 1969), 172.
2. G. R. Elton, *England under the Tudors* (London: Methuen & Co., 1962), 214.
 3. *Dissing Elizabeth: Negative Representations of Gloriana*, ed. J. M. Walker (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1998); *The Myth of Elizabeth*, ed. Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).
 4. Patrick Collinson, "Elizabeth," *ODNB*. See also Patrick Collinson, "The Monarchical Republic of Queen Elizabeth I" in Patrick Collinson, *Elizabethan Essays* (London and Rio Grande: Hambledon Press, 1994), 31–57; Anne McLaren, *Political Culture in the Reign of Elizabeth I: Queen and Commonwealth, 1558–1585* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Natalie Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
 5. John Guy, *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 4.
 6. See the recent biographies by Anna Whitelock, *Mary Tudor: England's First Queen* (London: Bloomsbury, 2009), Linda Porter, *Mary Tudor: The First Queen* (London: Portrait, 2007) and Judith Richards, *Mary Tudor* (London: Routledge, 2008). See also the forthcoming volume, *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives* ed. Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, forthcoming).
 7. For a discussion of the succession crisis see A. Whitelock and D. MacCulloch, "Princess Mary's Household and the Succession Crisis," *Hj* 50 (2007): 265–87 and Eric Ives, *Lady Jane Grey: A Tudor Mystery* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).
 8. See, for example, Robert Tittler, *The Reign of Mary I* (London and New York: Longman, 1983) Jennifer Loach, *Parliament and the Crown in the Reign of Mary Tudor* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986) and Judith Richards, "Mary Tudor as 'Sole Quene'? Gendering the Tudor Monarchy," *Hj* 40 (1997): 895–924.
 9. Eamon Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009).
 10. Francis Bacon, *The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis and Douglas Denon Heath, 14 vols. (London: Longmans and Co., 1857–74), X:249–50.

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I

REPUTATIONS

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CHAPTER I

MEMORIALIZING MARY AND ELIZABETH

Anne McLaren

I

Some time ago I came across the following entry posted on the Questions and Answers section of a popular Tudor History website:

I visited Westminster Abbey several years ago and was absolutely astounded at the placement of the tomb of Elizabeth I... compared to where and how the tomb of Mary Stuart was placed!! [I]t seems that James gave his mother's tomb more precedence than Elizabeth's, who placed him on the throne. And why were Elizabeth and Mary [Tudor] placed in the same tomb when they disliked each other? It seems like a joke played on them by James. The docet at the Abbey couldn't give me an answer...¹

These questions are naively phrased, but they are legitimate and useful. They reveal how the set-up at Westminster Abbey looks to someone who is interested in Tudor history and has a reasonable grasp of the political dynamics of the period. This person's perceptions—about the relative placing and grandeur of the memorials to Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots, especially the question as to why they ended up in the same tomb—might well have occurred to any number of the early modern men and women, of high and low degree, who visited the Abbey after 1612, when James I had completed his building work in Henry VII's Lady Chapel. In this chapter I want to use James's commemorative project as the starting point from which to answer these questions. I want to investigate how and why Mary was marginalized in the reigns of her immediate successors, Elizabeth I and James I. Both were problematical in the role of English king: Elizabeth an unmarried female of disputable legitimacy and the last of her line; James a Scottish king and son of the notorious Mary Queen of Scots, executed for treason by the English state in 1587. In both reigns, negating Mary I's regal status helped buttress Elizabeth's and James's right to rule. Naturally the terms of the negation differed. There was, however, sufficient common ground between the two operations to ensure that the real Queen Mary virtually disappeared from view—just as she has done in Westminster Abbey. In this

chapter I will consider how and why Mary Tudor's queenship was negatively mythologized in Elizabeth's reign after setting the scene by discussing the Westminster Abbey memorials. The conclusion proposes an answer to the question of why James consigned the two Tudor sisters to the same tomb.

II

Elizabeth and Mary lie buried together in one vault in the North Aisle of Henry VII's Lady Chapel in Westminster Abbey. They rest under a monument to Elizabeth that was erected by James I in 1606, shortly after he ascended the English throne. A commemorative plaque at the head of the monument reads "*Regno consortes et urna, hic obdormimus Elizabetha et Maria sorores, in spe resurrectionis*" (Partners both in throne and grave, here rest we two sisters Elizabeth and Mary, in the hope of one resurrection)



Figure 1.1 Mary and Elizabeth's tomb, Westminster Abbey

(Figure 1.1). Thanks to Julia Walker's work, we now know that Elizabeth did not choose to be buried in this way.² She wished instead to await the resurrection in the company of the progenitor of the Tudor dynasty, Henry VII, and his wife, Elizabeth of York. Thus she was originally buried in their vault, beneath the magnificent Pietro Torrigiano monument and surrounding chantry. Completed according to Henry VII's wishes by his son and successor Henry VIII, this was "a chapel within a chapel," specifically designed to aggrandize the divine right of a race of Tudor kings.³ It was James himself, the first of the Stuart line of English kings, who decided to disinter the body of his illustrious predecessor and pair the two Tudor sisters in the newly completed monument to Elizabeth. Presumably he moved her to free up space for himself. When, in 1869, Dean Stanley conducted a thorough search among the royal tombs for James's remains, that was where they were found.⁴

During the early years of his reign, James built another splendid funeral monument in the Henry VII chapel to memorialize his mother, Mary Queen of Scots. Four months after her execution in 1587, her son, the then king of Scotland, inquired whether her body had been buried.⁵ Thus galvanized, English privy councilors at last tackled the problem of what to do with Mary's remains. It was agreed that she should be transported from Fotheringhay Castle to Peterborough Cathedral under cover of night to be buried there in company with another problematical queen—Catherine of Aragon, Mary Tudor's mother. The interment was followed the next day by a low-key state funeral, carefully stage-managed to give due honor to the deceased without explicitly recognizing her regal status. Over the following decade, as the political landscape changed, accounts of Mary's Peterborough funeral were manipulated to depict it as having been "more royal than it actually was."⁶ As the late Elizabethan succession crisis heated up, this embellishment served a twofold purpose. First, it shored up monarchical authority, which had been profoundly challenged by Mary's execution. At the same time it constituted an important goodwill gesture to Mary's son James, the anticipated heir to the English crown. By retrospectively (if still obliquely) drawing attention to his mother's regal status and impeccable lineage, rather than her checkered career, it strengthened his claim.

However imaginative, these efforts did not satisfy James's desire to honor his mother's memory once he came into his English inheritance. Shortly after his accession he commanded that a memorial be built for Westminster Abbey, to accompany the one that he planned to build for his "dear sister the late Queen Elizabeth."⁷ When Mary's tomb was completed in 1612, she too was disinterred, just as Elizabeth had been in 1606, and, after a second funeral, reinterred in the new tomb. Elizabeth's and Mary's memorials were built in a similar style and faced each other across the body of the chapel—Elizabeth's in the North Aisle, Mary's in the South. There were, however, significant differences. Mary's, nearly three times as expensive, was much the grander. Elizabeth's monument stood alone. Mary's, in contrast, was flanked by impressive memorials to other mothers of kings. The tomb of Henry VII's mother, Lady Margaret Beaufort,

lay to the east. On its other side stood the memorial erected to Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox, Henry VII's granddaughter and James's paternal grandmother, after her death in 1578. Featuring panels inscribed with "recitals of kingly and queenly connections almost unrivalled on any other monument in Westminster Abbey," the memorial trumpeted James's descent from the Tudors on his father's side.⁸ The message was reinforced by the statue of Douglas's son and James's father, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, kneeling on one side of the tomb. The crown poised over his head announced him as the husband of a queen and father of a king—if not unequivocally a king in his own right.⁹

Thus, from the very beginning of his reign as king of England James envisaged a reconfigured Lady Chapel that would include monuments to two regnant queens: his birth mother, Mary Queen of Scots, and his fictive "mother" Elizabeth I.¹⁰ (We do not know when the decision was taken to include the plaque that referred to Mary Tudor.) These monuments constituted one very public element of the larger project of establishing his unchallengeable legitimacy as the ruler of the restored kingdom of "Great Britain," now once again an empire. It helps explain his decision to disinter and reinter the two queens, and to erect grand monuments for both—but grander, of course, for his own mother. The tomb politics were a delicate balancing act for many reasons, but by 1612 James's commemorative project had established a powerful binary opposition between the left and right sides of the chapel, articulated to sterility and fertility respectively.

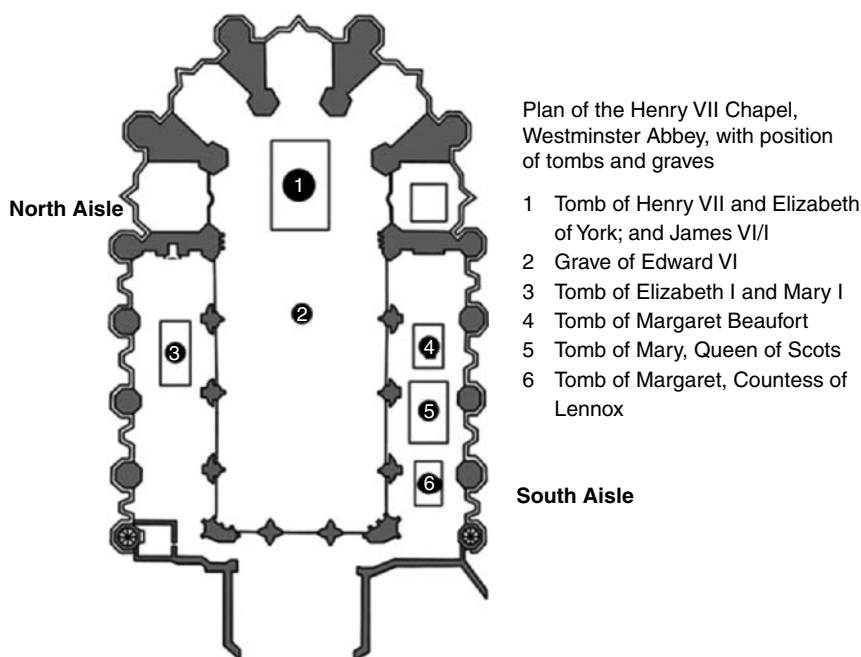


Figure 1.2 Tombs and graves in the Lady Chapel, Westminster Abbey

On the left hand, in the North Aisle, lay Elizabeth, the last of her line, together with Mary, her childless half-sister. "Even as he builds a tomb honouring the Virgin Queen," writes Walker, "James reminds the public of this historical reality: virgins do not found or further the greatness of dynasties."¹¹ In contrast, the right hand side, in the South Aisle, featured a series of tombs of regal women who had fathered kings on both sides of the border. These were dominated by the monument to Mary Queen of Scots, the queen whose personal fertility carried the saga of Tudor dynastic continuity forward to a triumphant new stage in the person of James himself. Very importantly, by displacing Elizabeth from Henry VII's vault in anticipation of his own burial there, James recaptured the central corridor for a line of kings, not queens. His burial plans placed him at the center of the chapel at the apex of the Tudor dynasty: worthy successor to Henry VII and founder of a new line of British kings.

And Mary Tudor? In 1558 she was buried according to Catholic rites in an unmarked grave on the North Aisle of the Lady Chapel. In her will she had requested that her mother, Catherine of Aragon, be restored to regal dignity by being removed from Peterborough Cathedral and buried with her in Westminster Abbey. She envisaged that in due course "honourable tombs" would be erected to them both, "for a decent memory of us."¹² But this did not happen, either in Elizabeth's reign or in James's. In 1561 the altars in Westminster Abbey were dismantled as part of the drive to suppress superstition that was codified by the 1559 Injunctions. In a supremely ambiguous act, the newly desacralized stones were laid over her grave.¹³ The only "memory" that remains is the commemorative plaque at the head of Elizabeth's monument. As Peter Sherlock notes, it is the only indication that Mary lies under the monument; "indeed, the only record in the entire chapel that Mary Tudor ever existed."¹⁴

III

Why did Elizabeth fail to memorialize Mary? It is true that in both Edward's and Elizabeth's reigns commitment to Protestant reformation unleashed iconoclastic fury against a wide range of "popish remnants," including tombs. When Elizabeth came to rule over what had become one of the most religiously polarized kingdoms in Europe, it could well be that she and her councilors hesitated, especially in the early years, lest they provoke that fury. But this is not a sufficient explanation. Over the course of the reign the regime devoted considerable effort to protecting existing tombs, royal and noble. They insisted on the distinction between idolatry and due respect for ancient lineage to assert the inherent worthiness of such monuments.¹⁵ It is a measure of their success that by the late 1570s tombs were once again being built in Westminster Abbey. At his wife's death in 1589, William Cecil, Lord Burghley, zealous Protestant and lynchpin of the Elizabethan regime, articulated what we might regard as the official position. The elaborate funeral ceremonial with which he honored her had no part in it of the "corrupt abuse" of unreformed religion. It served instead

“to testify to the world, what estimation, love and reverence God bears to the stock whereof she did come, both by her father and mother ... [w]hich is not done for any vain pomp of the world, but for civil duty towards her body.”¹⁶ He made certain that the evidence of God’s approval would outlast the funeral by commissioning a tomb to be placed in Westminster Abbey. Earlier, in the early 1570s, to similarly honor Elizabeth’s stock, plans were afoot to erect memorials to Elizabeth’s father (buried in St George’s Chapel at Windsor Castle) and her half-brother. Although the monuments were never built, the design for Edward VI’s survives in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.¹⁷ Such memorials were, for the age, a serious business, especially when they commemorated members of the royal family. When the first Stuart king moved to memorialize his Tudor predecessor, Sir Robert Cecil, Burghley’s son and successor, wrote feelingly of his relief: “It doth my heart good to falsify that blind prophecy, that said none of King Henry VIII’s children should ever be buried, with any memory.”¹⁸

As I have suggested, I think the answer to this conundrum lies in the regime’s determination to enhance Elizabeth’s monarchical legitimacy by undercutting Mary’s. Thus, to understand what happened to Mary in Elizabeth’s reign, we need to recapture why Elizabeth was in a vulnerable position when she inherited the crown, and why and how this contrast with her predecessor was structured. In the eyes of contemporaries, there were three impediments. She was a woman in an age when kingship was gendered male, her legitimacy was problematic, and she was unmarried. In a patriarchal lineage society, these were serious disabilities. In the sermon preached at Mary I’s funeral in 1558, they grounded the Bishop of Winchester John White’s celebration of the late queen’s exceptionality. “She was a king’s daughter, she was a king’s sister, she was a king’s wife,” he marveled. Thus triply sanctioned, Mary became, by birth and breeding, “a queen, and by the same title a king also.” For White and for many others, the formative power of these interpenetrating regalities cancelled out some of the debilities that were deemed to attach to women by nature—debilities that made them ill suited to rule.

Elizabeth too, the daughter of one Tudor king and sister of another, was, White assured his auditors (who included the new queen), “by the like title and right ... both king and queen at this present, of the realm.”¹⁹ But as White well knew, Elizabeth’s status was not as secure as even Mary’s had been. “At this present” Elizabeth was unmarried and hence, for the foreseeable future, sole ruler. It was also the case that her legitimacy was disputable and far more so than Mary’s. In 1536, three years after her birth, Parliament passed the second of the three Succession Acts that punctuated Henry VIII’s reign. This one confirmed the invalidity of his first two marriages, to Catherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn. It declared that both Mary and Elizabeth were illegitimate and thus barred by law from any right of inheritance, including a place in the succession. True, they were restored to the succession in Henry VIII’s last will in 1543, but this was only on the basis of paternal nomination, not lineal descent.²⁰

In the early modern period a strong prejudice existed against bastards exercising sovereign power—possibly stronger than that against female rule.²¹ According to Henry's legislation, however, Mary's illegitimate status was, as it were, venial. It was the fault of the pope, who had taken it upon himself to provide a dispensation for a marriage that was prohibited by God's law. In contrast, Elizabeth's misfortune in being born from an invalid marriage was fatally compounded by her having had for her mother a woman of such stark immorality that she was executed for treason. The Act rehearsed Anne Boleyn's alleged transgressions in minute detail, in terms that made it impossible to avoid the conclusion that Elizabeth was a bastard twice over: illegitimate in the eyes of God (there existed, according to the Act, an unspecified but "just true and lawful impediment"), and, in contrast to Mary, not even her father's biological child. It was well known that the Lady Anne, "inflamed with pride and carnal desires of her body," had committed adultery, "confederat[ing] herself" with George Boleyn, "her natural brother," as well as with four other named individuals. Their "treason" was both proved and very much in the public domain, they having been "attainted . . . and hav[ing] suffered according to their merits, as by the records . . . appear[s]."²²

The same allegations circulated at Edward's death, in order to pave the way for the diversion of the crown to Lady Jane Grey, and they were alluded to, if not explicitly rehearsed, in the legislation that established Mary Tudor on the throne.²³ Indeed, the evidence suggests that Marian regime deliberately sought to underline Elizabeth's illegitimate status, using arguments that were judged to appeal across the confessional divide. After Mary's coronation it was proposed that a public declaration of Elizabeth's illegitimacy be made in parliament. The grounds were to be, not papal sanction, but rather the principal of marital indissolubility that Henry VIII had resoundingly reaffirmed as part of his reformation agenda.²⁴ "Elizabeth is to be declared a bastard, having been born during the lifetime of Queen Catherine, mother of the queen," the Spanish ambassador Simon Renard reported. The declaration "will be made without any mention of the Pope or his authority."²⁵ (Mary herself clearly preferred the more damning option that presented Anne Boleyn as a strumpet. "As for Elizabeth," Mary told Renard, "she was a bastard, the offspring of one of whose good fame [he] might have heard, and who had received her punishment."²⁶)

Thus in 1558 the task of legitimating the new queen was not easy. It was complicated by Elizabeth's identification with the "new religion" and by the very success of one distinctive feature of Mary Tudor's queenship—her pan-European program. Corinna Streckfuss's work in this volume clearly shows the powerful appeal of her twin policies of dynastic security, to be effected through a Habsburg marriage, and religious reconciliation with Rome.²⁷ Historians now generally agree that that program was undone more by gynecological misfortune than by the Protestant *bona fides* so assiduously credited to the English nation by historians and apologists from John Foxe onward. As Mark Nicholls observes, the situation two

years after the marriage, with Mary apparently pregnant and the nation manifestly enthusiastic over the prospect of a Spanish Catholic heir, “presents the observer with a fleeting vision of what might have been.”²⁸

That vision continued to haunt committed English and Scottish Protestant councilors of state after Mary’s death. It did so in large measure because in its essentials it seemed to live on in the person of another Catholic Mary, the Scottish queen Mary Stuart. Granddaughter of Henry VII, daughter of James V of Scotland, wife of the French king Francis II—and, from 1566, the mother of a son—she became the focal point of a variant Catholic imperial vision, this one centered on French hegemony.²⁹ Their fears intensified once the 1559 Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis ended the chronic wars between the Habsburg and the Valois dynasties. The new concord raised the specter of Catholic monarchs sinking their differences in order to launch a European crusade against the True Church—and against England, its local habitation. At the same time, the Scottish Mary’s indisputable legitimacy, allied to her Tudor blood, made her, if not, as many thought, the rightful inheritor to Mary Tudor, at least the heir presumptive to the English crown.

In a 1559 “Report concerning King Philip of Spain” for the Signory, the Venetian ambassador Michele Suriano declared that the

only hope [the Spanish king] has of remaining friendly with [Elizabeth] . . . is her distrust of the French, who have pretensions to her kingdom through the Queen of Scotland, as a descendant from a sister of King Henry, and the nearest to him in legitimate succession, should [Elizabeth] be adjudged ineligible by reason of having been born while the legitimate wife of her father was still alive.

He concluded, erroneously, that England would likely always remain in alliance with Spain because it represented the lesser of two evils compared to France—“which already possesses Calais and Boulogne this side of England, and the kingdom of Scotland on the other,” through Mary’s marriage to Francis II.³⁰ He was not to know that this expectation would be confounded by Francis II’s death in 1560 and the political implosion that resulted from the French religious wars, endemic from 1560 onward. The first returned Mary Stuart to her Scottish kingdom as sole ruler and, at least, reduced the extent of French influence there; the long-term effect of the second was to make Spain once again appear, as it had in the days of Wyatt’s rebellion, as England’s more determined and powerful enemy.

Thus, at Elizabeth’s accession, from the point of view of what Patrick Collinson has memorably dubbed the “Protestant ascendancy,” England confronted a Catholic hydra whose chief heads were the pope, and his sons the French and Spanish kings.³¹ To mobilize support for Protestantism and English national autonomy, as well as Elizabeth’s queenship, English polemicists and councilors of state began to depict Elizabeth as Mary Tudor’s antithesis, personally and politically, in order to instantiate a “good queen, bad queen” opposition. In pursuing this strategy they could draw on anti-Marian polemic written during Mary Tudor’s reign by Marian exiles,

especially the “resistance theorists” Christopher Goodman and John Knox. In *How Superior Powers Oght to be Obeied of their Subjects* Goodman attacked Mary’s legitimacy as a means of denying that she was or could ever be a lawful queen. She was “bastard by birth,” begotten by Henry’s VIII’s “adulterous incest” with Catherine of Aragon—bastard by birth, bastard by nature. What surprise then that once exalted to the throne Mary “joined herself to adulterous Philip, the Spanish king: to whom she hath, and doth continually labour to betray the whole kingdom”? Men who regarded God’s strictures should have known that, once in power, the “ungodly serpent” would turn against Christ, the law, and the nation. (Elizabeth, by contrast—the “lawful begotten daughter” of Henry VIII and the supremely virtuous Anne Boleyn—appears as “that godly lady, and meek lamb, void of all Spanish pride, and strange blood.”)³²

There was, however, one major drawback to this anti-Marian critique. Protestants of Goodman’s and Knox’s ilk set their faces against female rule *tout court*, regardless of the religious conviction or personal credentials of the queen in question. For Goodman, Englishmen’s pusillanimous willingness to promote Mary Tudor to the throne defrauded the country of a “lawful king”—but in a kingdom conducted in accordance with God’s revealed will that title would not have devolved to Elizabeth in any event. Even if the next blood right heir had been, as he claimed that Elizabeth was, impeccably born and bred, at Edward VI’s death the task of godly men should have been to seek out the man “from amongst your brethren,” who was “meetest . . . to have had the government over you,” not under any circumstances to have looked among the women.³³ In his *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, published at the same time, Knox made a slightly more measured case. His would allow women who had been directly chosen by God to “bear rule”—but as governors, not kings. In the *Blast* he excoriated female rule by identifying and aligning three “mischievous Maries”: Mary Tudor, Mary Queen of Scots, and Mary’s mother Mary of Guise, regent in Scotland whilst her daughter lived in France. These latter day Athalias reveled in “cruelty, falsehood, pride, covetousness, deceit, and oppression.” He exempted Elizabeth from his strictures, however. She was instead “Debora,” one of the godly women whom God occasionally advanced to power to confound the expectations of worldly men. But Knox insisted that none, not even the biblical Deborah herself, might claim the authority to rule over men on the basis of inherent entitlement and worried lest Elizabeth’s example fatally undermine this crucial distinction. In a letter to William Cecil written after Elizabeth’s accession, he reminded him of the danger. At Mary’s death, he admitted, godly Englishmen had had no alternative but to allow Elizabeth to gain power. But Cecil and his fellows must now beware lest, “in establishing one who is indeed godly and profitable to her country, . . . [you] give interest, and title, to many who would bring their country into bondage and slavery.”³⁴ In 1559, the issue had political as well as theological immediacy. With two of the three Maries dead, the woman both men clearly had in mind was Mary Stuart: Queen of Scots and, to

contemporaries, “the French queen” through her marriage to the French king Francis II.³⁵

How then to legitimate Elizabeth as a female ruler, without giving title to her fellow queen, cousin, and presumptive heir? Once Francis II’s death sent Mary back to Scotland, the problem changed form, without losing any of its urgency. It became even more urgent once she gave birth to a son, the future James I of England, in 1566.³⁶ One way forward was to personalize the anti-Marian critique by concentrating the attack on Mary Tudor’s monarchical legitimacy. This had the twofold advantage of allowing Elizabeth’s personal strengths to be highlighted, in what we might call bipartisan terms, while downplaying the vexatious issue of legitimate birth. Depicting Mary as Catholic and “foreign,” voluntarily ceding control of the English nation to her masterful husband, underscored Elizabeth’s status as a true “mere English” queen, ordained by God to preserve the imperial crown.³⁷ At the same time, drawing attention to traits shared by the two Marias worked to disallow Mary Stuart’s claim to the English throne. For committed Protestants, this was particularly important during the period, which lasted until the 1580s, when Elizabeth did not allow hostility to that claim or to Mary’s person to be overtly expressed.³⁸ The message conveyed by this play of oppositions was a simple one: only God’s favor preserved the English nation. His favor was signified by His manifest approval of Elizabeth’s rule. Only her queenship prevented the restoration of the tyranny and cruelty of Mary I’s reign, at the hands of a woman who would stop at nothing to succeed her as Mary II.

John Aylmer’s *Harborowe for Faithful and True Subjects*, written in 1558 to respond to Knox’s *Blast*, announced this new direction. In Mary I’s reign the realm was put to a “sore plunge through her wilfulness,” because “she would show herself a loving worm and an obedient wife [to Philip], rather than a careful governess.” Elizabeth, in contrast, “walketh wisely in the steps of Him that hath called her . . . represent[ing] a lively image in her mortality of his incomparable and infinite majesty.”³⁹ Englishmen must commit themselves absolutely to Elizabeth, “God’s chosen instrument,” if the English race and Protestantism itself were to survive.

For Aylmer, Knox erred in writing his *Blast* because, appalled by the enormities of Mary’s reign, he condemned women’s government *in toto* as “unnatural, unreasonable, unjust, and unlawful.” Had he restricted his attention to Mary’s regime (which was all of those things), Aylmer hastened to assure both Knox and his readers, “he could have said nothing too much, nor in such wise, as could have offended any indifferent man.”⁴⁰ In terms that would resonate for later Anglo-Scottish union, he acknowledged Knox’s exceptionality, in terms of both his commanding spiritual credentials and his care for the English kingdom, but maintained that his Scottish identity meant that he could never be, fully, one of the English brethren. In the text, as in the following passage, references to Philip of Spain and Francis II position them as nodal points of the same virulent threat to the English, the two united also because they exercise dominion over and

through their queen wives, Mary Tudor and Mary Queen of Scots:

Tully saith, *ne sis curiosus in aliena rep.* The voice of a stranger, is to be heard in the pulpit, so long as he speaketh God's word: But a stranger's voice is not allowed *in foro*, in the parliament about policy, because he is not a citizen. This I say not to Philip you, as though you meant evil to us (for I am persuaded that you love England as well as your own country) but I mean to admonish you, that being a stranger you disturb not our state . . . It is a great enterprise (and as they say no ball play) to pull a queen's crown off his [*sic*] head : . . I would not be wounded in conscience, with any attempts against [Elizabeth], if I might be lord of all that Philip, and the French king have.⁴¹

In the peroration, "England," personified as a mother, exhorts her natural English children to drive home the racial message:

Oh, remember remember my dear children in what case you stand; your enemies be round about you, like unsatiable ravenors to pluck me from you . . . I delight and rejoice in you, above all other peoples. In declaration whereof I have always spewed out and cast from me Danes, French, Norwegians, and Scots . . . Oh God grant that I never see the day that the bastardly brood of ambitious french men, eat and enjoy the fruits which I prepare for you, my dear children. Let me rather satisfy my thirst with their effeminate blood, than they should pluck from you my motherly breasts.⁴²

In the *Harborowe*, the "Mary" who is explicitly attacked is Philip's Mary, Mary Tudor. When Aylmer wrote, the threat that Mary Stuart posed was deemed to reside primarily in her husband, the French king—in "France." By the time of the Northern Rebellion of 1569, that was no longer the case. With Elizabeth still unmarried and Mary Queen of Scots (now deposed from the Scottish throne and imprisoned in England) very much a player in the succession stakes, Mary Stuart constituted a danger in her own right, and Spain, not France, seemed to present the more immediate threat to English national autonomy. Yet Aylmer's model proved capacious enough to serve in these changed circumstances—again by drawing the two Marias into alignment to impugn the monarchical legitimacy of each.

We see this very clearly in Thomas Norton's *To the Quenes Maiesties poore deceyued subiectes of the north country, drawen into rebellion by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmerland*; Norton, like Aylmer, acted as a "conciliar man of business" to the Elizabethan regime.⁴³ By rebelling against their lawful queen, the leaders (or, as Norton calls them, the "misleaders") of the "poor deceived subjects" serve the turn of England's foreign enemies.⁴⁴ They and their foreign paymasters intend to destroy England by advancing a "feigned and false title," that of Mary Queen of Scots. Why would any true Englishman follow their lead? Who could "reject [God's] most inestimable benefit, a most gracious Queen our most dear mother, nurse and protectrice," when the alternative would "pull down upon [English] heads . . . most miserable calamity and slavery"—and that by "God's just plague"? If Mary Stuart were to wear the English crown, she would "bring

upon us *Mariana tempora*, the miserablest days that ever ... England felt." He contemptuously dismissed the earls' justification that they sought only to avoid the calamity of an unsettled succession by clarifying Mary's right to inherit after Elizabeth's death. This was simply the "outward show and colour" of the matter. Men who accepted that rationale cannot fully appreciate the dire consequences of allowing this Mary—*magna spes altera Romae*—even the shadow of legitimacy. Moreover, even if the earls' intention was simply to establish Mary's right in succession to, and not in place of, Elizabeth, and even if the question of religion were momentarily set aside, the plan was "full ill favoured." To remind Englishmen of God's blessings and to forecast what would await them under the reign of the Scottish queen, Norton employed heavy-handed "irony" (as he notes in a marginal comment) to contrast Elizabeth's reign with Mary Tudor's:

Your great Captains (a likely matter) pitying the foul disorder of the realm of England, so impoverished and decayed from the marvellous wealthy state wherein Queen Marie left it, so far indebted beyond the expenses of infinite treasure that King Philip brought and left in this land, ... so troubled with foreign wars and invasions as we have been in the. xj. years and more of the Queen's noble government, so defrauded of due execution of justice, that no subject can have his right by law ... [wish to "amend" matters by recognizing the legitimacy of this Mary's claim].

Of itself Norton's use of irony on an occasion of such peril to the regime gives rich evidence of how effective the strategy of conflating the two Marias had become—and how generally accepted was the zealous Protestant view of *Mariana tempora*. Further evidence appears in a most interesting source: John Dixon's marginal annotations to his copy of Book I of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (first published 1590). Graham Hough, the editor, deduces from internal evidence that the annotations date from 1597 and that Dixon was Protestant, patriotic, and educated, although not notably literary. He was particularly interested in Book I, which he read (through the lens of the Book of Revelation) almost entirely as an allegory of the English reformation, understood in Foxean terms. At points in Book I his marginal identifications point securely to Mary Tudor, at others to Mary Queen of Scots. On one occasion, however, a telling ambiguity arises. Dixon interprets Redcross Knight's fight with the Dragon—"that serpent of old, who is the devil and Satan"—as signifying less the eternal conflict between Christ and Satan than the specific struggle between English Protestantism and Rome. Is the "Dragon" that Dixon confidently identifies as the "Queen's ma" Mary Tudor or Mary Stuart? Hough concludes that for Dixon (and I think probably for Spenser as well) it made little difference. As demonic enemies of the True Church, they are interchangeable.⁴⁵

IV

Which brings us, in conclusion, to the "joke" that James played on Elizabeth. In this context, what message could James possibly have been

trying to convey when he consigned Mary and Elizabeth to the same burial space, under a commemorative plaque that insisted on their identity? Again, I think the answer lies in his attempt to legitimate his kingship.

When James came to the English throne, he found himself in a difficult position. We can appreciate how profoundly the Elizabethan regime's anti-Marian campaign compromised his claim to succeed Elizabeth. It culminated in his mother's public execution in 1587, by which point she was depicted (as in the pages of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*) as the Scottish-born "Duessa": born-again Whore of Babylon and the pope's minion. As late as a month before Elizabeth's death, in February 1603, the Venetian ambassador reported that two powerful objections were raised against James's right to inherit—and these were only the official ones: "first, that he was not born in the kingdom and is therefore ineligible for the crown; and the second, that his mother . . . was declared a rebel by Parliament, and incapable of succession, and this incapacitates her son."⁴⁶ In his kingship James thus had to assert the Stuart claim to the kingdom of England, but without appearing as the bloodthirsty son of England's ancient enemies, come to wreak revenge for his mother's murder and establish the yoke of Antichrist.

This background helps us better understand James's carefully calibrated attention to the memories of all three of his predecessor queens in the Lady Chapel of Westminster Abbey. Memorializing "England's Eliza" undoubtedly gladdened the hearts of many Englishmen, as it did Sir Robert Cecil's. It also reinforced James's status as in effect Elizabeth's adoptive son and, in that role, another stalwart protector of international Protestantism. So well established was their fictional parental bond by the end of Elizabeth's reign that James could appeal to it to defend himself against allegations that he had conspired with the Spaniards to force his entry to the throne in anticipation of the queen's death. In 1601, in secret correspondence with one of Elizabeth's privy councilors, he wrote that

God . . . hath by lineal descent clad me with an undoubted right to your [i.e., the English] crown . . . Yea, what a foolish part were that in me, . . . to hazard my honour, state and person, in entering that kingdom by violence as an usurper which God by lawful right hath provided for me, to the which I am called as a lawful heir, as the son of the present queen . . .⁴⁷

But, once James came into his inheritance, he no longer needed to claim as the "son" of Elizabeth, with all that that implied about elective monarchy, although it remained a useful tool.⁴⁸ Instead he could position himself as the sole true inheritor in a line of kings. That line, inaugurated by Henry VII, derailed in the reign of his son, once Henry VIII's relentless quest for a male heir ruptured dynastic continuity. God's judgment on Henry's attempt revealed itself in the resulting issue: two bastard daughters and a child king. Only with James's accession was the breach healed, and the natural order restored. Even before his accession, in 1599, in the pages of *Basilikon Doron*, James had begun the recalibration of

monarchical identifiers that he was to set in stone in Westminster Abbey. "Consider the difference of success that God granted in the marriages of the king my grandfather and me your own father," he admonished his son Henry, in terms that subtly damned Henry VIII: "The reward of his incontinency...[was] the sudden death at one time of two pleasant young princes, and a daughter only born to succeed to him;... leaving a double curse behind him to the land, both a woman of sex, and a new born babe of age to reign over them."⁴⁹

James's commemorative plans were demonstrably shaped by his commitment to establishing a version of English history that presented the recent past as a cul-de-sac. As Julia Walker has realized (and as was manifestly apparent to the Westminster Abbey visitor whose response I quoted in the beginning of this chapter), the greater grandeur of Mary Stuart's tomb and its position in the ranks of fertile mothers of kings valorized James's pedigree over Elizabeth's, while joining the two Tudor sisters in one tomb had the effect of reinforcing their infertility.⁵⁰ But it also, once more, brought to the fore the stigma of illegitimacy that clung to them both.⁵¹ It contributed to the dangerous but politically necessary work of dismantling the Aylmerian analysis of English reformation history, in order to stake James's own claims to absolute kingship.

In his very rich article Peter Sherlock has discovered the best evidence for this interpretation in the inscription on Mary Stuart's tomb. After describing Mary, unexceptionally, as the "queen of Scots and queen dowager of France," it then goes on to proclaim her to be "sole heir" (*haeredis unicae*) of Henry VII. This assertion, Sherlock concludes, "virtually denied Elizabeth's legitimacy," personal and political. According to the inscription, Mary was "sure and undoubted heiress to the crown of England while she lived, and mother of James, the most mighty sovereign of Great Britain"—and James (there was no need to add) inherited that right from her at the very moment of her death, it did not need to add. Sherlock provides the punch line for my piece in a footnote. The assertion that Mary Stuart was Henry VII's "sole heir," with its implication of Elizabeth's—and Mary Tudor's—illegitimacy, appears to have been added at James's direction. It was not present in Northampton's draft versions of the epitaph, which identified James's claims in more narrowly legalistic terms—as "nearest heir by the law of succession to the English crown."⁵²

No memorial to James was erected in Westminster Abbey. But we do not have to go too far to look for one that, built in his own lifetime, commemorated his imperial vision. In 1620 James contributed his collected writings to the Bodleian Library, Oxford. The donation was honored by a statue of the king handing one book to Fame, and another to a figure representing the university. Surely the intention was to evoke and supersede the famous image of Henry VIII to be found on the title page of the 1539 Great Bible. In James's view, his accession to the English throne repaired the effects of Henry VIII's "incontinency." It restored order, natural and divine, thereby inaugurating a new Augustan age whose benefits

would extend even beyond "Britain." At last, the promise of Protestant reformation could be fulfilled. The true *via media*, languishing in confessional strife under the two Tudor queens, could now, under the auspices of "Great Britain's Solomon," provide the highway to the reunification of Christendom.⁵³

Notes

1. Tudor History Questions and Answers, <http://tudorhistory.org/queryblog/2005/11/question-from-ille-izabeth-i-mary.html> (spelling corrected).
2. Julia M. Walker, "Reading the Tombs of Elizabeth I," *ELR*, 26 (1996): 510–30.
3. Phillip Lindley, "The singular mediacion and praier of all the holie companie of Heven": Sculptural Functions and Forms in Henry VII's Chapel" in *Westminster Abbey: The Lady Chapel of Henry VII*, ed. Tim Tatton-Brown and Richard Mortimer (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), 259–94; 273.
4. A. P. Stanley, *Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, 2 vols. (New York, 1882), Appendix: Account of the Search for the Grave of King James I, 367–403.
5. Jennifer Woodward, *The Theatre of Death: The Ritual Management of Royal Funerals in Renaissance England, 1570–1625* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997), 73.
6. Jennifer Woodward, *The Theatre of Death*, ch. 4, 67–86; 85. See also Antonia Fraser, *Mary Queen of Scots* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1969), 546–9.
7. Letter to the Dean and Chapter of Peterborough Cathedral; Dated August 28, 1612; see Nigel Llewellyn, "The Royal Body: Monuments to the Dead, for the Living" in *Renaissance Bodies: The Human Figure in English Culture c. 1540–1660*, ed. Lucy Gent and Nigel Llewellyn (London: Reaktion, 1990), 218–40; 227–8.
8. Alice Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of Scotland and English Princesses Connected with the Regal Succession of Great Britain*, 8 vols. (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1851), II: 445.
9. For Darnley's status see William S. Daniel, *History of the Abbey and Palace of Holyrood* (Edinburgh: D. Anderson, 1852), 67.
10. See John Watkins, *Representing Elizabeth in Stuart England: Literature, History, Sovereignty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), esp. ch. I, "James I and the Fictions of Elizabeth's Motherhood," 14–35.
11. Walker, "Reading the Tombs," 524.
12. *Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary, Daughter of King Henry the Eighth, Afterwards Queen Mary*, ed. F. Madden (London: William Pickering, 1831), clxxxvii.
13. John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion, and Other Various Occurrences in the Church of England, During Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign*, 4 vols. in 7 parts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1824) v.I.i: 400.
14. Peter Sherlock, "The Monuments of Elizabeth Tudor and Mary Stuart: King James and the Manipulation of Memory," *Journal of British Studies* 46 (2007): 263–89; 274.
15. Two proclamations forbidding tomb desecration were issued, in 1560 and 1571. See David Howarth, *Images of Rule: Art and Politics in the English Renaissance, 1485–1649* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1997), 154.

16. John Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials Relating Chiefly to Religion and the Reformation of It*, 3 vols. (London, 1721), III, 597, quoted in Jennifer Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 57. See also David E. Stannard, *The Puritan Way of Death: A Study in Religion, Culture and Social Change* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 101–2.
17. “Cornelius Cure,” *The Concise Grove Dictionary of Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002). Cure’s best known royal commission was the monument to Mary, Queen of Scots.
18. PRO, SP 14/13/8, quoted in Sherlock, “The Monuments of Elizabeth Tudor and Mary Stuart,” 270.
19. John White, “A Sermon Preached at the Funerals of Queen Mary” in John Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials Relating Chiefly to Religion and the Reformation of It*, III.ii, 536–50; 546. The new queen was not pleased by the sermon; White was taken into custody as he stepped down from the pulpit.
20. For this, and for Mary’s “hyper-sensitivity” to any hint of her illegitimacy, see E. W. Ives, “Tudor Dynastic Problems Revisited,” *Historical Research* 81 (2008): 255–79.
21. Anne McLaren, “Political Ideas” in Susan Doran and Norman Jones (eds.) *The Elizabethan World* (London: Routledge, 2010).
22. 28 Henry VIII c. 7, *Statutes of the Realm*, v. 3, 1509–45, 655–62; 656.
23. See, for example, Edward VI’s deathbed speech explaining his decision to divert the succession in Robert Wingfield of Brantham, “The *Vita Mariae Angliae Reginae of Robert Wingfield of Brantham*,” ed. Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Camden Miscellany*, 28 (Camden Society, 4th series, 29, 1984), 181–301; 247.
24. Anne McLaren, “Monogamy, Polygamy and the True State: James I’s Rhetoric of Empire,” *History of Political Thought*, 25 (2004): 446–80; 453–4.
25. *CSPSp*, V: 11, 263, 310.
26. *CSPSp*, V: 292, 395.
27. See Corinna Streckfuss, “‘Spes maxima nostra’: European Propaganda and the Spanish Match,” in this volume.
28. Mark Nicholls, *A History of the Modern British Isles, 1529–1603: The Two Kingdoms* (London: Wiley-Blackwell, 1998), 145.
29. For an excellent treatment of Anglo-French relations and Mary of Guise’s regency, see Pamela E. Ritchie, *Mary of Guise in Scotland, 1548–1560: A Political Career* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2002).
30. *CSPVen*, VII: 327–31, Michiel Suriano, “Report concerning King Philip of Spain,” 330–31.
31. Patrick Collinson, “Puritans, Men of Business and Elizabethan Parliaments,” *Parliamentary History* 7 (1988): 187–211.
32. Christopher Goodman, *How superior powers ought to be obeyed of their subjects and wherein they may lawfully by Gods Worde be disobeyed and resisted. Wherin also is declared the cause of all this present miserie in England, and the onely way to remedy the same* (Geneva, 1558), 98–100, 53–4.
33. Goodman, *How superior powers ought to be obeyed*, 54.
34. *CSPScot*, II: 112.
35. William Cecil’s description, in a memorandum written in August 1559, “A Short Discussion of the Weighty Matter of Scotland,” in *The State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler*, ed. Arthur Clifford, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1809), I: 377–83; 380.

36. Anne McLaren, "The Quest for a King: Gender, Marriage and Succession in Elizabethan England," *Journal of British Studies* 41 (2002): 259–90.
37. John Aylmer, *An harborovve for faithfull and trevve subiectes agaynst the late blowne blaste, concerninge the gouernme[n]t of vvemen. wherein be confuted all such reasons as a straunger of late made in that behalfe, with a breife exhortation to obedience* ("Strasbourg" [false imprint for London], 1558) fol. L3.^{v-r}.
38. James Emerson Phillips, *Images of a Queen: Mary Stuart in Sixteenth-Century Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964).
39. Aylmer, *An harborovve*, fol. O2.^{v-r}.
40. Aylmer, *An harborovve*, fol. B2.^{v-r}.
41. Aylmer, *An harborovve*, fol. F2.^{v-r}.
42. Aylmer, *An harborovve*, fol. R.^r–R2.^r.
43. Michael A. R. Graves, *Thomas Norton: The Parliament Man* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), ix.
44. All quotations in the following two paragraphs are from Thomas Norton's unpaginated tract, *To the Quenes Maiesties poore deceyued subiectes of the north country, drawen into rebellion by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmerland* (London, 1569).
45. Graham Hough, *The First Commentary on "The Faerie Queene"* (privately printed, 1964), 8.
46. CSPVen, IX: 1592–1603, 531–48; 540. James's fears that he would be denied the English crown on one or the other ground were long-standing. See D. H. Willson, *King James VI and I* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1958), 139–41.
47. *Correspondence of King James VI of Scotland with Sir Robert Cecil and Others in England, During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. John Bruce (London: Camden Society, 1861), 61–2.
48. For the resulting ambiguities, see D. R. Woolf, "Two Elizabeths? James I and the Late Queen's Famous Memory," *Canadian Journal of History* 20 (1985) 167–9.
49. James I, *Basilikon Doron or His Majesties Instrvctions to His Dearest Sonne, Henry the Prince* (Edinburgh, 1599), *Political Works of James I*, ed. Charles Howard McIlwain (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918), 3–52; 35.
50. Walker, "Reading the Tombs," 516, 524.
51. Allegations that Elizabeth was a bastard attained a new political salience in James's reign, when they were used to depict her (and not "Mary") as a tyrant. See, for example, the exchange between the Catholic controversialist Robert Persons (*The iudgment of a Catholike English-man* [London, 1608] and William Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln (*An answer to a Catholike English-man* [London, 1609]).
52. Sherlock, "The Monuments of Elizabeth Tudor and Mary Stuart," 280.
53. See W. B. Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

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II

PRECEDENTS AND TRADITIONS

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CHAPTER 2

EXAMPLES AND ADMONITIONS: WHAT MARY DEMONSTRATED FOR ELIZABETH

Judith Richards

I

For many years Mary Tudor, England's first queen regnant, has been perhaps the most reviled monarch in English history. She was the penultimate openly Catholic monarch to come to the English throne and has regularly been dismissed as having very little if any positive influence on the course of English history. Her negative impact on her realm, however, has been endlessly reiterated, although never quite to universal agreement. Nevertheless, her widespread reputation for bigotry, for her imputed "Spanish" and "bloody" characteristics, has been such that it might even be argued that J. E. Neale meant well enough when he distinguished between the Tudor sisters by describing Mary as representing the "old world" of Catholic and medieval values, and Elizabeth the "new" England.¹ Many historians have shared much the same view, and until recently there has been little interest in Mary's reign, let alone in any positive influence the first Tudor queen regnant might have had on the second.

One consequence of such persistent dismissal of any positive interest in Mary's reign is that Elizabeth is almost universally treated as the first "real" queen regnant of England. On those rare occasions when Mary has been recognized as her precursor and compared with her younger sister, she has still been treated as being of little interest. At best, the more usual assessment is that Mary was an imperfect monarch. David Starkey, for example, has suggested that, because Mary usually delegated the royal function of dubbing knights, the effect was to "declare a central part of monarchy out of bounds to a woman."² Elsewhere, that Mary had a very "female and weak public persona" has also ostensibly been established by the "fact" that she never made an official public address. Consequently, the general argument goes, it was left to Elizabeth to fashion for herself "an identity which blurred the distinctions between male and female, king and queen."³

To begin with that last specific charge before moving to the more general point, it is difficult to identify just what would be an "official" public

address in Tudor England but, even setting aside the address Mary delivered when rallying her troops at Framlingham against Queen Jane Grey in July 1553 (a speech received with considerable acclaim), those to whom Mary spoke publicly and forcibly on various occasions included a parliamentary delegation that dared (uninvited) to address her on the matter of her marriage, and the assembled Londoners whom she rallied with a much more widely reported Guildhall speech against Sir Thomas Wyatt's attack on the city in February 1554. John Foxe, never an admirer of Mary I, recorded that speech in full; few who have read it have doubted its eloquence. The most cursory reading suggests it was indeed a speech of which Elizabeth might well have been proud, and Mary has always received due credit for its positive impact.⁴ That still so little attention has been paid to England's first crowned queen regnant might be seen as the more remarkable, given how long feminist and gender studies have been fashionable. Amongst the matters long glossed over is the question of how far Mary, as first queen regnant, modeled and made familiar female monarchy in forms and terms that made the accession of Elizabeth more acceptable to her subjects. That is the main focus of the following discussion.

II

Despite an enduring tradition of always-strained relations between them, it is more likely that before 1547 exchanges between Elizabeth and Mary were amicable enough. Because of their seventeen-year age difference they were not often together, but after Anne Boleyn was dead and Mary was restored to her father's favor, Mary wrote to Henry warmly praising his younger daughter. Mary's expense accounts show she gave various presents to Elizabeth as she grew up, and gifts of money for when she played at cards, a pastime that Mary also always enjoyed.⁵ But until their father died, Elizabeth was more usually away from court and at her studies; at one stage, for reasons still unknown, her father exiled her from court for almost a year shortly after his marriage to Katherine Parr. However, from 1538 Mary was a regular presence at Henry's court and was particularly close to Henry's sixth wife, with whom she shared many interests. These included not just matters of dress and jewelry—although both women delighted in those—but also a shared interest in classical and humanist studies. Katherine Parr's kindness to Elizabeth has long been well documented, but less attention has been paid to her close relations with Mary in the final years of Henry's reign. It was, for example, at Katherine's urging that Mary undertook her translation to English of the *Gospel according to St John* as one section of Erasmus' *Paraphrases*, and it was in Katherine's circle that Mary established new friendships that continued until her death. Both Tudor sisters had been soundly educated in the classical humanism of their day and works first prepared for Mary's education, such as Vives' *Satellitium*, as a future ruler or royal consort were used also for Elizabeth.⁶ But it was always Mary who had more familiarity with the Henrician royal court—and with its politics.

Royal favor toward the two sisters was gradually reversed during Edward's reign. In those years, as Mary resisted the Edwardian religious changes, she grew more reluctant to be at court, but neither of the king's sisters was often there. Little evidence survives of relations between the half-sisters in those years, but what has survived indicates that Mary more frequently wrote letters to Elizabeth than she received replies from her.⁷ As the long-standing tradition has it, Elizabeth may have developed a closer relationship with their half-brother, but at his death no such closeness helped her. Instead, when the dying Edward VI reaffirmed the illegitimacy of both sisters by letters patent in June 1553, excluding them both from inheriting his crown, the younger sister was in no position to challenge the putative Queen Jane Grey. In mid-1553, Elizabeth had little public profile and rather less public influence. Not yet twenty, she was seen as the daughter of Henry VIII's most reviled wife, with little identifiable support beyond her own household. Her reputation was still sullied by the once widely discussed scandal of her relations with Sir Thomas Seymour when she lived in the Parr/Seymour household until she finally moved from it, probably at the initiative of his wife Katherine Parr.⁸ Moreover, Elizabeth had always accepted the Edwardian religious innovations and was, therefore, believed to have rejected the traditional Catholic religion. As Alec Ryrie has recently concluded, despite the Henrician attacks on aspects of that traditional religion and the marked extension of those changes under Edward VI, by the end of the latter's reign at best still only a "significant minority" favored the "novel" religious views.⁹

Elizabeth not only lacked significant legal or popular standing as Edward's successor during the confused days of July 1553; she had also not received the training to prepare her for such a role. She, therefore, had little choice but to wait upon Mary's success in seizing away the throne from their cousin and back to the direct Tudor line. Mary was always better equipped for such a contest, precisely because she was more mature, of an impeccably virtuous reputation, explicitly reared to be a queen, and resolutely an adherent of the old and still majority religion. Moreover, she was the popular daughter of a widely respected mother. In the 1520s she had been England's *de facto* Princess of Wales, and she had the important advantage of being seen legally as Edward's next heir. That, after all, was what both Henry's final Act of Succession and his will had established.

Once Mary triumphed over the duke of Northumberland's efforts to maintain Lady Jane Grey (who was also his daughter-in-law) as queen, Elizabeth wrote to her sister, seeking advice on whether she should join her new monarch dressed in mourning for Edward or in the magnificence suitable for celebrating Mary's accession. That need for advice about how to present herself could seem rather surprising, given the customary practice on such occasion that the "now" monarch took precedence over the "late," but *just possibly* it could have been an issue since Edward's funeral had not yet taken place. Whatever the reasons for Elizabeth's hesitations, she had thereafter many opportunities to see how Mary modeled a female

monarchical presence—a matter without obvious English precedent but one about which Mary's mother (Catherine of Aragon was the daughter of a queen regnant, Isabel of Castile) had been in a position to offer some guidelines. It was an age when public image was all-important and above all, as Sydney Anglo has written, “princely magnificence . . . served as the external sign of intrinsic power.”¹⁰ There was a range of familiar modes for representing ultimate masculine authority, but most frequently they referenced military leadership. For a female monarch to represent her “intrinsic power” was a complex new exercise, even when, like Mary, she could invoke both statute and lineal descent as manifestly endorsing her right to the crown.

Whatever her initial doubts about the most appropriate dress in which to accompany Mary's royal entry to her new capital, Elizabeth chose the more conventional course and joined Mary with her own display of magnificence in dress and entourage. According to contemporary accounts, however, she (very properly) offered no competition to Mary's strikingly rich accoutrements. Charles Wriothesley has left a uniquely detailed account of Mary's appearance on her first entry to London, which had until so recently seemed to support the now deposed “Queen Jane.” Surrounded by a huge entourage, Mary I was dressed in purple velvet and purple satin, all richly adorned with gold and pearls, and wore a gold neck-piece closely worked with pearls and precious stones. Even her horse had a purple caparison worked with gold, which reached to the ground.¹¹ This was perhaps the first manifestation of the female equivalent to that visual majesty recently made familiar by posture and rich dress in Holbein's portrait of Henry VIII and echoed in the stance of Edward VI in several portraits that followed.¹² A properly demure Tudor woman could hardly imitate that masculine stance with legs apart and arms akimbo, but there were, as Mary now demonstrated, other ways to communicate visible *female* royal power, circumventing masculine stance and military symbols.

In the public rituals for establishing the new monarch, Elizabeth, now heir apparent, had an appropriately prominent place of honor. Throughout Mary's pre-coronation procession through London, she went immediately after the queen and beside Anne of Cleves, their father's one-time wife and then “sister.” There were curiously contradictory accounts of how Mary was dressed that day, as England's first queen regnant. In those circumstances, the reports that she went “according to the precedents,” presumably intended to be reassuring, were not informative. (The twelfth-century Matilda, like the recent Queen Jane, could not maintain her power long enough to have a coronation.) Official records indicate that for the customary progress through London, Mary went dressed like the queen's consort, in white cloth of gold, and with her hair loose around her shoulders. That was a precedent that Elizabeth followed when it was her turn to be crowned. But on the first occasion neither observers nor subsequent commentators could agree on how the central figure was dressed. What Mary wore on her head was also variously described; the bizarre report

that her headdress was so heavy that she had to hold up her head with her hands was started by a person who could not have seen the occasion at all. It was, however, a report enthusiastically perpetuated by Elizabethan chroniclers.¹³ Some observers of Mary's progress commented on how many women there were in her company, others that the crowds, "out of all parts of the realm," were reportedly more numerous than had ever previously been seen, but the general impression is that observers had little idea of what to expect from the central figure.¹⁴ When Elizabeth made her coronation procession through London, she followed her sister's precedents for the occasion meticulously and there was no confusion in the reports of how the second queen regnant was dressed—that may be another indicator of how female monarchy had become more familiar.

Nor was there any need for legislation to clarify the status of a queen regnant when Elizabeth came to the throne, for any possible ambiguities about such a phenomenon had all been addressed in Mary's reign. In April 1554, Mary's parliament—with, of course, her prior sanction—passed two pieces of legislation defining fully the status of a queen regnant. One act clarified that a queen had exactly the same regal power as the kings of the English realm had always exercised. The other addressed the status of a queen regnant as wife, reiterating the provisions of the marriage treaties (themselves already approved by parliament and widely promulgated) that Mary remained "solye and sole quene" after her marriage.¹⁵ Mary was indeed both "king and queen" of the realm, legally and, it will be argued, in practice.

However publicly amiable the relations between the Tudor sisters at the beginning of Mary's reign, before the end of 1553 they were becoming strained enough for observers to comment on it. Various explanations have been offered for the increasing tension. One is that after her own legitimacy had been confirmed by parliament Mary increasingly snubbed her sister, now restored, at least by implication, as being illegitimate; another possible reason is that Elizabeth (understandably enough) resented those times when their Catholic cousin Margaret Douglas (daughter from the second marriage of Henry VIII's elder sister, and long Mary's companion) took precedence over her at court; yet another reason is that in Mary's eyes (as in the eyes of many others) Elizabeth's religious preferences remained suspect. None of those explanations are entirely satisfactory but together they do indicate the range of possible differences between the sisters. Increasingly uneasy at court, Elizabeth sought permission to retire to Ashridge—one of her country houses.

At Elizabeth's departure Mary presented her with a sumptuous sable stole, a royal gift indeed. In return, Elizabeth begged Mary to believe no damaging reports she might hear of her until she had a chance to respond, a request that indicates her consciousness of just how suspect her reputation already was. Before her departure, she was also visited by two Marian councilors to warn her against contact with either heretics or the French. The sisters were not to meet again until Elizabeth finally obeyed repeated commands to return to London in February 1554, doing so only after the

Wyatt rebellion had collapsed. Then she was examined about the extent of her prior knowledge of that rebellion. After a period of relative isolation in the palace, she was confined to the Tower for six weeks, albeit not in the prison but in the royal quarters. The uprising headed by Sir Thomas Wyatt and joined by the duke of Suffolk, father of the dethroned Jane Grey, was ostensibly directed against Mary's marriage to Philip of Spain. But there were many reports that the real purpose was to replace Mary by Elizabeth, with the Plantagenet descendant Edward Courtenay—earl of Devon, the man who had previously been the English preferred suitor for Mary—as Elizabeth's husband.

Just how much Elizabeth knew of the plot is now unknowable, but she admitted Wyatt had been in contact with her and that she had not reported that to the authorities. Mary's advisers were even more alarmed that a copy of a letter from Elizabeth to Mary was found in the French ambassador's postbag to his king. The ambassador had demonstrably known a great deal from an early stage about the Wyatt plot, and that copied letter suggested complicity with the plot from the very heart of Elizabeth's household, if not from Elizabeth herself. There were also strong indications that, as the Wyatt conspiracy took shape, Elizabeth's household had made preparations to fortify Donnington Castle as a more defensible position than her usual residences. Her experience of several plots, particularly the Wyatt episode, was one reason that once on the throne herself Elizabeth always refused to name her successor. As she said, she had more reason than most to know just what opportunities for conspiracy the position of heir apparent offered.

III

Relations between the two sisters never recovered from Mary's suspicions and Elizabeth's resentment of her time in the Tower, but the extent to which Mary's reign paved the way and helped shape the form of that of Elizabeth was always historically more significant than relations between them. As already discussed, it was necessarily Mary who addressed the need to persuade her male subjects that her office as monarch took precedence over her gender as female. Moreover, Mary married and yet—remarkably—remained legally and effectively sole monarch of her realm. Mary herself had been insistent from the earliest mention of marriage that when she married she would, of course, love and obey her husband, as any wife should, "but if he wished to encroach in the government of the kingdom, she would be unable to permit it."¹⁶ Indeed, when he *was* in England, Philip was indeed essentially an influential adviser and Mary's close companion—but usually little more. The problems faced by her subjects in comprehending this unusual but not unique situation arose from widespread assumptions about the nature of women, and the fact that from the moment of their marriage Philip's name took precedence in all official pronouncements. That, combined with his title of king, at a time when "queen" was more usually a descriptor of that much lesser being, a

king's wife, was always confusing for her subjects. Although the inclusion of the regnal year in their titles always made Mary the senior partner (e.g., Philip I and Mary II), that nuance was apparently lost on many of her subjects. Nevertheless—and despite his remarkable verbal flourishes on occasion—Philip did understand that his formal exclusion from kingly authority was set out in the marriage treaties and subsequent legislation. The problem was that, whatever Mary's immediate political circle understood of the status of Mary as both queen and wife, the law that set out that she remained “sole queen” after her marriage was not enough to settle the issue for all of her subjects. After all, Mary was a wife and, therefore, to be ruled; moreover, as males knew, political life was a masculine sphere of activity. When in 1557 the Venetian ambassador wrote that Mary was “of a sex which cannot becomingly take more than a moderate part” in government, he was only repeating a widely held belief.¹⁷ It was, however, a belief to which Mary did not subscribe.

There is no way of knowing the extent to which Elizabeth viewed Mary's always problematic marriage as a warning against entering into that relationship herself. But she certainly found other, more positive models in Mary's reign. Just as the first queen regnant resolutely held Philip to the status of royal consort and adviser, in ceremony and public appearance as in politics—even in images not so easily controlled by her, Philip was usually on Mary's left side—elsewhere she enacted the extent to which her office took precedence over her sex. Perhaps the most striking example of Mary's modeling female full monarchy was her exercising the capacity to heal sufferers of the scrofula and associated conditions by the royal touch and, in Mary's case, by blessing cramp rings. It had been, in earlier times, precisely that exercise of monarchical quasi-sacral power that had enabled French polemicists in the fourteenth century, at a time when there were several plausible female candidates, to argue against placing a woman on the throne.¹⁸ That royal healing capacity was effectively sacred, the argument went, being derived from the coronation consecration. Since that healing touch was a semi-priestly power, women were obviously disqualified from exercising it—and, therefore, it was concluded that women were excluded from wearing the crown.¹⁹

Mary, however, was not persuaded by any part of that argument and, by exercising her power in that capacity, demonstrated that the office of crowned monarch fully outweighed whatever frailties might conventionally be attached to females. It was a power that, exercised by French and English monarchs for centuries, was still in much demand among their subjects. In this matter also, Elizabeth followed Mary's example in exercising the royal touch—though not in blessing cramp rings, a practice that Edward also had previously abandoned. Indeed, for Elizabeth the royal touch was such a significant power that late in her reign, one of her chaplains set out to refute Catholic arguments that she was not a legitimate monarch by pointing to her effectiveness in just that healing touch—a God-given sanction for a monarch, if ever there was one, he argued, and, therefore, irrefutable proof of Elizabeth's legitimate rule.²⁰

IV

The traditional contrast between the two female Tudor monarchs has been most clearly defined by their religious differences. But even in this area, it is arguable that Mary set a number of significant precedents for Elizabeth to adopt or modify. In matters of religious practice, for example, Mary indeed restored the mass, many older church rituals, and papal authority to England. The papacy, of course, Elizabeth repudiated entirely. Mary had also restored and promoted the older traditions of church music. Given that both daughters were accomplished musicians, it is hardly surprising that this was a feature of Mary's changes that Elizabeth retained. The first queen regnant encouraged church musicians whom Elizabeth also later retained, patronising such "inherited" musicians as Thomas Tallis and John Sheppard. Nevertheless, whatever interests they shared, given the histories of their respective mothers as wives to Henry VIII, and the part played by Anne Boleyn in the break with Rome, it was hardly surprising that Henry VIII's two daughters ultimately represented different religious positions. As the daughter of Catherine of Aragon, Mary's religion, most easily demonstrated by her consistent devotion to the mass, was Catholic. If later in Henry's reign she came to accept her father's exclusion of papal authority from the realm—and it is possible that she did—it was the successive doctrinal innovations of the Edwardian era that led her into defiance of the new doctrines and, as queen, to decide to restore papal authority as ultimate guardian of religious orthodoxy. She was by no means alone in those particular shifts of attitude to the papacy; several eminent Henrician churchmen, among them Stephen Gardiner, followed that same path.

But before she had restored papal authority and despite her strong distaste for her inherited title of "Supreme Head of the Church," Mary issued a number of instructions on her own authority for restoring the English church to her preferred practice and for encouraging more preaching. Since she was a monarch, that she was a woman did not constrain her from expressing—and enforcing—her views on church reform nor from resisting the advice of such church leaders as Reginald Pole when she found the advice unreasonable.²¹ She always resisted the papal demands for the comprehensive restoration of monastic lands to the church; indeed finally her submission to the papacy proved to be as conditional as her other submissions to church authority, and in the final stages of her reign she excluded all papal communications from her realm. The ultimate counter to later analyses of Mary's imputed devoutly conservative Catholicism may well be the report that Pope Paul IV rejoiced when the news of Mary's death reached him, apparently believing that Elizabeth would prove a more satisfactory monarch for his own (profoundly anti-Hapsburg) purposes.

The main point to this comparison of the religious policies followed by the two queens, however, is that just as Mary may have disliked her early status as head of the church of England, she was still prepared to use the authority that title gave her to begin reshaping religious practice very much as did Elizabeth from the beginning of *her* reign. Given the confused

state of religion and the knowledge that a majority of her subjects were conforming Catholics when the second queen succeeded to the throne, it is not surprising that Elizabeth enforced some ambiguous religious positions for *her* English Church. Her pursuit of doctrinal accommodation, most easily exemplified by the remarkable conjunction of sentences for the administration of communion from the two Edwardian Books of Common Prayer, was pushed through parliament on her authority and against the wishes of many Protestants. The result was that the new communion service could be understood either as enacting the doctrine of the Real Presence or as a commemorative celebration.²² It was hardly surprising that the “hotter sort” of Protestants saw the 1559 Prayer Book as popish and ungodly, but that minority was not Elizabeth’s primary concern.

It might be argued that, given her own religious history, Elizabeth, although exercising much the same authority as her sister had done, could more easily do so in pursuit of the widest possible acceptance of her religious changes. Elizabeth herself, after all, was always vulnerable to the charge of being evasive about her religious past, and historians still debate the precise nature of her beliefs. In 1586 she claimed she had always observed that religion “as both I was born in, bred in, and I trust shall die in.”²³ In reality, for the first fourteen years of her life, as daughter of Henry VIII she had observed a relatively orthodox Catholicism (albeit without the pope) before she conformed, apparently easily, to successive Edwardian changes, then perhaps less easily with Marian Catholic practice—but she did still conform. That history may make it easier to see why she is more commonly presented as a queen who—as Bacon reportedly put it—did not open windows into men’s souls.

Mary’s religious stance, however, has regularly been attacked as bigoted, that bigotry being conventionally demonstrated by so many Protestants going into exile in her reign and by the some three hundred who remained in England and preferred to die the traditional death of heretics for their religious faith rather than renounce it. Much less attention has been paid to the fortunes of those who, despite following the religious changes in Edward’s reign, stayed and often prospered during Mary’s reign, and who prospered again under Elizabeth. They might even be seen as demonstrations that Mary also looked less into men’s souls, more required that they should obey the laws of the land, including those regulating church attendance and, on occasion, presence at the mass. Those who conformed in the Marian regime include members of such eminent “Protestant” families as Dudley, Sidney, and Bacon, and other erstwhile Protestants were members of her household. The case of Lady Anne Bacon, frequently cited as a woman of particularly strong reformist convictions, is one striking example of such a friendship with Mary. It appears to have begun in the mutually congenial humanist circle round Queen Katherine Parr and ended only with Mary’s death. Elizabeth’s future leading adviser, William Cecil, had undertaken a range of public responsibilities under Mary—including being part of the escort for Cardinal Reginald Pole when he finally entered England—before he was disgraced for his parliamentary opposition to her

wishes. The surviving Dudley sons—including Robert—were closely identified with their father’s attempt to supplant Mary by Lady Jane Grey, but by the end of 1554 they were taking part in jousts at court and later fought under Philip in France. Such evidence strongly suggests that Mary, like her younger sister, required that those who served her should obey her laws about religious observance—as presumably Anne Bacon and certainly William Cecil did—rather than peering into their souls to seek out their innermost thoughts.

The most potent charge against Mary has always been that she headed a regime that burned nearly three hundred victims. Much less attention has been paid to the contemporary conventionality of that punishment of heretics. In those doctrinally divided times, Mary shared the view of most Christian groupings that, alongside careful teaching and preaching of Catholic doctrine, heresy should be suppressed and that for obdurate heretics (“soul killers” they were called by their opponents) the traditional punishment of burning should be applied. It is perhaps a tragic irony that her view of the proper punishment for heresy was shared by so many of her most eminent victims (including Thomas Cranmer, erstwhile Archbishop of Canterbury) who died for their faith during her reign.²⁴ It was, indeed, less the punishment and more the definition of heresy that was the disputed issue in those times of intensifying religious division. John Foxe was an extraordinarily powerful advocate for the decidedly minority view that even obdurate heretics should not be burned, and it may have been in part because of the powerful impact of his *Actes and Monumentes* (first published 1563) that when Elizabeth began to punish *her* Catholic religious activists who refused to obey *her* laws, more than one hundred were hanged as traitors rather than burned as heretics. A few too-radical reformists were burned in subsequent years—the last died that way in 1612—but death by hanging became the more common punishment for Catholics. Historians have usually found this a much more acceptable response, but the victims were dying for the same principle of religious difference and legal disobedience in both cases. Moreover, given that death by hanging (effectively by strangulation in the sixteenth century) could take up to twenty-five minutes, it is not self-evident that it was an easier way to die, even when the victim was spared the rest of a traitor’s traditional punishment, drawing and quartering. But one advantage of hanging was presumably that having the offenders die a traitor’s death helped entrench the belief that Catholics generically were, by definition, at least unpatriotic if not actual traitors. The nexus between Catholicism and treason was a message made more explicit, on occasion, by proclamation.²⁵

V

After Mary died on November 17, 1558, very few (if any) of the many precedents provided by the first queen regnant for the second were ever acknowledged, even though the first queen had established the necessary legal, ceremonial, and political adjustments for female monarchy.

But although the transition from one monarch to the next was always potentially fraught with dispute, this one began decorously enough. The proclamation announcing Elizabeth's accession was impeccable, setting out a conventional formula that she was now monarch because "it hath pleased Almighty God by calling to his mercy out of this mortal life, to our great grief, our dearest sister of noble memory, Mary, late Queen of England, France, and Ireland."²⁶ There were, however, to be no further occasions when Mary was described as Elizabeth's "dearest sister." That Mary's funeral was a royal one, but only just, may be concluded on the surviving evidence that is rather sparse compared with the much fuller record of Henry VIII's funeral. Despite recurrent rumors to the contrary, however, the despoliation of the furnishings in the nave of the Abbey that frequently followed royal occasions, both coronations and funerals, did not touch either Mary's effigy or the hearse it lay on.

And once Mary was safely interred in Henry VII's chapel dedicated to the glory of the Tudors, positive references to her disappeared from official contemporary history. In January 1559, Elizabeth entered upon the rounds of her coronation ceremonial. After five years of observing her half-sister establish many precedents for female monarchy, Elizabeth had the full range of Marian practices, both exemplary and admonitory, from which to borrow. Although she followed many of those examples, there were few occasions on which Elizabeth positively acknowledged that debt, and tacit denials of it, already clearly set out in her pre-coronation procession, had begun even earlier in her reign. One of the striking features of the published reports of Elizabeth's coronation procession through London is the extent to which Mary's reign was excluded from Elizabeth's first great public occasion; where the previous monarch was mentioned, it was to offer implied repudiations of specific aspects of her reign.²⁷ In that carefully constructed account, the reported aspersions cast on Mary were not accidental.

The late Queen Mary, like Edward VI, was absent from the pageant depicting Elizabeth's genealogy, but siblings were always much less significant for legitimating a claim to reign than were the parents. It followed that Elizabeth's mother was necessarily represented in that pageant, the first public celebration of her since Anne Boleyn's shameful death, but it was to the new queen's father that all subsequent references were made. Mary was entirely absent from any iconography and, unlike Edward, was mentioned only tangentially in the printed text. Instead, Elizabeth of York, wife of Henry VII and grandmother to the new Queen Elizabeth, was shown as coequal with her husband, as if co-ruler. During his life, Henry VII had taken considerable pains to deny that he owed his throne in any way whatsoever to his marriage to the surviving heir of Edward IV, and he always kept his wife as far from political prominence as possible. In January 1559 she was, however, transformed into an available admirable precedent to the new Queen Elizabeth, as the appropriate exemplum should female monarchy again be raised as a problematic issue.

But the memory of Mary's just-ended reign was invoked to shape the account of Elizabeth's pre-coronation proceedings in significant ways. That can be seen in devices perhaps not contrived by Elizabeth but presumably made—and above all reported in the printed account—with her approval. Provided they had memories that could reach back more than two months, the audience for either the occasion or the text could hardly have been unaware of what was taking place. The first example was offered in the fourth pageant of the day, comparing the characteristics of a ruined commonwealth with those of a flourishing one. The tableau included a venerable ancient called "Tyme" and his daughter, identified as "Temporis filia." The printed account continues: "And on her brest was written her propre name, which was Veritas, Trueth." The opening verse of that pageant began as follows:

This olde man with the sythe, olde Father Tyme they call,
And her his daughter Truth, which holdeth yonder boke;
Whom he out of his rocke hath brought forth to us all,
From whence for many yeres she durst not once out loke.

The book, of course, was "Verbum Veritas the Woorde of Trueth."²⁸ There might be some surprise at this pageant in the implication that the vernacular Bible had been completely hidden and "for many years" at that. The Henrician Bible in English had not been banned by the Marian regime although some bishops did take it upon themselves to ban it within their own dioceses.²⁹ But more surprising, not to say breathtaking, is the Elizabethan appropriation of Mary's most familiar motto in reportedly declaring *herself* to be the daughter of time. The text *Veritas Temporis Filia* had appeared variously in Mary's reign, including on her Great Seal of 1553. This multivalent iconic motto had earlier become a marker of the mid-sixteenth century struggle for religious legitimacy, but the difference here is one between the almost private use of it by Henry VIII and the possibly most public appropriation of one queen's motto by the next queen in 1559.

Perhaps as remarkable is the final pageant of the day that showed the biblical Deborah, "richelie apparelled in parliament robes, with a sceptre in her hand, as a Quene" and with representatives of the three estates on either side. The printed account explains that this was to remind Elizabeth that she should consult about the government of her people, "considering God oftimes sent women nobly to rule among men; as Debora."³⁰ Well, yes, and more recently? In 1572, Grafton helpfully removed any doubt about the meaning of that pageant when he explained that it had been designed "to encourage the Quene not to feare though she were a woman; for women by the spirit or power of Almightye God, have ruled both honourably and pollitiquely."³¹ So Mary was no model at all, presumably being incapable of either honorable or politic government. The sanctioned public attitude to Mary had moved a long way from being Elizabeth's "dearest sister of noble memory" of Elizabeth's accession proclamation. That hostile view of the Catholic Mary, which became both a religious necessity

and a historical truth for many subsequent commentaries, was reinforced in that first account by the attention given to Elizabeth's thankfulness as she set out from the Tower that, like Daniel in the lion's den, she had been miraculously preserved from great danger in her previous sojourn in the Tower. There was no reminder that actually she was held there while being investigated for her possible (even probable) prior knowledge of the Wyatt rebellion.

Nevertheless, despite the extent to which she was to be repudiated and/or reviled by the new regime, Mary's legacy was frequently an active presence in Elizabeth's reign. It is not just that Elizabeth never modified Mary's initiatives to establish the legality and practice of female monarchy. The similarity between some of the exempla used to praise Mary and those (re)deployed to praise the insistently different Elizabeth has recently been reexamined, and the debts owed by Elizabethan polemicists to their Marian precursors much more carefully demonstrated. What has now been demonstrated in admirable detail is the extent to which Elizabeth selectively but "deliberately cultivated and adopted" the "panoply of classical, biblical, and historical epithets [previously] lavished on her royal sister."³² The appropriation of Mary's motto *Veritas Temporis Filia* by Elizabeth was to be only the first of many such borrowings.

Elizabeth always claimed that she had learned during Mary's reign the dangers of having a known next heir. In fact, it has been argued here, she learned and was instructed in many other matters besides the learning that—as Mary had repeatedly asserted and demonstrated—a female was as much monarch as a male. Mary's sharp and decisive responses to the efforts by various of her parliamentarian advisers to intervene in her marriage plans prefigure Elizabeth's equal hostility to similar approaches. But Elizabeth was not likely to acknowledge any debts to Mary, then or subsequently in her long reign. Rather, by 1563, Foxe opened discussion of Mary's reign by defining it as "the horrible and bloudye tyme of Queene Marye" and concluded that "our history hasteth a pase (the Lorde be praysed) to the happy death of Quene Mary."³³ That was, it would seem, also the official line, almost uniformly followed by Protestant historians for centuries. This essay has been an exercise in demonstrating that, despite the assertions, quoted in the opening discussion, that Elizabeth had been left to fashion for herself an identity that "blurred the distinctions between male and female, king and queen," it was in precisely those matters that her own occupation of the throne had been so comprehensively eased by Mary, England's first queen regnant.

Notes

1. J. E. Neale, *Queen Elizabeth I* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1960), 34.
2. David Starkey, *Elizabeth: Apprenticeship* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2000), 124.
3. Billie Melman, *The Culture of History: English Uses of the Past 1800–1953* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 178.

4. Even David Starkey, seldom an admirer of Mary, noted "not even Elizabeth herself could have given it better." Starkey, *Elizabeth*, 131.
5. *Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary, Daughter of King Henry the Eighth, Afterwards Queen Mary*, ed. F. Madden (London: William Pickering, 1831).
6. See Aysha Pollnitz, "Christian Women or Sovereign Queens?: The Schooling of Mary and Elizabeth" in this volume.
7. See the letter Elizabeth wrote to Mary probably in 1552, in which she apologises for being a less frequent correspondent than her sister. *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, ed. Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 37–8.
8. Sheila Cavanaugh, "The Bad Seed: Princess Elizabeth and the Seymour Incident," in *Dissing Elizabeth Negative Representations of Gloriana* ed. Julia M. Walker (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 13–29.
9. Alec Ryrie, "Counting Sheep, Counting Shepherds: The Problem of Allegiance in the English Reformation" in *The Beginnings of English Protestantism*, ed. Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 84–110, esp. 98.
10. Sydney Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship* (London: Seaby, 1992), 6.
11. Charles Wriothesley, *A chronicle of England during the reigns of the Tudors from A. D. 1485 to 1559*, 2 vols. (London: Camden Society, 1875–77), I: 93.
12. One Edwardian example is reproduced as no. 13 in *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England 1530–1630*, ed. Karen Hearn (London: Tate Publishing, 1995).
13. For confused and confusing reports of Mary's coronation, see Judith Richards, "Mary Tudor as 'Sole Quene'? Gendering Tudor Monarchy," *Hj*, 40 (1997): esp. 899–902.
14. J. Mychel, *A breuiat cronicle* (London, 1554), Oii.
15. HLRO Original Acts, 1 Mary 3, 1, 1 Mary 3, 2.
16. *CSPSp*, XI: 288 Renard to the Emperor, October 12, 1553.
17. Giovanni Michiel, "Report of England," May 13, 1557, *CSPVen*, V: no. 884, 1043 ff., 1056.
18. Ralph E. Giesey, "Rulership in French Royal Ceremonial" in *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual and Politics since the Middle Ages*, ed. Sean Wilentz (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985).
19. Jean Golein, "Treatise on Consecration" appended in Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973).
20. William Tooker, *Charisma sive donum sanationis* (London, 1597).
21. Such clashes of opinion are well exemplified in the correspondence between Mary and Pole about his insistence that the church lands lost in Henry's reign should be restored to the church. Much of that correspondence is to be found in *CSPF*, 1553–8.
22. For two discussions for Elizabeth's preferred versions, see Norman L. Jones, *Faith by Statute: Parliament and the Settlement of Religion, 1559* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1982), 134–7; Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 566–8.
23. J. E. Neale, *Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments, 1584–1601* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1957), 128.
24. For a more detailed discussion of this issue, see Richards, *Mary Tudor*, ch. 10.

25. For one example, see the proclamation "Explaining Execution of Two Seminary Priests," *TRP*, II: 518–21.
26. "Announcing the Accession of Queen Elizabeth I," *TRP*, II: 99–100.
27. *The Passage of our most drad Sovereigne Lady Quene Elizabeth Through the Citie of London to Westminster The Daye Before Her Coronacion* (London, 1558–9).
28. *The Passage*, Civ.
29. David Loades, "The Marian Episcopate," in *The Church of Mary Tudor*, ed. Eamon Duffy and David Loades (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 52.
30. *The Passage*, Diiiii.
31. Richard Grafton, *Abridgement of the Chronicles of England* (London, 1572), 194.
32. Paulina Kewes, "Two Queens, One Inventory: The Lives of Mary and Elizabeth Tudor" in *Writing Lives: Biography and Textuality, Identity and Representation in Early Modern England*, ed. Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 204. See also Kewes, "Godly Queens: The Royal Iconographies of Mary and Elizabeth" in this volume.
33. John Foxe, *Acts and Monumentes of these latter and perilous dayes* (London, 1563), 889, 1684.

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CHAPTER 3

GODLY QUEENS: THE ROYAL ICONOGRAPHIES OF MARY AND ELIZABETH

Paulina Kewes

I

Mary and Elizabeth Tudor are routinely cast in opposition to one another. Unlike Elizabeth, the supreme icon of Protestantism and Englishness, the Catholic Mary is judged to have failed to capture the hearts and minds of her subjects or to win for herself a reputation as a powerful godly queen. She was hopeless, we are told, at self-promotion and her government backward in exploiting the resources of spectacle and print. But is that how things looked at Elizabeth's accession?

Unfavorable comparisons between Mary and her sister abound in the ever-proliferating studies of Elizabethan image-making, politics, and culture. Yet we still know very little about how Mary's life and reign were viewed by contemporaries other than her evangelical enemies. As a result, the immense debt of early Elizabethan pageantry, panegyric, historiography, and martyrology to the writings of Marian apologists has gone unrecognized. Scholars relish listing opprobrious terms heaped on Mary by her Protestant critics—Jezebel, Athaliah, Domitian, Nero, and so on—even as they ignore the bulk of propaganda and literature produced in her reign. Yet in vilifying the Catholic queen and extolling her Protestant successor, early Elizabethan publicists were responding to the tremendous power of the Marian example.

Mary Tudor, England's first queen regnant, had triumphantly ascended the throne having defeated attempts to exclude her and crushed Northumberland's coup; she had successfully suppressed the Wyatt rebellion and married a foreign Catholic prince of her choice; she had brought England back to the papal fold; and taken it to war. Her sister had to be schooled in how to undo the damage. Mixing praise and instruction, militant Protestants, many of them veterans of Edwardian reforms, outlined an ambitious program for the new reign. Above all, they defined the ideal of godly queenship that Elizabeth must emulate. The language and iconography deployed to convey the reformed agenda are commonly assumed to have been framed in direct opposition to the Marian precedent. In fact, both were extensively indebted to the encomia once lavished on Mary.

The earliest and most public act of appropriation occurred during Elizabeth's coronation entry into London on January 14, 1559. The clothes Elizabeth wore on the day were second-hand: inherited from Mary who had sported them during her coronation progress five years earlier, the mantle and kirtle of "Clothe of golde and silver tissue" were refurbished to fit the new monarch.¹ Elizabeth's coronation pageantry too was second-hand: the inaugural tableaux recycled a host of images and tropes previously used to exalt her Catholic sister. Hailed as a divinely ordained savior of her country, Mary had been saluted on her accession with an outpouring of enthusiastic tributes—pageants, poems, ballads, sermons, and pamphlets—that figured her as Deborah, Judith, Esther, David, Daniel, and Time's daughter Truth and celebrated her survival and elevation as nothing short of miraculous. Now much of the same imagery and providential rhetoric was being commandeered for Elizabeth. What does this tell us about contemporary hopes for and anxieties about Protestant queenship?

II

Mary died on November 17, 1558. Elizabeth's succession went smoothly; the burnings ceased; and England withdrew from the continental war. Yet even if the danger of national disunity had seemingly diminished, fundamental questions and uncertainties remained. What would be the shape of the new religious settlement? Would Elizabeth marry and, if so, would she choose an Englishman or a foreigner? A Protestant or a Catholic? How would she interact with her parliaments? What would be the tenets of her foreign policy? Like the published and unpublished addresses with which she was inundated during the preceding two months, the coronation pageantry and the speeches that accompanied it were designed to give the new queen advice on how to deal with most of these issues. Throughout the entertainment, the City's—and by implication the nation's—love and loyalty were being pledged even as their expectations of the new sovereign were being spelled out.

Along the customary processional route from the Tower to Westminster, the queen saw five pageants accompanied by explanatory speeches: "The uniting of the two houses of Lancaster and York" at Gracechurch Street; "The seat of worthy governance" at Cornhill; "The eight beatitudes" at Soper Lane; "A decayed commonweal," "A flourishing commonweal," and Truth and Time at the Little Conduit in Cheap Street; and "Deborah with her estates" at the Conduit in Fleet Street. She was also presented with a purse of gold and a copy of the English Bible. A detailed account of the occasion, *The Quenes maiesties passage through the citie of London*, was available in print within nine days, in time for the planned opening on January 23 of the first Elizabethan Parliament.²

Many people had had a hand in preparing the progress, and in designing and building the pageants. The verses delivered by the child actors were probably composed by Richard Mulcaster, future schoolmaster and MP, who in due course put together the commemorative booklet. Elizabeth

herself authorized the loan of costumes from the Revels Office and not only viewed the tableaux and listened to orations attentively but also responded to them with verve and astuteness. Given the range of those involved in the planning and execution of the entry, its coherence of concept and iconography are remarkable. Spoken by a child dressed as a poet, the “farewell in the name of the whole City” insisted on the structural and semantic unity of the pageant sequence (95). The queen’s replies, in so far as they have been recorded by Mulcaster, too appear to have endorsed its drift. Reshaping the event for a mass audience, the quarto pamphlet publicized it as an auspicious expression of a pact of love between England and her new queen.³

Individual pageants and the sequence as a whole invited a comparison between the Marian past and the Elizabethan present and future. Albeit united in its opposition to everything that the Catholic sister had stood for, the visual and verbal properties of the entry as much as the new queen’s responses to them drew heavily on the rhetoric and imagery hitherto applied to Mary. So too did the published account. Yet if the stock of materials was old, the uses to which it was put were not.

III

Elizabeth’s entry was exceptional in its preoccupation with the past. Royal entries frequently included name-based pageants of historical personages and presented genealogical tableaux, often with a sharp partisan edge. Yet none of them had focused so persistently on the recent past or deployed historical themes and images so dynamically and with such heavy ideological bias.

The welcoming oration at Fenchurch proffered to the queen the seemingly innocuous gift of the citizens’ “blessing tongues” and “true hearts.” These “true hearts” were not merely loyal but also Protestant. The “triumph” they celebrated in greeting the new sovereign had been obtained through “faithfulness” that “all untruth [had] driven out” (76). To eliminate all vestiges of “untruth” or Catholicism was to exorcize the Marian past as well as reclaim the language of true religion. Whether consciously or not—and the theme is anything if not conventional—the gift of hearts harked back both to Mary’s reception at Ipswich in July 1553, when local children had presented her with “a golden heart inscribed ‘the heart of the people,’” and to her and Philip’s entry into London in August 1554, which had reportedly exemplified the citizens’ “faithful, and unfained hertes to the Quenes highnes & the king.”⁴ Aside from summoning and dissolving the equation of Truth and Catholicism, made routinely by Marian propagandists, the oration implicitly questioned Mary’s motto *Veritas Filia Temporis*, which the fourth pageant, featuring Truth and Time, would comprehensively dismantle.

The display of royal genealogy in the first tableau, “The uniting of the two houses of Lancaster and York,” served to emphasize Elizabeth’s legitimacy. Based on Edward Hall’s *The Union of the two noble and illustre famelies*

of *Lancastre & Yorke* (1548, 1550) and echoing its title, the pageant was “a topical, three-dimensional reworking of the woodcut” from the second edition of the chronicle.⁵ Child actors representing Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, and, at the top, Elizabeth herself were seated on three levels of the arch which was “garnished with red roses and white” (79). The show implied that, like her namesake Elizabeth of York, whose marriage to Henry Tudor terminated a drawn-out civil war, this new Elizabeth would usher in peace and unity after the turbulence of Mary’s reign. The historical parallel now invoked to compliment the Protestant queen had been used five years earlier to celebrate the accession of her Catholic predecessor. Circulating at court in the second half of 1554, a short Latin tract by one of Mary’s East Anglian supporters, Robert Wingfield of Brantham, had emphasized Mary Tudor’s ancestry to Henry VII and Elizabeth of York. Wingfield had flatteringly compared the advent of “sacred Mary, child of both Houses, and queen by the best right on the death of Edward VI” to “the joining of these two excellent ruling Houses of Plantagenet and Tudor,” implying that now the confessional conflicts and abuses of Edward’s reign would come to an end.⁶ Elizabethan pageant-makers sought to undo and reverse such associations.

The frontispiece to Hall’s chronicle presented the complete Tudor genealogy culminating in Henry VIII. By contrast, the pageant was tentatively selective, omitting Henry VIII’s other wives and offspring. Though absent, Mary was the target of this dynastic display. By insisting on the validity of Henry’s marriage to Anne Boleyn, the tableau endorsed his divorce from Mary’s mother, Catherine of Aragon. Mary was thus retrospectively bastardized. The accompanying verses implicitly cast her reign as a period of continued unrest and national suffering akin to the Wars of the Roses: “Therefore as civil war and shed of blood did cease / When these two houses were united into one / So now that jar shall stint, and quietness increase, / We trust, Oh, noble Queen, thou wilt be cause alone.” Reassuringly, Elizabeth “promised that she would do her whole endeavour for the continual preservation of concord, as the pageant did import.”⁷

The pageant’s devisers were hopeful that Elizabeth would succeed where Mary had failed, and they suggested how best to go about it. Henry VII was paired with Elizabeth of York, Henry VIII with Anne Boleyn. The appearance of the solitary figure of Elizabeth graphically conveyed the need for the queen to marry and produce an heir. The point was made directly in the Latin oration penned by Mulcaster and delivered by a pupil of St Paul’s School (90). In this respect both pageant and oration again looked ahead to parliamentary concerns, for within two months, on February 9, Elizabeth would receive a Commons petition beseeching her to choose a husband for the security of the realm.⁸

“The uniting of the two houses of Lancaster and York” was a riposte to, or perhaps a retraction of, the spectacle of Anglo-Iberian genealogy during Mary and Philip’s entry. That dynastic tableau had highlighted the pair’s common descent from Edward III in order to establish the

Spanish prince's claim to Englishness.⁹ To the Marian pageant's assertion of England's historic involvement in continental Europe, the Elizabethan show opposed a strong call for disengagement. Above all, it celebrated the fact that in contrast to her half-Spanish half-sister, the new queen was English *par excellence*.¹⁰

For all its complimentary-didactic bent, however, "The uniting" evinced the limitations of Elizabeth's regime no less than its might. Like the alter egos of Henry VII and Henry VIII, the child impersonating the queen seems to have worn a closed imperial crown, symbol of England's independence and sovereignty.¹¹ The explanatory oration credited Elizabeth with the power to heal the rift in the body politic. Yet it also unceremoniously pressured her into making a wholehearted commitment to that goal, which the queen duly did and which the pamphlet duly publicized. If four years earlier, in mounting a flattering welcome for Philip, the City had anticipated the wishes of the Catholic queen, now her Protestant heir was issued with an injunction, however obsequious.

IV

The use of allegory in the next tableau, "The seat of worthy governance," served to disparage Mary's reign by attacking its religion and morality. Here too the provisional nature of Elizabeth's hold on power was in evidence. The throne occupied by the royal figure representing the queen was supported by Virtues that were shown suppressing their opposite Vices: "*Pure religion* did tread upon *Superstition* and *Ignorance*; *Love of subjects* did tread upon *Rebellion* and *Insolence*; *Wisdom* did tread upon *Folly* and *Vainglory*; *Justice* did tread upon *Adulation* and *Bribery*."¹² The anti-Marian drift was instantly recognized by one of the foreign spectators, the Italian Il Schifanoia. "On the other side, hinting I believe at the past," he noted, "were *Ignorance*, *Superstition*, *Hypocrisy*, *Vain Glory*, *Simulation*, *Rebellion*, and *Idolatry*."¹³

From Il Schifanoia's perspective, the contrast between the Elizabethan present and the Marian past, between Protestantism and Catholicism, was expressed through a sort of visual paradiastole or rhetorical redescription, a classical figure widely distrusted in the Renaissance because of its disturbing capacity to misrepresent the true moral character of an action, a person, or a belief. The strategy common to Protestants and Catholics was to charge the other with heresy, idolatry, rebelliousness, avarice, and hypocrisy, and to cast the accusation in the form of a dramatic unmasking of the enemy by attributing to him verbal duplicity and fraud. The definition of paradiastole given by Henry Peacham in his *The Garden of Eloquence* (1593; first edn. 1577) neatly exemplifies this ideological bias:

It is when by a mannerly interpretation, we doe excuse our own vices, or other mens whom we doe defend, by calling them virtues, as when we call him that is craftye, wyse: a covetous man, a good husband: murder a manly deede: deepe dissimulation, singuler wisdom: pryde cleanliness: covetousnesse, a

worldly or necessarye carefulnesse: whoredome, youthful delight & dalyance: *Idolatry, pure religion*: glotony and dronkennesse, good fellowship: cruelty severity. This figure is used, when vices are excused.¹⁴ (my emphasis)

A radical Protestant divine, Peacham echoes the pageant-makers in denouncing Catholics for preaching idolatry under the guise of pure religion. The papists are cunning practitioners of paradiastole, he contends, and the task of the godly is to strip away the veil of dissimulation.

To stigmatize the rhetorical duplicity of Catholicism was to deploy a double-edged weapon. The indictment must be rhetorically effective, but that tactic laid the Protestants themselves open to accusations of verbal artifice, even trickery. The act of exposure inevitably highlighted the gullibility of those who ought to know better. Worse yet, it underlined the similitude of qualities that, in moral terms, should be easily told apart. “The seat of worthy governance” strives hard, perhaps too hard, to differentiate Virtues from Vices—through placards on which their names are displayed, through distinctive costume, through their spatial position. Although there is every reason to believe that Elizabeth will be guided by the Virtues that have made possible her triumphant accession, the conditional phrasing of both the oration and Mulcaster’s prose commentary betrays a worry, or perhaps a warning, that like her sister before her she too might lapse. Should that happen, the queen would lose her subjects’ loyalty and ultimately the throne:

The ground of this pageant was that as like by virtues (which do abundantly appear in her Grace) the Queen’s Majesty was established in the seat of government, so she should sit fast in the same so long as she embraced virtue and held vice under foot. For if vice once got up the head, it would put the seat of government in peril of falling. (83)

Elizabeth’s heartening answer to the pageant was advertized in print: “The Queen’s Majesty when she had heard the child and understood the pageant at full, gave the city also thanks there, and most graciously promised her good endeavor for the maintenance of the said virtues, and suppression of vices” (83). This Elizabethan covenant, couched in simple, unadorned language, seemingly guarantees that moral rectitude, religious integrity, and plainness of speech will now go hand in hand.

V

The contrast between the Marian past and the Elizabethan present was further emphasized in the third tableau located at Soper Lane. There “the city had...erected the pageant with eight children representing the eight blessings touched [upon] in the fifth chapter of St Matthew, whereof every one upon just considerations was applied to her highness” (84). If the Vices in the preceding tableau evoked a generalized image of the idolatry and corruption of Mary’s reign, the point of this display was to remind Elizabeth of her own, personal suffering and miraculous deliverance from her sister’s

henchmen. The corresponding oration painted Elizabeth as a victim of ruthless persecution (84–5). For all the praise of her meekness, mildness, mercy, purity of heart, and so on, the crux was not that those qualities ensured her preservation but that she owed both them and her eventual rescue to God's mercy. This pageant foreshadowed John Foxe's vivid account of Elizabeth's tribulations during Mary's reign in the "Book of Martyrs." It also echoed and rewrote providential recitals made by Catholic publicists of Mary's piety and fortitude in the face of schismatic fury.¹⁵

The concept of Providence was common to Protestants and Catholics. "Providential beliefs," Alexandra Walsham has shown, "cut across the invisible iron curtain which contemporary polemic erected between Geneva and Rome," even if each side assigned different significance to particular occurrences.¹⁶ In Mary's case the hand of Providence was detected not only in her remarkable delivery from the harassment of Edwardian reformers and the suppression of Northumberland's coup and, later, of Wyatt's rebellion but also in her successful restoration of Roman Catholicism. Mary's confessional integrity made the task of Catholic propagandists easy: unlike Elizabeth who, as John Knox was to remind her, wavered in the face of adversity, her elder sister had clung steadfastly to her faith.¹⁷

From the outset Mary had declared her accession to be the work of Providence. "Having first taken counsel with her advisers," reported an early biographer, this "godly Queen" "caused her whole household to be summoned, and told them that... the right to the Crown of England had... descended to her by divine and human law after her brother's death, through God's high providence."¹⁸ Within days, Mary's triumph over the supporters of Lady Jane Grey was being celebrated as God-given in ballads, poems, sermons, pamphlets, and historical narratives, both English and Latin. *A ninvectyve agaynst Treason* (1553), a triumphalist ballad by one Thomas Watertoune, chronicled the joy of Londoners at the proclamation of Mary as queen and exulted in her divinely assisted victory: "god had shewed on vs his grace in geuyng a rightful queene."¹⁹

The analogy with the Virgin Mary was the encomiasts' stock-in-trade.²⁰ Its conspicuous absence from the Elizabethan pageants marks the fundamental difference between the Marian and Elizabethan imagery. *A new ballade of the Marigold* (1553) by William Forrest, who would soon be appointed one of Mary's chaplains, painted a picture of a saintly princess maligned and oppressed and yet strong in faith and virtue, a resoluteness for which God rewarded her with his love and protection: "In singler Vertue shee hath growne, / And serving God, as she well ought; / For which he had her in his thought / And shewed her Graces many folde."²¹ Leonard Stopes, another Catholic priest-turned-versifier, sounded a similar note in his broadside paean *An Ave Maria in Commendation of our most Vertuous Queene* (1553).²² *A compendious treatise in metre* (1554) by the minor Catholic poet George Marshall figured Mary's conquest as "A wonderfull myracle, ever to be remembred / That God wrought for our Queene, he ever be prayed."²³ Miles Huggarde, an artisan and self-styled "servant to

the queen,” developed the theme in *The Assault of the Sacrament of the Altar* (1554), his dream-vision poem.²⁴ In a sermon delivered in a church in Luton on July 23, 1553 and printed shortly thereafter, the Roman Catholic priest, composer, and publicist John Gwynneth emphasized “the myghtye operation of god” in placing Mary on the throne.²⁵ So too did Robert Wingfield of Brantham in a Latin biographical sketch of Mary, scribal copies of which circulated at Court in the second half of 1554, and Robert Parkyn, curate of Adwick-le-Street near Doncaster, in a narrative of the Reformation written in English and contained in his commonplace book.²⁶

The providential view of Mary’s accession was not confined to Catholic writings. But although in tributes from her co-religionists its function was purely congratulatory, in Protestant literature it was apologetic or didactic. Both the anonymous *Narratio Historica* (1553), a Latin tract printed in Antwerp, and *A Godly Psalm, of Mary Queen, which brought us comfort all...* (1553), by the church of England divine Richard Beearde, welcomed Mary as the rightful ruler and pledged the loyalty of her Protestant subjects so as to deflect potential recriminations. Yet they also warned that Protestant support was not unqualified.²⁷

Catholic writings too had recourse to providential rhetoric to teach the queen a thing or two. But in contrast to Protestants who broadcast their lessons in print, Mary’s Catholic tutors confined theirs to manuscript. In letters that, for all the ideological differences between them, were uncannily similar to the admonitory harangues that Knox, Hales, and Foxe would visit on Elizabeth, Cardinal Reginald Pole put Mary in mind of her providential preservation that she must repay by restoring Catholicism. Her delivery, he insisted, was merely a prelude to God’s plan for England of which she had been made the instrument.²⁸

Pole’s advice and Mary’s zeal seemed to bear fruit. In addressing the newly married queen, her Spanish consort, and the three estates on November 27, 1554, the erstwhile convicted felon and now a papal legate eloquently expounded on the continued workings of Providence in English affairs. “And see howe miraculouslye GOD of hys goodness preserved her hyghenes,” Pole reminded his audience,

contrarye to the expectacyon of manne. That when numbers conspired agaynste her, and policies were devised to disinherit hir, and armed power prepared to destroye hir, yet she being a Virgin, helpless, naked and unarmed, prevailed, & had the victorie ouer tyrauntes, which is not to be ascribed to any pollici of man, but to the almighty greate goodness & providence of God.²⁹

It would be difficult to find a more exact model for Foxe’s and others’ providential narratives of Elizabeth’s delivery from popish thralldom. The experience of Mary’s reign had significantly changed people’s view of female rule and made them more inclined to be exhortative toward her successor.

Elizabeth would have been well aware of the emergent iconography of her sister’s reign. When it was her turn to rule, she emulated Mary’s example,

claiming that Providence was on her side. In the thanksgiving prayer in the Tower of London before the start of her coronation progress, the queen daringly compared herself to the biblical prophet Daniel: "And I acknowledge that thou hast dealt as wonderfully and as mercifully with me, as thou didst with thy true and faithful servant Daniel thy prophet, whom thou delivered out of the den from the cruelty of the greedy and raging lions. Even so was I overwhelmed, and only by thee delivered."³⁰ Publicized by Mulcaster, Foxe, and Grafton, the prayer was eagerly exploited by preachers, poets, and pamphleteers. Like so many encomiastic tropes, however, the analogy with Daniel too had been previously used to glorify Mary. Her awe-inspiring defeat of rebels and heretics, John Elder suggested, had matched Daniel's miraculous liberation from the lion's den.³¹

Both Marian publicists and their Elizabethan imitators gloatingly reflected on God's suppression of their adversaries and protection of their queen. But whereas Catholics invoked Providence first and foremost to glorify Mary, Protestants deployed it at once to praise and school her younger sister.

VI

To stage the liberation of Truth, as Elizabeth's fourth coronation tableau did, was to appropriate—and radically redefine—yet another element from the Marian arsenal of images.³² The scene unfolded against a background of two hills figuring two types of commonwealth, one flourishing the other decaying. Unlike the female monarchs in "The seat of worthy governance" and "Deborah with her estates," the personifications of the two commonwealths were both gendered male. Even so, the tension between barrenness and fertility evoked by the natural imagery of the pageant cannot but have recalled Mary's conspicuous failure to bear a child and, complimenting Elizabeth on her youth and beauty, intimated that to produce offspring was her queenly duty.³³ Against that background, Time's daughter Truth delivered the English Bible to the queen. Again Il Schifanoia's report confirms the transparency of the scenic emblem. "The whole implied in their tongue," he wrote, "that the withered mount was the past state, and the green one the present, and that the time for gathering the fruits of truth was come."³⁴

Mary's adoption of Truth as her symbol had been an attempt to wrest the device from the reformers.³⁵ Her personal motto *Veritas Filia Temporis* appeared on coins and paintings. Catholic publicists capitalized on the association between their queen and truth for all it was worth. "Verity" was one of the characters in the play performed after Mary's coronation feast in Westminster Hall. Mary was honored as "veritee the daughter of sage old Father Tyme" in Nicholas Udall's *Respublica* at Christmas 1553. The final pageant erected for her and Philip's entry into London showed "Veritas wyth a boke in her hande, wheron was written, *Verbum Dei*." The dedication in a Latin memorial to the occasion by Adrian Junius reproduced Mary's Latin motto.³⁶

Mary and her publicists had done such a good job propagating the image of the queen as *Veritas* that by the time of Elizabeth's arrival the trope needed careful undoing. That is why Elizabeth joined so enthusiastically in the pageant scene unfolding at the Little Conduit in Cheap Street. Her reply on being told that she would encounter the figure of Time showed her keenness to pose as Time's daughter Truth: "'Time?' quoth she, 'and Time hath brought me hither.'" ³⁷ The queen's highly theatrical acceptance of "the book of truth" finalized her displacement of Mary as the only legitimate daughter of Time (and of Henry VIII).

Yet, as David Norbrook has pointed out, "[t]he harmony between the monarch and militant Protestantism that the pageantry celebrated was more ambiguous and contingent than it appeared."³⁸ It is not just that the shape of the future religious settlement was uncertain. The larger issue was the role envisaged for the queen. Like Mary in the writings of her co-religionists, Elizabeth was cast by her champions as God's instrument and handmaiden. She was the means to an apocalyptic end: the final defeat of Rome and its antichristian ministers. But whereas Mary had needed little encouragement to be getting on with the restoration of Catholicism, there were serious doubts about Elizabeth's commitment to reversing that process.

What of Elizabeth herself? There is a telling contrast between her conduct on the day as related by Mulcaster and her encounter with her first Parliament. Elizabeth's responses to the various orations and gifts seemingly marked her unquestioning acceptance of the part assigned to her. The queen gave no hint that she had seen through the rhetorical devices by means of which the didactic message was channeled or that she had reservations about the quasi-covenantal thrust of anything that was said or shown to her. But two weeks later her instructions to the Lord Keeper Bacon made plain her awareness that the principle of *laudando praecipere* had just been deployed to prime her. "[T]he Queene's Majestie," said Bacon relaying his mistress's reply to the Speaker's petition, "giveth you most hartie thanks as for a good exhortacion made to her Highnes to become such a one as yee have commended her for."³⁹ This statement was made in the more "private" or confidential setting of Parliament; the former had been destined for immediate public consumption via spectacle and print. The image of the pliant queen at one with her people in a dedication to a Protestant future was convenient for both Elizabeth and those who had framed the entry. The savvy monarch signaling to the MPs that she saw through their rhetorical sleight of hand inaugurated a species of relations between Elizabeth and her parliaments that were quite different from the good Queen Bess of the popular, Protestant touch.

VII

Located at the Conduit in Fleet Street, the fifth and last pageant presented a "worthy precedent" to the "worthy Queen": "*Deborah the judge and restorer of the House of Israel. Judges 4.*"⁴⁰ Sporting an open crown, scepter, and Parliament robes and surrounded by representatives of the

nobility, the clergy, and the commonalty, this was a thoroughly Anglicized Deborah. If the biblical provenance of the tableau served to boost the status of queenship, the modern dress and the topical emphasis on the need for parliamentary advice hinted at concerns about the self-sufficiency of female rule. Some checks on female monarchs were necessary, the pageant implied, to avoid the chaos of Mary's reign. Elizabeth was exhorted not to trust her own will and wisdom but to be prepared to accept guidance from the Parliament that was less than a fortnight away.

How original were the pageant-makers, and early Elizabethan publicists in general, in their use of this and other biblical tropes? The final pageant highlights the tangled relationship between Elizabethan and Marian iconographies and the rival conceptions of queenship the two were designed to project. David Norbrook, John King, Judith Richards, and Dale Hoak have discerned in the comparison of Elizabeth to Deborah a dual purpose of justification and instruction. Designed to answer Knox's ill-timed assault on women sovereigns in *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (1558), the biblical tableau was a forerunner of the more elaborate defenses by John Aylmer, Lawrence Humphrey, John Foxe, and others. At the same time, it sought to impress upon Elizabeth the militant Protestant program of the returning exiles.⁴¹ The double-edged rhetoric that characterizes the transmission later in the reign of this and other scriptural parallels has been analyzed by, inter alia, Alexandra Walsham and Anne McLaren.⁴² As with Marian origins of Elizabethan providentialism, however, the requisition for Elizabeth of the biblical models formerly applied to Mary has been largely overlooked.⁴³ The figuring of the new queen as Deborah, Judith, Esther, David, Daniel, and so on was another seizure by Protestants of a Marian device. The point is not that Protestants ransacked the Bible for new comparisons (though they did that too), but that they strove to repossess and variously transform, refute, or cancel out the ones that Catholic apologists had deployed to exalt, defend, and sometimes instruct Mary.

Three sets of images had been conjured up at the start of Mary's reign. The first two pertained to her attainment of power, the third to its exercise. The paradox of the queen's miraculous survival and bloodless victory was expressed by fusing martial and Mariological tropes. A warlike and feisty heroine akin to the biblical Judith and the classical Tomyris, Mary was at once mild and helpless like her namesake the Virgin Mother of God. To bolster Mary's status as the country's first queen regnant, precedents of good governance were drawn from classical mythology and the Bible. She was the English Minerva and Nemesis, Deborah, David, Solomon, and Joshua. In the context of the Spanish marriage and Mary's supposed pregnancy, those associations were supplemented by Old Testament examples of fertility and late motherhood—Sara, Anne, and Elizabeth.

The Florentine coronation pageant compared Mary to Judith, Tomyris, and Pallas Athene. Liberators of their people and slayers of mighty men, Holofernes and Cyrus respectively, the Hebrew Judith and the Scythian Tomyris were apposite models for Mary, not least, as Sydney Anglo has

noted, because “both ancient ladies had decapitated the enemy—and Northumberland had gone to the block only a month before the royal entry.”⁴⁴ But both parallels savored of blood and vindictiveness. That was awkward, for it was becoming expedient to stress Mary’s pacifism and forgiving nature. No wonder references to Tomyris were omitted from subsequent apologias, while those to Judith, to which the Wyatt rebellion lent a new lease of life, came to be carefully circumscribed. The ostensibly uncontroversial invocation of the virgin goddess of wisdom, the Greek Athene or the Latin Minerva, was likewise bent to partisan uses.

The restoration of papal supremacy in November 1554 and ongoing campaign for a Catholic reformation reinforced the efficacy of depicting Mary as Truth, Lady Faith, Helena, Handmaid of God, and His chosen instrument of England’s delivery from schism and heresy. Her status as a godly monarch was promoted by references to Old Testament rulers Joshua, Esdras, and Judas Machabeus, and her learning and wisdom extolled by analogy with Roman noblewomen (Cornelia and Hortensia), early Christians (Paula and Blesilla), and King Solomon.⁴⁵

Scholarly accounts of Elizabethan iconography and political rhetoric have focused on the writings of militant Protestants. Continuities with Edwardian depictions of godly kingship too have been recognized. Given that in the late 1550s the examples of Deborah the judge, Huldah the prophetess, and other Old Testament figures were bandied about by reformers at home and abroad, it is natural that modern scholars have looked to them as both source and context of Elizabeth’s coronation pageantry. However, this near-exclusive concentration on Protestant polemic has overshadowed another set of origins of equal, perhaps greater significance: Marian apologetics of the preceding five years.

VIII

The Marian legacy was ambiguous. Elizabeth was at once eulogized and instructed on how to govern so as to avoid the errors of her predecessor. Yet the obsessive if submerged concentration on Mary attests to abiding worries not only about the weakness of female monarchy but also, perhaps especially, about its strength. From one angle, the fact that Marian panegyric served as an unacknowledged model for encomia on Elizabeth should not surprise us given the profusion of positive images of the Catholic queen. It is those images, not the clandestine diatribes by Mary’s evangelical critics, that were widely disseminated from the pulpit and in print. Unlike modern scholars, moreover, Protestant polemicists were hardly dismissive of Marian propaganda. John Bale, John Knox, John Aylmer, John Foxe, John Plough, Robert Crowley, Lawrence Humphrey, William Heth, and many others took encomia on Mary and apologies for the Catholic religion seriously enough to rebut them in print. As soon as Elizabeth came to the throne, the Protestants set out to wrest the most potent images and tropes from the Catholics and apply them to their queen.

Responses to Marian propaganda took several forms. There were attempts to suppress favorable depictions of Mary and censor writings documenting popular enthusiasm on Mary's accession and the restoration of Catholicism. Then there were point-blank refutations of Marian providentialism and iconography, typically accompanied by efforts to replace adulatory images of Mary with derogatory ones. By far the most common and effective way of dealing with the Marian legacy, however, was to commandeer it, as did the architects of Elizabeth's coronation entry. The takeover of images formerly applied to Mary such as those of Deborah or Truth is one example; the troping of Elizabeth's preservation and accession as miraculous, not least by the queen herself, is another.

Marian publicists had essentially invented the iconography for the first queen regnant as they went along. Yes, they had looked back both to earlier depictions of queen consorts and to erstwhile kingly models, including the royal typology popularized by Edwardian reformers. But unlike the Edwardians before them and the Elizabethans after them, their object, at least in print, had been almost always unadulterated praise and glorification, rather than instruction or criticism disguised as compliment. The absence of didacticism from the bulk of Marian apologetics marks the chasm between the Catholic idea of godly female monarchy and the emergent conception of Providential queenship at Elizabeth's accession. The latter was deeply conflicted. Early Elizabethan Protestants longed for a strong sovereign dedicated to eradicating Roman Catholicism: that was the imperial and militant Elizabeth, prospective supreme governor of the Church, who, combining male and female monarchical attributes, would be the agent of a thoroughgoing reformation and ultimate victor over the popish anti-christ. Such a female ruler would be a fitting counterpart to Mary who, despite having renounced royal supremacy and bowed down to the pope, retained an awesome degree of control and power. But then Elizabeth was still an unknown prospect, and her confessional ambidexterity during Mary's reign certainly did not inspire confidence that she was, in fact, ready for or fully committed to that task. More worrying still was the memory of Mary's willfulness and tenacity manifest in her unremitting pursuit of Catholic restoration and succession. It is in a bid to guard against a repetition of history, with another headstrong female Tudor at the helm, that the evangelicals felt compelled to dilute the ideal of Protestant imperial queenship by fusing it with the image of the weak, untested Elizabeth in dire need of support and advice, and by framing it in quasi-contractual terms.

Poised on the cusp of the new reign before any major decision had yet been taken, Elizabeth's coronation entry was a complex visual and verbal text very much of its moment. In redeploying Marian devices, images, and tropes the entry mapped out a new ideological and artistic program—one that, for all its ostensible hopefulness and optimism, was deeply riven with tensions and contradictions.

Notes

*The work on this essay was made possible by the generosity of several institutions: the Leverhulme Trust, the British Academy, the Huntington Library, the Arts and Humanities Research Council, and Jesus College and the English Faculty at Oxford. I am grateful to Tom Freeman, Helen Hackett, Diarmaid MacCulloch, Thomas F. Mayer, and Rob Hume for valuable comments on earlier drafts, and to the staff of the Huntington Library for their unfailing efficiency and courtesy.

1. Janet Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd* (Leeds: Maney, 1988), 52, 55.
2. In the event, the official opening of Parliament was delayed until 25 January. The critical literature dealing with the entry is too voluminous to detail here. What follows is a selective list of major contributions: Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969, repr. 1997), 344–59; David M. Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry, 1558–1642* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1971), 12–23, and “Elizabeth's Coronation Entry (1559): New Manuscript Evidence,” *ELR* 8 (1978): 3–9; Richard L. DeMolen, “Richard Mulcaster and Elizabethan Pageantry,” *SEL* 14 (1974): 209–21; Helen Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1995; repr. 1996), 41–9; Paulina Kewes, *Drama, History, and Politics in Elizabethan England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming). See also the Introduction to the recent critical edition, *The Queen's Majesty's Passage and Related Documents*, ed. G. Warkentin (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), to which I shall be referring throughout.
3. Judith Richards, “Love and a Female Monarch: The Case of Elizabeth Tudor,” *Journal of British Studies*, 38 (1999): 145ff.
4. Sir Robert Wingfield of Brantham, “The *Vita Mariae Angliae Reginae* of Robert Wingfield of Brantham,” ed. Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Camden Miscellany*, 28 (Camden Society, 4th series, 29, 1984): 269; John Elder, *The Copie of a letter sent in to Scotlande* (London, [1555]), Civ^r. For discussion, see Paulina Kewes, “Two Queens, One Inventory: The Lives of Mary and Elizabeth Tudor,” in *Writing Lives: Biography and Textuality, Identity and Representation in Early Modern England*, ed. Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 187–207.
5. Sydney Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship* (London: Seaby, 1992), 89. Both the first and second editions of Hall's *Union* had been published by Richard Grafton, the likely deviser of this pageant.
6. “*Vita Mariae*,” 251.
7. *Queen's Majesty's Passage*, 80. On Mary and Elizabeth's dynastic claims, see Paulina Kewes, “The Exclusion Crisis of 1553 and the Elizabethan Succession,” in *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives*, ed. Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 45–57.
8. For Elizabeth's reply, see *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I*, ed. T. E. Hartley, 3 vols. (London: Leicester University Press, 1981–95), I: 44–5.
9. Anglo, *Spectacle*, 334–6; King, *Tudor Royal Iconography*, 215–16.
10. Richards, “Love and a Female Monarch,” 149–50.
11. On the symbolism of the closed crown, see Dale Hoak, “The Iconography of the Crown Imperial,” in *Tudor Political Culture*, ed. Dale Hoak (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 54–103.

12. *Queen's Majesty's Passage*, 82.
13. CSPVen, VII: 13. Naturally, many spectators may well have missed the topical allusions altogether or, depending on their religion, nationality, education, social standing, gender and so on, understood one and the same pageant or oration in strikingly different ways.
14. *The Garden of Eloquence... Corrected and augmented* (London, 1593), Niii^v.
15. Kewes, "Two Queens, One Inventory," 197–200.
16. Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 225.
17. *The Works of John Knox*, ed. David Laing, 6 vols. (Edinburgh: Thomas George Stevenson, 1864), II: 29–31.
18. Wingfield, "Vita Mariae," 251–2.
19. See *Old English Ballads 1553–1625, Chiefly from Manuscripts*, ed. Hyder E. Rollins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920), 7.
20. Hackett, *Virgin Mother*, 34–7; King, *Tudor Royal Iconography*, 197–9.
21. *Old English Ballads*, 10–11.
22. *Old English Ballads*, 16.
23. George Marshall, *A compendious treatise in metre declaring the firste originall of Sacrifice* (London, 1554), Ciii^v–Civ^r.
24. Miles Huggarde, *The Assault of the Sacrame[n]t of the Altar* (London, 1554), Eiii^r.
25. John Gwynneth, *A brief declaration of the Notable Victory given of God to oure soveraygne Ladye Quene* (London, 1553), Bi^r.
26. "Vita Mariae," 268, 287; "Robert Parkyn's Narrative of the Reformation," ed. A. G. Dickens, *EHR*, 62 (1947): 78, 81.
27. *Narratio historica vicissitudinis rerum* ([Wittenberg,] 1553) translated into English as *Historical narration of certain events that took place in the kingdom of Great Britain in the month of July, in the year of our Lord 1553*, trans. J. B. Inglis and ed. J. Ph. Berjeau (London, 1865); *A Godly Psalm, of Mary Quene, which brought us comfort all, Through God, whom we of duty praise, that gives her foes a fall* (London, 1553), A4^r. See Marcia Lee Metzger, "Controversy and 'Correctness': English Chronicles and Chroniclers, 1553–1568," *SCJ*, 27 (1996): 440.
28. Pole's letters to Mary of August 13, 1553, August 27, October 2, and November 18, 1553, in *The Correspondence of Reginald Pole*, ed. Thomas F. Mayer, 3 vols. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002–), II: 162–3, 172, 207–8 and 231–2 respectively.
29. Elder, *Copie of a letter*, E6^{r–v}.
30. *Queen's Majesty's Passage*, 98.
31. Elder, *Copie of a letter*, F3^{r–v}. See also Pole's letter to Mary of February 15, 1554 which confirms that the analogy enjoyed a wide currency (*The Correspondence of Reginald Pole*, II: 266).
32. Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen*, 47–8.
33. Susan Frye, *Elizabeth I: The Competition for Representation* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 43.
34. CSPVen, VII: 15.
35. Fritz Saxl, "Veritas Filia Temporis," in *Philosophy and History: Essays Presented to Ernst Cassirer*, ed. Raymond Klibansky and H. J. Paton (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936), 197–222; D. J. Gordon, "'Veritas filia temporis': Hadrianus Junius and Geoffrey Whitney," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 3 (1939–40): 228–40; King, *Tudor Royal Iconography*, 189ff.
36. C. C. Stopes, *William Hunnis and the Revels of the Chapel Royal: A Study of his Period and the Influences which Affected Shakespeare* (Louvain: A. Uystpruyst,

- 1910), 38; *Respublica: An Interlude for Christmas 1553*, ed. W. W. Greg (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), Prologue, l. 33; Elder, *Copie of a letter*, Ciii^v; Junius, *Philippeis, sive in nuptias illustrissim. Principum Philippi & Mariae... Carmen Heroicum* (London, 1554), Ai^v.
37. *Queen's Majesty's Passage*, 85.
 38. David Norbrook, "Panegyric of the Monarch and its Social Context under Elizabeth I and James I" (DPhil, University of Oxford, 1978), 28.
 39. "Lord Keeper's speech in reply to the Speaker's petitions, 25 January 1559," in *Proceedings*, ed. Hartley, I: 42.
 40. *Queen's Majesty's Passage*, 92, 91.
 41. Norbrook, "Panegyric of the Monarch," 21–3; King, *Tudor Royal Iconography*, 227–8; Richards, "'To promote a woman to beare rule': Talking of Queens in Mid-Tudor England," *SCJ*, 28 (1997): 101–21; Hoak, "A Tudor Deborah? The Coronation of Elizabeth I, Parliament, and the Problem of Female Rule," in *John Foxe and his World*, ed. Christopher Highley and John N. King (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 73–88. See also Anne McLaren, *Political Culture in the Reign of Elizabeth I: Queen and Commonwealth, 1558–1585* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 1–64.
 42. Alexandra Walsham, "'A Very Deborah?' The Myth of Elizabeth as a Providential Monarch," in *The Myth of Elizabeth*, ed. Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 143–68; McLaren, *Political Culture*, 237–8.
 43. Only Jennifer Loach and John King have noted that comparisons of Mary to Judith and Deborah were later recycled for Elizabeth. See Jennifer Loach, "The Marian Establishment and the Printing Press," *EHR*, 101 (1986): 140; King, *Tudor Royal Iconography*, 183ff.
 44. Commendone, "Events of the Kingdom of England," in *The Accession, Coronation and Marriage of Mary Tudor as Related in Four Manuscripts of the Escorial*, trans. C. V. Malfatti (Barcelona: Malfatti, 1956), 32; Anglo, *Spectacle*, 321. See also Judith M. Richards, "Mary Tudor as 'sole queen': Gendering Tudor Monarchy," *HJ*, 40 (1997): 899–900.
 45. John Standish, *A discourse wherein is debated whether it be expedient that the scripture should be in English* (London, 1554), Br^r–B2^r; John Christopherson, *An exhortation to all menne to take hede and beware of rebellion* (London, 1554), Ffr^r–Ff2^r; John Angel, *The agrement of the holye Fathers and Doctores of the churche* (London, [1555]?), A3^{r-v}, A5^v; James Cancellar, *The Pathe of Obedience* (London, [1556]?), Cr^v–C2^v. See also Susan Doran's essay, "Elizabeth I: An Old Testament King," in this volume.



CHAPTER 4

THE REFORMATION OF TRADITION: THE CORONATIONS OF MARY AND ELIZABETH

Alice Hunt

I

In 1838, amid preparations for Victoria's coronation, Earl Fitzwilliam complained that "coronations were fit only for barbarous, or semi-barbarous, ages; for periods when crowns were won and lost by unruly violence and ferocious contests."¹ In other words, before the theory of divine right established and safeguarded a successor, the act of coronation was needed to legitimize the new monarch. The purpose of a coronation ceremony in sixteenth-century England was complex: technically, of course, the heir became monarch at the moment of the reigning king's, or queen's, death, by virtue of divine right. But the long-standing tradition and the sacramental logic of the inauguration ritual held fast and the coronation remained for the Tudor monarchs one of the most important ceremonies of their reign. Parliament could resume (with the monarch wearing their specially made crimson coronation robes) only after the heir had been anointed and crowned, and a monarch's effigy would bear a set of his coronation regalia. Only French monarchs equaled the English in their claims for the sacred body of the king; all the Tudors, apart from possibly Edward VI, continued to touch for scrofula—their miraculous, priestly healing powers attributed to the gift of grace bestowed at the moment of their anointing in Westminster Abbey.²

This essay looks in detail at the coronations of England's first queens: Mary and Elizabeth. The traditional form of the English coronation ceremony was enshrined in the fourteenth-century *Liber Regalis* and the Lancastrian book of ceremonies, Henry VI's "Ryalle Book." But both texts cover the crowning of a *male* monarch and his female consort only.³ There was, then, no precedent for the coronation of a queen regnant. With Mary and Elizabeth, the councilors and advisers involved with organizing their coronations had to confront and navigate not only new religious laws and the issue of supremacy but also, for the first time, gender. This essay considers the ways in which Mary and Elizabeth's coronations were adapted to suit both the specific, shifting religious and political contexts, and the

queens' personal preferences and conscience. Religious change necessarily impacted on sacramental interpretations of the coronation, as did the establishment of the supremacy, but this essay takes issue with claims that the coronation was thus rendered "an empty form" and sidelined in favor of the more public, theatrical part of the ceremonies—the pre-coronation procession through London.⁴ What took place in the Abbey during Mary's and Elizabeth's actual ceremonies mattered hugely, and both were scrutinized carefully by home commentators and foreign reporters for clues about the temper of the reign to come.

II

In July 1553, Mary Tudor won the crown back from Lady Jane Grey in a swift coup—the only Tudor rebellion to have succeeded. She was Henry VIII's first daughter and was named as his successor in the 1544 succession act and in his will, but Mary's bastard status following the births of Elizabeth and Edward had never been formally revoked by Parliament. For some then, her legitimacy was questionable. The same was true for Elizabeth in 1558. She too had been proclaimed a bastard but was arguably in an even more precarious position than Mary due to her mother's usurpation of the country's rightful queen (Catherine) and Henry's legitimate heir back in 1532. On her accession in 1558, Elizabeth is reported to have consulted Sir Nicholas Bacon on whether or not she needed Parliament to undo her mark of illegitimacy. The reply was, according to William Camden's *Annales*, "No," since "the Crowne once worne, quite taketh away all defects whatsoever."⁵ The magic indelibility of the ceremony—fit for a "barbarous age" perhaps—is appealed to here. In 1553, however, some of Mary's councilors seemed not to agree with such an interpretation. In September, shortly before Mary was due to be crowned, the imperial ambassadors wrote to Charles V with their latest news from England:

[S]ince our last letters to your Majesty were written, the Queen has sent us word through Scheyfve's secretary that certain Councillors now opine it would be better to hold the Parliament before the coronation, the better to establish and confirm the reign; to discover the intentions of the estates in general and the tendencies of individuals; to discover if there be opposition; to annul the declaration of bastardy made by the Parliament during the life-time of the late King Henry in the year 1535, and declare the late King Edward's testament null and void. We were informed also that there was a good deal of plotting going on against the Queen in this town of London; arquebuses, arrows and other weapons were being collected in various houses, giving cause to fear that during the ceremony of the coronation, as the Queen must proceed to Westminster through the streets of the town for a distance of an English mile or more, some attempt might be made against her person. The Council were now of opinion that Parliament should be held before the coronation to avoid the likelihood of trouble; the Queen was distressed to hear of this alteration... She asked our advice on the matter.⁶

In this report the ambassadors refer to an unprecedented constitutional overhaul in the form of a scheme drawn up by Mary's newly formed council.⁷ Certain members of the council suggested to Mary that the traditional order of coronation and Parliament be reversed—that her coronation should be delayed until her legitimacy and position (and probably her religious intentions too) could be confirmed by a parliamentary session. But if Mary's legitimacy was a potential problem, so too was the legitimacy of an acephalous parliament. Who would “head” this interregnal parliament, since this was constitutionally the monarch's role? It also opened up the possibility that Mary would owe her position to Parliament—that it was primarily “the estates” who ratified her queenship, and not God—and that her authority would be defined and could be limited by such a Parliament.

The ambassadors advised against Mary accepting the proposal, arguing that such a reversal of the established order would render her “more dependent on Council and Parliament than she should be; bridle her so that she cannot marry a foreigner, and bring about her marriage to Courtenay according to the Bishop of Winchester's design; prevent the establishment of religion, and generally, put their intrigues into execution.”⁸ In short, the ambassadors imply, Mary would be unable—as an unanointed queen—to resist certain decisions that that Parliament might make and that would become law. On the advice of the ambassadors, principally Simon Renard, Mary rejected the newfangled proposal, thereby asserting her independence from and defiance of certain members of her council. She would press ahead with her coronation, and on October 1, 1553 she was anointed and crowned in full glory in Westminster Abbey.

On the morning of her coronation, Mary appeared in Westminster Hall dressed in crimson robes, the color traditionally worn by both male monarchs and queen consorts at their coronations.⁹ Catherine of Aragon wore crimson robes when she was crowned alongside Henry in 1509, as did Anne Boleyn for her coronation in June 1533. These crimson robes would, as was also customary, become the monarch's parliamentary robes—authorized, as it were, by their first outing at the coronation and thus a symbolic reminder of the correct relationship between monarch, God, and Parliament. Mary and her peers and clergy gathered in the Hall before they processed to the Abbey along the traditional blue ray cloth. Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester and just released from the Tower, anointed and crowned Mary, and George Day, reinstated as the Bishop of Chichester, gave the address. The “ceremonies and solemnities” proceeded according to, as Holinshed reports, “the old custome,” and thus as a full Roman mass, rather than as communion.¹⁰ Simon Renard reported that the service adhered to “the rites of the old religion,” despite the 1552 Second Act of Uniformity and the publication of the second *Book of Common Prayer* that had replaced “mass” with “communion” and erased the word “sacrament.”¹¹ Consequently, the Bishops of Lincoln and Hereford withdrew from the service when the mass began. That the ceremony adhered to the “old custome” is, of course, a loaded remark in the context of 1553. Holinshed's account goes on to caustically say that the ceremonies

lasted “from ten in the morning till five o’clock in the afternoon.” Another eyewitness account relates how Mary

was ledde iiii or v tymes on the alter, with so many and sondery ceremonies in anoynting, crowning, and other olde customes, that it was past iii almost iiii of the clocke at night or ever she cam from the church agayn... She was ledd likewise between the old bushope of Dyrom... having in hir hande a cepter of golde, and in hir other hande a ball of golde, which she twirled and tourned in hir hande.¹²

For this observer, the “sondery [read Catholic] ceremonies” seem antiquated and tedious, and the orb a mere prop to be “twirled” in Mary’s hand, but to which Mary seemed superstitiously attached. Mary’s coronation, then, was an occasion to be scrutinized for its confessional clues and construed as being reassuringly (for this observer, at least) indicative of her “old” and unreformed attitudes.

On closer examination, though, Mary seems to have been craftier than this, and plans for her coronation seem marked by a tension and an attempt to make the ceremony, to a certain extent, compatible with both established law and her conscience. Anxious that the holy oils consecrated by Edwardian ministers “may not be such as they ought because of the ecclesiastical censures upon the country,” Mary asked the imperial ambassadors to write to the Bishop of Arras in Brussels to prepare three special oils for her anointing.¹³ The bishop duly responded by sending, secretly, three oils usually used for Catholic consecrations. In the letter to the ambassadors that accompanied his enclosures he wrote,

I am sending you the three holy oils the Queen asked for, which are those that I usually carry about with me for the consecrations it is sometimes my duty to perform. I beg you to ask the Queen’s pardon because the vessel is not more ornate; for I did my best to have a new one made, suitable to be placed in her hands, but I failed to find a master who would promise to finish it in less than three weeks, which would have been too late. I consequently preferred to obey her orders literally, rather than to risk failure by attempting too much.¹⁴

Mary knew that her coronation, whether it followed a Roman mass or Edwardian communion, was still in breach of Rome. She asked Henry Penning, Cardinal Pole’s secretary, to request that Cardinal Pole absolve her and her bishops so that “they might be able to say mass and administer the sacraments without sin, until able to have the general absolution.”¹⁵ The matter of the oils and the absolution were not simply a matter of petty confessional politics, but of personal conscience and salvation. Edward VI was, of course, buried according to Protestant rites, but Mary, for example, chose to hold a private mass for her brother in the Tower, conducted by Stephen Gardiner.

Mary clearly confessionalized her coronation, but what exactly was meant by what could mean different things to different people. The provenance of the oils with which she was anointed was secret: for many at Mary’s coronation, then, she was anointed by “legitimate” oils that had

been consecrated according to Edwardian laws. Mary's coronation oath was also left open to variable interpretations. The council attempted to bind Mary to a revised oath, just as Edward VI's had been rewritten in 1547. A copy of the oath that Mary swore is not extant, but the ambassadors (whose advice Mary consulted and who urged her to "follow the old and accustomed" form of the oath) report that Mary "told us afterwards that she had seen the old form of oath wherein no mention was made of the new religion, but it was said that she should observe the laws of England; and in order to remove every uncertainty she would have the words *just and licit laws* added."¹⁶ A letter by Henry Penning also refers to the oath that Mary amended, and in such a way that preserved her royal prerogative:

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; as may be seen by the identical copy.¹⁷

The oath that the Council wished Mary to swear did not seek to tie Mary to certain religious promises, but it did seek to make her comply with the established laws of England, that is, those passed in Edward VI's reign. Mary seems to have got round this by adding "just and licit," but "just and licit" according to whom?

The oath, mass, and provenance of the oils aside, it seems certain that Mary was anointed, invested with the regalia, and crowned according to the protocol for a male monarch—thus following the precedents of her father's and brother's coronations. Interestingly, however, accounts of Mary's coronation are inconsistent and contradictory, particularly those relating to certain ceremonial procedures and the matter of Mary's dress. Such muddled reports possibly reflect the confusion of the reporters (perhaps they didn't even witness the ceremony), but it is striking that it is the presentation of Mary as a sovereign queen, or as a type of queen consort, that is unclear. A manuscript plan for the coronation, drawn up before the coronation since blanks are left for the names of certain key participants, clearly anticipates that Mary will be anointed, as a male monarch would be, in six places—shoulders, back, elbows, hands, and twice on the head—and bestowed with all the regalia, from scepter to spurs.¹⁸ Like Edward (i.e., a male monarch albeit a minor), Mary was crowned three times (echoing papal crownings): with St Edward's crown, the imperial crown "of the realme," and a third crown "to be purposlie made for her grace."¹⁹ The ambassadors, however, report that Mary was anointed only twice—which is how queen consorts were anointed, once on the forehead and once on the breast.²⁰ It is most likely that the ambassadors meant that she was anointed on the head "twice"—which is the correct form—and that they chose to emphasize this since it would press home her sacredness and her position but we cannot be entirely certain of this. The papal envoy Giovanni Francesco Commendone reports that Mary was anointed "on the shoulders, on the breast, on the forehead and on the temples," but he also provides a striking but confusing image of Mary at the end of her coronation.²¹ According to him, Mary was

seated in her throne, holding “in her hands two Sceptres; the one of the King, the other bearing a dove which, by custom, is given to the Queen.”²² It would seem, then, that Mary had been bestowed with all the traditional and consecrated regalia—the scepter, orb, spurs, ring—but that she was also given an item of the regalia that was usually given to a queen consort. Was Commendone mistaken, or was Mary presented in two ways: on the one hand as a sovereign (genderless), and on the other hand as a woman? If this is correct, it does not necessarily follow that the two versions of Mary were in conflict—simply that, perhaps, a female monarch required a new or different type of representation.

For the coronation procession through London on September 30, a manuscript device anticipates Mary as being “richly apparelled with mantle and kirtle of cloth of gold” wearing “upon her head a circlet of gold set with rich stones and pearls, in her Grace’s litter richly garnished with white cloth of gold...and all things thereunto appertaining, according to the precedents.”²³ This is close to the precedent for a queen consort.²⁴ The accounts in *The Chronicle of Queen Jane*, however, and in Holinshed’s *Chronicles* report that Mary “sat in a gown of blew velvet, furred with powdered armeyn, hangyng on hir head a call of clothe of tynsell besett with perle and ston, and about the same apon her head a rond circlet of gold.” Moreover, it goes on to describe how “the said call and circle” were “so massy and ponderous that she was fayn to beare uppe hir hedd with hir handes.”²⁵ Where Commendone describes a simple headdress, this barbed account draws attention to a cumbersome and, by implication, ostentatious and unprecedented crown.²⁶ A male monarch would have ridden bareheaded and a queen consort would have worn a “circlet of gold.” On the day of the coronation, it seems certain that Mary wore crimson parliamentary robes. Again, though, the English account differs and describes a “gown of blew velvett,” which follows no precedent whatsoever. As mentioned above, even queen consorts wore crimson.²⁷

Mary’s coronation adhered to the terms of her faith and her belief in her divine appointment and in God’s grace. She may have rejected the proposal that sought to secure her legitimacy by an act of Parliament first, but she was also aware that her position depended not just on having been anointed Queen of England. An account of her Guildhall speech of February 1554, in the face of the Wyatt uprising against her forthcoming marriage to Philip, records the following powerful words:

If I had been established and consecrated as your Queen by the Grace of God only, as it happened to David, when he was called from the herd he was leading, you would be obliged to show me respect and due obedience solely on account of the holy unction. How much more entitled as I am now to expect all these from you, and it becomes you to tender your obedience to me, your Queen, who by the grace of God, by rightful law of succession, confirmed by your unanimous acclamations and votes, have taken charge of the supreme authority and administration of the Realm of my forefathers, and was proclaimed your Queen.²⁸

Mary here is both David, and more than David. She represents herself—or is represented—as ordained by God but she also emerges as an English warrior queen, as a woman who secured her throne via a significant military triumph, and as a parliamentary queen who owes her position to the “unanimous acclamations and votes” of her people.

III

Five years later, Mary lay dead and the twenty-five-year-old Elizabeth brushed down her sister's cloth of gold coronation robe, had a new bodice made, and donned it for her own coronation in the Abbey on January 15.²⁹ Her dress was not the only hand-me-down. As Paulina Kewes argues in her essay in this volume, the pageantry created for Elizabeth's coronation procession through London on January 14, 1559 borrowed heavily from Mary's. Elizabeth also faced anxiety surrounding both her own legitimacy and the legitimacy of female rule. As with Mary, Elizabeth's mark of bastardy from the 1536 Act had never been legally repealed. Mary had also attempted to bar Elizabeth from the succession, although Elizabeth had ridden behind Mary in her coronation procession in 1553—a visual statement of legitimate female succession apparently restored. But John Knox's excoriating *First Blast* had just been published, in which he had equated female rule with idolatry and tyranny. To emphasize the monstrosity of a (Catholic) woman in power, Knox invokes the coronation regalia:

What, I pray you, shulde this godlie father have saide, if he had sene all the men of a realme or nation fall downe before a woman? If he had sene the crowne, sceptre, and sworde, whiche are the ensignes of the royall dignitie, geven to her, and a woman cursed of God, and made subjecte to man, placed in the throne of justice, to sit as Goddes lieutenant?³⁰

Knox's blast occasioned John Aylmer's more measured response to the anomaly of a queen regnant, a response that appealed to God's “secret purpose.”³¹ But the problem persisted: how should a godly queen be crowned and how should she rule? How could Elizabeth, a godly queen, replace a Catholic idol? In words that recall but reinvent the language of miracle that marked Mary's accession, commentators assimilated Elizabeth's accession into a providential scheme: it was God's will. Aylmer writes of how, when God (a Protestant God) “chuseth him selfe by sending to a king, whose succession is ruled by enheritaunce and lyneall descent, no heires male,” it is “plain argument, that for some secret purpose he myndeth the female should reigne”; John Hales in his coronation oration describes how “it hath pleased his divine providence to constitute your hyghnesse to be our Debora, to be the governesse and head of the body of this Realme.”³² In another echo of anxieties from 1553 regarding a queen's relationship with Parliament, Aylmer explains in his text how it is “not she that ruleth but the lawes” since England is not “a mere Monarchie . . . but a

rule mixte.”³³ A godly queen, a deliverer sent from God, then would also be a parliamentary queen and she would heed good counsel.

In addition to ongoing anxieties about female rule, the exact temper of Elizabeth’s Protestantism, we need to remember, was and remained to be the source of some anxiety for those intent on implementing a particularly radical program of religious reform under her governance. At her coronation, Elizabeth seemed to respond to this by deftly obscuring the matter of her own conscience at a key moment through a powerful ceremonial gesture. Her coronation trod carefully along the lines of established or never formally revoked laws, but certain aspects were more inscrutable than Mary’s, and, in this regard, Elizabeth was perhaps more politically prudent than Mary.

Since the early twentieth century, Elizabeth’s coronation has been interpreted variously by historians. The debate centers principally on what has become the supposed scandal of the coronation mass and the implications of this for England’s religion. Opinion remains divided on whether or not the consecrated host was elevated and, if it was, whether Elizabeth shunned this gesture by getting up and withdrawing into a hidden “traverse,” thereby rejecting Marian and Catholic ceremony and demonstrating her commitment to the “new” religion.³⁴ The controversy stems from the fact that ambassadors’ letters, eyewitness reports, and court records, like in 1553, offer contradictory accounts of the ceremony. Furthermore, unlike previous coronations, including Mary’s, there is no extant “Device” for Elizabeth’s coronation that anticipates the order of the ceremony. It is not completely certain who celebrated the mass—Bishop Oglethorpe or Dean Carew, the newly instated dean of the Chapel Royal—whether the consecrated host was elevated or not, how the host was consecrated, and whether or how Elizabeth took communion.³⁵ The Venetian ambassador Paulo Tiepolo writes in one of his letters about the coronation, at which he was not present, that “of the many particulars heard by me in illustration of this fact I am now able to mention one which very well illustrates the Queen’s mind, viz., that at the mass which she heard on the day of her coronation she did not wish the host to be elevated.”³⁶ The Spanish ambassador, the Count de Feria, has to retract his original report to Philip II. He writes, “By the last post I wrote your majesty that I had been told that the Queen took the holy sacrament ‘sub utraque specie’ [in both kinds] on the day of the coronation, but it was all nonsense. She did not take it at all.”³⁷

While it is never going to be possible to ascertain the exact details of Elizabeth’s ceremony, it seems most likely that the consecrated host was not elevated *and* that Elizabeth was hidden from sight at this point in the service in a curtained “traverse” or “closet.”³⁸ Whether or how she communicated was thus kept secret. The Mantuan envoy Il Schifanoia reports of the ceremony that “the choristers commenced the mass, which was sung by the dean of her chapel, her chaplain, the bishops not having chosen to say mass without elevating the host or consecrating it.”³⁹ That Elizabeth did not agree with the gesture of elevation is known from changes made to the mass in her chapel prior to the coronation. In the Chapel Royal

on Christmas Day 1558, Elizabeth had ordered the Bishop of Carlisle, Owen Oglethorpe, not to elevate the host. Oglethorpe, however, replied that he could not act contrary to his beliefs and elevated the host as usual. Accordingly, Elizabeth rose and departed after the Gospel had been read. Il Schifanoia, reports that, ever since, mass in the Chapel Royal “has been so done by her chaplains,” and hence without the elevation of the host.⁴⁰ The death of Cardinal Pole, the Archbishop of Canterbury, on the day of Mary’s death, and the refusal of the Archbishop of York, Nicholas Heath, to crown Elizabeth meant that the office fell to his suffragen, Owen Oglethorpe. But it was the new dean of her Chapel Royal—George Carew—who seems to have led the coronation mass and there was no reason for him not to omit the elevation of the elements.⁴¹ So Oglethorpe, a Catholic bishop, anointed and crowned Elizabeth but Carew celebrated mass. Il Schifanoia does not, however, mention Elizabeth withdrawing. An anonymous English eyewitness account is more suggestive: “And then her Grace returned into her Clossett hearing the Consecration of the Mass.”⁴² A fragmentary herald’s account is vague but also reports certain movement: “Then the masse began by the Deane she siting still till the offering she went and kissed the patent and had a Collect said over her and went to her traverse and the masse proceeds.”⁴³ A memorandum drawn up prior to the ceremony records that “her Matie in her closett may use the Masse without lyfting up above the Host according to the Ancient customs.”⁴⁴ This memorandum seems to be conclusive evidence that the host was not elevated and that Elizabeth withdrew, although, of course, the use of the word “may” is noncommittal.

Of Elizabeth’s withdrawal, Richard McCoy has concluded that “something potentially scandalous” happened at Elizabeth’s coronation, something that “subverted the rite’s sacrosanctity and symbolic hierarchy.”⁴⁵ This fits in with McCoy’s analysis that Elizabeth’s coronation was, in fact, an “obscure side-show” compared to the pre-coronation procession, and that, as a ceremony, the coronation could no longer legitimize power. But Elizabeth’s withdrawal is more subtle and more ambiguous than this and, conversely, is suggestive of a continued commitment to the ceremony and its form. It was not unusual for a monarch to hear mass and communicate in private, even at the coronation. Henry VIII’s coronation “Device” records that the king and queen would take the sacrament kneeling at the altar but that “two of the grettest estates” would hold before them a “longe towell of Silke.”⁴⁶ The difference in 1509 is that there was no doubt that Henry and Catherine communicated in one kind behind that silk. However, in the political and religious climate of January 1559, the mystery of the mass and Elizabeth’s relationship to it and to the entire ceremony becomes one of the most contested mysteries of all. The point is not that Elizabeth did not observe mass, but that she herself could not be observed, so her attitude to the non-elevation of the host and whether she communicated or not behind the curtain have to remain a matter of her private conscience and our speculation.⁴⁷ In the pressurized context of such religious uncertainty, removing herself from sight at such a central moment was a

way for Elizabeth to retain autonomy and control over her coronation and its meaning. By exploiting a familiar and acceptable ceremonial gesture, Elizabeth both respects the form of the ceremony and protects her private beliefs from scrutiny.

Other evidence suggests that Elizabeth's coronation was openly Protestant in a few crucial respects. Il Schifanoia reports that the consecration prayers were read in English, and the Epistle and Gospel sung in Latin and then said in English.⁴⁸ In departing from the traditional Roman mass through the use of the vernacular and the omission of the elevation of the consecrated elements, Elizabeth's coronation contravened the established practice of the time. But, as Roger Bowers has shown, the coronation also proceeded carefully given the flexibility of ecclesiastical law. The license to read the Epistle and Gospel in English recalled injunctions that had been made in the early years of Edward VI but which had never been rescinded by Mary. A royal proclamation of December 27, 1558 promoted the use of the vernacular in the celebration of high mass but did not make it mandatory. In omitting the elevation of the elements, the mass followed the 1548 Order of Communion that had never been legally abrogated either later in Edward VI's reign or in Mary's reign.⁴⁹ It was not until June 1559 and the Settlement of Religion that the Protestant communion (the term mass being abolished) would be established, and this order of service departed from the prayer books of both 1549 and 1552. The extent of Elizabethan Protestantism at the time of the coronation was uncertain. Neither can it be assumed that Elizabeth's personal beliefs were in harmony with those of her council or of the country.⁵⁰ Elizabeth's coronation rejected Marian ceremony, but whether it forecast a return to late Henrician policy or late Edwardian policy, or something else altogether, remained unknown.

There is further intrigue surrounding Elizabeth's coronation oath. William Cecil's coronation "Articles" specify that "A Copie of the othe that her maiestie shall take to be sene perused by her highnes" and that these relevant "Bokes remayne with the abbott of Westminster," referring perhaps to the *Liber Regalis* in the possession of the Abbey.⁵¹ The English eyewitness offers a very muddled account of Elizabeth's oath-taking:

And the Bishop gave her a Book which she had taking her oath. And after that the Bishop kneeling before the Aulter read in two Bookes; and her Grace gave a little book to a Lord to deliver unto the Bishop. The Bishop returned the book to the Lord, and red other Bookes. And immediately the Bishop took the Queenes booke and read it before the Queene hir grace.

And after that hir Grace kneeled before the Aulter and the Bishop red a booke before her Grace. And immediately her Grace went to shift her apparel.

And the Bishop sang the ____ [blank in original] of the Masse in a Booke which was brought in before the Queene. And then there was a carpet with kussynes of gold spread before the aluter. And Secretary Cycill delivered a Booke to the Bishop and there was a Bishop standing at the left hand of the aluter.⁵²

This reads like a description of an enigmatic dumb-show, at the center of which is the object of a book. It is not at all clear what any of these books are, especially the “little book” delivered to Oglethorpe who then seemingly rejects it, only to then “immediately” take it and read from it. This confusion and Oglethorpe’s rejection suggest some tension. The first book referred to, “which she had taking her oath,” could be the Book of Gospels that, according to the *Liber Regalis*, the monarch swore upon, as well as the sacrament on the altar, upon which all Elizabeth’s predecessors swore. Does this mean that Elizabeth did not swear on the sacrament, but only on the evangelists? The “Queenes booke” could refer either to a prayer book, or perhaps to the text of the oath to be administered at this point, prior to the anointing. If so, however, the book that is handed later to Oglethorpe by “Secretary Cycill” is confusing—the above description suggests that this last book was brought in during or even after the anointing. Most recently, Dale Hoak has argued convincingly that Sir William Cecil was instrumental in Elizabeth’s coronation and that he amended the text of the oath and handed it dramatically to Oglethorpe in the middle of the service, as reported above, just prior to the anointing.⁵³ Hoak describes Cecil’s act as a carefully choreographed piece of theatre: “in one of the most extraordinary scenes imaginable, at the appropriate moment in the ceremony he emerged from the side of the coronation stage and ‘delivered’ to Oglethorpe... the text of the questions.”⁵⁴ This “Booke” has never been found and neither is there any record of the wording of the oath that Elizabeth swore. Hoak, however, suggests that Cecil revised the oath along the lines of the oath amended by Cranmer for Edward VI’s coronation, but that he inserted one crucial line that we know James I swore at his coronation but which Archbishop Laud was later to claim had been inserted before James’s coronation. This line stated that the monarch should promise to obey the “Laws of God, [and] the true profession of the Gospel established in this Kingdom.”⁵⁵ Due to lack of conclusive evidence, however, whether or not Elizabeth did swear such an oath and the nature of her own involvement with the supposed insertion have to remain highly speculative.⁵⁶ It also raises further problems with regards to the rest of the ceremony. If Oglethorpe refused to say mass without elevating the host, would he have agreed to administer an oath that mentioned “the true profession of the Gospel established in this Kingdom”?

Despite these changes, however, Elizabeth’s coronation would have largely echoed the ceremonies of her sister, brother, father, and grandfather. On Sunday January 15, 1559, Elizabeth appeared in Westminster Hall dressed in the traditional crimson parliament robes. Before proceeding to the Abbey, Elizabeth was sprinkled with holy water by Bishop Oglethorpe, as Mary had been by Bishop Gardiner, and she was anointed according to the liturgy stipulated in the *Liber Regalis* for a male monarch that stressed the imparting of God’s grace and the transformation of the monarch’s body—a sacramental logic. Elizabeth was then invested with the consecrated regalia: spurs, sword, ring, scepter, and orb. Like Anne, Edward VI, and Mary, she was crowned three times: with St Edward’s crown, the imperial state crown, and a third crown. This third crown may



Figure 4.1 Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I (The “Coronation” Portrait), unknown artist (c. 1600 [1559?]), National Portrait Gallery, London

also have been that which was “purposelie made” for Mary for her coronation, another hand-me-down from her sister’s reign.⁵⁷

IV

Ceremonies always have to balance tradition and change in order to both retain their legitimizing power, and reflect or fit a new set of religious, political, or cultural circumstances, or the demands and desires of the protagonists. The Tudor coronations were no different, but the pressures exerted on the purpose and form of the ceremony wrought by religious reformation, monarchical supremacy, and the accession of England’s first queen regnants were unprecedented. Despite some claims to the contrary, the Protestant reformation did not render a ceremony such as the coronation redundant. Rather, the level of anxiety, scrutiny, and legal and ceremonial details surrounding both Mary and Elizabeth’s coronations speak of a continuing importance—both religious and political—attached to the ritual, and of a continuing need to work out correct monarchical rule, particularly that of queens and their rites of power. Elizabeth is the only Tudor monarch for whom a coronation portrait is extant. The National Portrait Gallery, London, houses the so-called coronation portrait of Elizabeth, dressed in the cloth of gold robe borrowed from Mary, wearing her hair loose, crowned with an imperial crown and carrying the scepter and orb (see Figure 4.1).⁵⁸



Figure 4.2 Portrait of Queen Mary from the Coram Rege Rolls (1553), The National Archives

It is striking that this coronation portrait represents Elizabeth wearing the gold dress associated with her pre-coronation procession, and thus with the robes traditionally worn by queen consorts on this occasion. We might have expected such a portrait to show Elizabeth in the traditional crimson coronation robes. But, in this, Elizabeth perhaps borrowed again from Mary. The image of Mary on the first plea roll of her reign—the image chosen for the cover of this book and Figure 4.2—also shows Mary wearing the cloth of gold dress and her hair down, symbols of femininity and fertility. Whether Mary and Elizabeth were in complete control of such representation is uncertain, but they used their coronations as occasions to both protect and promote their position as sovereign queens, to assert their particular kinds of authority, even their gender, and to balance tradition, law, and private conscience.

Notes

1. Quoted in David Sturdy, “‘Continuity’ versus ‘Change’: Historians and English Coronations of the Medieval and Early Modern Periods” in *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. János M. Bák (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford: University of California Press, 1990), 243–4.
2. John Adamson, “The Tudor and Stuart Courts 1509–1714” in *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture under the Ancien Régime 1500–1750*, ed. John Adamson (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1999), 102. The “King’s

evil" was another name for scrofula which, it was claimed, could be cured if touched by the monarch—evidence of the monarch's sacred nature.

3. The *Liber Regalis* is held at Westminster Abbey, Westminster Abbey Library MS 38. The "Ryalle Book of the Crownacion of the Kinge, Queene" is reprinted in *The Antiquarian Repertory*, ed. Francis Grose, 2nd edn., 4 vols. (London, 1807–9), I: 296–341.
4. Dale Hoak argues that Edward VI's coronation was rendered an "empty form" and that the supremacy, and a specifically Protestant supremacy, "forever diminished the meaning of a royal coronation." 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*, ed. C. S. Knighton and Richard Mortimer (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 146, 147. Of Elizabeth's coronation, Richard McCoy has argued that, in comparison to her celebrated pre-coronation procession, the religious rite was an "obscure side-show" whose capacity to affirm royal power was no longer believed in: "'The Wonderful Spectacle': The Civic Progress of Elizabeth I and the Troublesome Coronation" in *Coronations*, ed. Bák, 218. In a similar vein, Albert Rolls has described the "Elizabethan disregard" for a coronation and has claimed that "the English, at least those with Protestant leanings, had accepted the delegitimization of the coronation enacted as Elizabeth assumed the throne": Albert Rolls, *The Theory of the King's Two Bodies in the Age of Shakespeare* (Lewiston, Queenston and Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 2000), 101. This essay is not going to discuss Mary and Elizabeth's coronation processions. See my *The Drama of Coronation: Medieval Ceremony in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), and also see Paulina Kewes, "Godly Queens: The Royal Iconographies of Mary and Elizabeth" in this volume.
5. William Camden, *The Historie of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princesse Elizabeth, Late Queene of England* (London, 1630), 18.
6. *CSPSp*, XI: 238.
7. See Alice Hunt, "The Monarchical Republic of Mary I," *Hj* 52 (2009): 557–72.
8. *CSPSp*, XI: 241.
9. Society of Antiquaries MS 123, fol. 4^v; *The Accession, Coronation and Marriage of Mary Tudor as Related in Four Manuscripts of the Escorial*, ed. and trans. C. V. Malfatti (Barcelona: Malfatti, 1956), 32.
10. *Holinsbed's Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland*, ed. Abraham Fleming, 6 vols. (London, 1807–8), IV: 7.
11. *CSPSp*, XI: 262.
12. *The Chronicle of Queen Jane and Two Years of Queen Mary . . .*, ed. J. G. Nichols (London: Camden Society, 1850), 31.
13. *CSPSp*, XI: 220.
14. *CSPSp*, XI: 231.
15. *CSPVen*, V: 430. England was not absolved until the third Parliament in November 1554.
16. *CSPSp*, XI: 239–40.
17. *CSVen*, V: 431.
18. Society of Antiquaries MS 123, fol. 8^v. Mary is likely to have only touched the spurs, on account of her gender. See Anna Whitelock, *Mary Tudor: England's First Queen* (London: Bloomsbury, 2009), 196.
19. Society of Antiquaries MS 123, fol. 8^r.

20. *CSPSp*, XI: 262: "and she was twice anointed."
21. *The Accession*..., ed. Malfatti, 33.
22. *The Accession*..., ed. Malfatti, 34.
23. J. R. Planché, *Regal Records: Or, A Chronicle of the Coronations of the Queens Regnant of England* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1838), 6.
24. Anne Boleyn wore a "circot of white cloth": *Hall's Chronicle Containing the History of England*..., ed. Henry Ellis, 2 vols. (London, 1809), II: 801. Commendone's account describes that Mary—like Anne—was "dressed with a silver robe and a head-dress of precious stones," *The Accession* ..., ed. Malfatti, 31.
25. *The Chronicle of Queen Jane*, 28; Holinshed, IV: 6. In the latter, the "blew" has translated to "purple" which could indicate that Mary wore purple, imperial robes.
26. *The Accession* ..., ed. Malfatti, 31.
27. *The Chronicle of Queen Jane*, 31.
28. Juan Paez de Castro, "A Diary of Events Regarding the Happenings in Connection with the Rebellion of Thomas Wyatt and others following the arrival of the Imperial Ambassadors," in *The Accession* ..., ed. Malfatti, 67.
29. Janet Arnold, "The 'Coronation' Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I," *Burlington Magazine* 120 (1978): 735–41. Arnold transcribes the manuscripts that document the lists of clothing itemized for Elizabeth's coronation. See also Maria Hayward's "Dressed to Impress" in this volume.
30. John Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (Geneva: J. Poullain and A. Rebul, 1558), fol. 29^v.
31. John Aylmer, *An Harborowe for Faithfull and Trewe Subjectes, agaynst the late blowne Blaste* ... (Strasbourg [London], 1559), Biii^r.
32. Aylmer, *An Harborowe*, Biii^r; "An Oration of J. H. [John Hales] to the Queenes majestie, and delivered to her majestie by a certayne Noble man, at her first entrance to her raigne" in John Foxe, *Acts and Monumentes* (1576), 2007.
33. Aylmer, *An Harborowe*, Hiii^v, Hii^v.
34. The debate began in *EHR* with C. G. Bayne's "The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth," *EHR* 22 (1907): 650–73, and continued in this journal until 1910. For an overview of the entire debate, see William Haugaard, "The Coronation of Elizabeth I," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 19 (1968): 161–70.
35. George Carew, formerly Elizabeth's chaplain, replaced the papist Thomas Thirlby within a week of Elizabeth's accession. See Roger Bowers, "The Chapel Royal, The First Edwardian Prayer Book, and Elizabeth's Settlement of Religion, 1559," *HJ* 43 (2000): 322.
36. *CSPVen*, VII: 24–5. It is remarkable that neither Tiepolo nor de Feria, unlike the Mantuan envoy Il Schifanoia, attended the coronation in the Abbey. Ambassadors were certainly invited: the drawings in BL Egerton MS 3320 show a "standinge for all Embassatores" to the right of the high altar, fol. 21^r.
37. *CSPSp*, I: 25.
38. A curtained pew, positioned near the high altar. As William Haugaard points out, closet and traverse could denote, in the sixteenth century, "any kind of area within a church equipped with a faldstool or cushions and cross-wise curtains to provide privacy for some eminent person at prayer": Haugaard, "The Coronation of Elizabeth I": 168. Nevertheless, the signification and whereabouts of this "clossett" or "traverse" have caused some

heated debate, leading A. L. Rowse, for example, to claim that it must be situated in St Edward's Chapel, which is itself also referred to as a "traverse," behind the sanctuary and accessed via a door to the left or right of the high altar. Elizabeth's withdrawal from mass, therefore, would have been a bold, defiant and unprecedented gesture: A. L. Rowse, *An Elizabethan Garland* (London: Macmillan, 1953), 27. Bayne also locates the closet or traverse "with certainty" in St Edward's Chapel: Bayne, "The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth": 661.

39. *CSPVen*, VII: 17.

40. *CSPVen*, VII: 2.

41. The herald writes: "Then the masse began by the Deane," Bayne, "The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth": 671. Il Schifanoya reports that the mass "was sung by the dean of her chapel, her chaplain, the bishops not having chosen to say mass without elevating the host": *CSPVen*, VII: 16. The English report, however, does not differentiate between the Dean and the Bishop: "the Bishop began the Masse," Bayne, "The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth": 670.

42. Quoted in Bayne, "The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth": 670.

43. Bayne, "The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth": 671.

44. Quoted in Richard McCoy, "'Thou Idol Ceremony': Elizabeth I, *The Henriad*, and the Rites of the English Monarchy" in *Urban Life in the Renaissance*, ed. Susan Zimmerman and Ronald F. E. Weissman (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1989), 241.

45. McCoy, "'Thou Idol Ceremony,'" 240.

46. BL Cotton MS Tiberius E VIII, fol. 99^r.

47. Roger Bowers argues that she did communicate, and in both kinds, but that this had to take place in secret because it contravened the law of the time: Bowers, "The Chapel Royal": 327.

48. *CSPVen*, VII: 17, translates the Italian as follows: "the bishops not having chosen to say Mass without elevating the Host or consecrating it, as that worthy individual did; the Epistle and Gospel being recited in English." However, this translation omits the fact that the Epistle and Gospel were also sung in Latin, before they were said in English. Il Schifanoya's account is transcribed in G. Lockhart Ross, "Il Schifanoya's Account of the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth," *EHR* 23 (1908): 533-4.

49. Bowers, "The Chapel Royal": 327.

50. Bowers, "The Chapel Royal," argues for Elizabeth's conservatism relative to her Council's radicalism. On the inconsistency and unfathomability of Elizabeth's private beliefs, particularly her relationship with ceremony, see Patrick Collinson, "Windows in a Woman's Soul: Questions about the Religion of Queen Elizabeth I" in Patrick Collinson, *Elizabethan Essays* (London and Rio Grande: Hambledon Press, 1994), 87-118.

51. BL Harleian MS 6064, fol. 4^v.

52. Quoted in Bayne, "The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth": 667.

53. Hoak, "The Coronations of Edward VI, Mary I, and Elizabeth I," 150. On the confusion of the oath-taking, see also Bayne, "The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth": 667-8. Sir William Cecil had become a member of Elizabeth's privy council on her accession and took the office of secretary.

54. Hoak, "The Coronations of Edward VI, Mary I, and Elizabeth I," 150.

55. Hoak, "The Coronations of Edward VI, Mary I, and Elizabeth I," 150.

56. David Starkey, for example, argues that the “Booke” handed to Oglethorpe by Cecil refers to the coronation pardon: *Elizabeth: Apprenticeship* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2000), 272–3.
57. Society of Antiquaries MS 123, fol. 8^r. BL Harleian MS 6064 records for Elizabeth’s coronation that “the Crowne the Circlett and rynge to be broughte that her highnes maye assaie the same,” fol. 4^v.
58. The painting (artist unknown) is dated to around 1600, but is perhaps a copy of either an earlier portrait contemporaneous with the coronation or of Nicholas Hilliard’s 1570 miniature, which bears a striking resemblance to the 1600 portrait.

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CHAPTER 5

DRESSED TO IMPRESS

Maria Hayward

I

According to Sir Thomas Elyot, in his *Boke Named the Governour* (1531), the imperial crown was the most potent symbol of Tudor authority. Second in importance were the monarch's coronation robes because "we be men and nay aungels, wherefore we knowe nothinge but by outwarde significations." He went on to state that "reporte is nat so commune a token as apparayle."¹ With these words, Elyot preempted the ideas of a range of more recent theorists who have seen clothes as signifying power, authority, and the right to rule.² He also echoed ideas about clothes and the ways in which they could be used to emphasize royal magnificence that were expressed by writers such as Sir John Fortescue.³ Equally significant, but not touched upon by either writer, was the way in which the monarch could exploit the changing sixteenth-century fashions to set themselves apart from the rest of their court.

Studies of Mary and Elizabeth often stress how they differed from each other: different mothers, different religions, different reputations as monarchs, different attitudes to clothes. However, recent research has emphasized the things they had in common, notably the issues of gender and queenship.⁴ This essay examines how both women used clothes to create their identities before and after their accessions, and it considers how their use of clothes as queens regnant compares to the ways in which the Tudor kings used clothes to assert their place at the forefront of English society, their right to rule, and their individual identity. In order to establish what clothes reveal about female royal power in sixteenth-century England, the essay focuses on five themes: clothing for occasions of estate; clothing and the female life-cycle; clothing as an expression of religious beliefs; everyday dress; and the use of clothes as gifts, both given and received.

II

Both Mary and Elizabeth participated in formal court occasions during their father's reign so they would have had first-hand experience of how Henry VIII exploited these occasions to wear purple silk, cloth of tissue, and sables that were reserved for the use of royalty (see Figure 5.1). As such they knew how a monarch was expected to dress on occasions of state and

they closely echoed the royal style used by their grandfather, father, and brother. Even though Henry VIII had declared his daughters illegitimate, he acknowledged their right to rule after him, and they did. For their first entry into London after becoming queen in 1553 and 1558 respectively, Mary and Elizabeth both chose purple, the archetypal royal color. Mary's entry on August 3, 1553 is recorded best; Wriothesley stated in his chronicle that she was dressed "in rich apparell, her gowne of purple velvet French fashion, with sleeves of the same, her kirtle of purple satten all thicke sett with gouldsmithes worke and greate pearle."⁵

In addition to some colors and fabrics being associated with royalty, Mary and Elizabeth wore certain clothes that were specifically linked with monarchical power: namely their coronation robes, their parliament robes, and their garter robes. These robes, consisting of a mantle (an overgarment with a train), a kirtle (a gown), and a hood (a loose covering for the head), were generally listed first in inventories of royal clothing, indicating their political significance and their financial value. Prior to their coronation, three sets of robes were made for each of the male Tudor monarchs (crimson velvet worn en route to the coronation, cloth of gold worn during the anointing, and purple velvet for afterward). Those made for both Tudor queens regnant followed the traditional model, asserting their role as England's sovereign, but they were worn in a different sequence, with the white cloth of gold robes chosen for the pre-coronation procession.⁶ In addition, the neckline, sleeves, and waistline of the kirtle made for female wearers reflected the fashionable line for women.⁷ These formal robes were very expensive and this at least partially explains why the gold robes and the crimson velvet parliament robes that were made for Mary in 1553 were remade and lengthened for Elizabeth to wear at her coronation in 1559.⁸ Walter Fish, Elizabeth's tailor, was paid 13s 4d for translating or remodeling "a mantle surcoat and kirtle of cloth of gold tissue with gold and silver of the queen's majesty's store."⁹ This recycling of ceremonial robes was unique amongst the Tudor monarchs and it was reflective more of economy than of sisterly feeling.

This point also holds true when the Tudor queens' consorts are considered. Although Anne Boleyn took Catherine of Aragon's jewelry, her barge, and the christening robe that she had brought from Spain, she did not take her coronation robes. Taking the barge, for example, indicated Anne's ascendancy over Catherine and the degree of her influence over the king. However, taking her predecessor's coronation robes would only serve to emphasize her place as the second wife. Preparations for Anne's coronation included orders being placed for a kirtle and mantle of cloth of gold furred with ermine, a lace of silk and gold with tassels for the mantle, a circlet of gold garnished with precious stones, and a kirtle and mantle of purple velvet furred with ermine with a lace for the day of the coronation.¹⁰ In terms of quality and style these robes echoed those made for her stepdaughter and passed to her daughter. However, there was one very significant difference: Anne's robes were cut to emphasize her pregnancy with the hoped-for male heir.¹¹



Figure 5.1 Mary I by Hans Eworth (1554), Society of Antiquaries, London

The crimson robes made for the coronation served as the monarch's parliament robes. Parliament played an important part in the political lives of all the Tudor monarchs and this was reflected by the monarch being depicted dressed in their robes in the formal portraiture on the plea rolls and, in Elizabeth's case, in a number of portraits.¹² The Michaelmas roll for 1553 depicted Mary in her gold robes, while others including that for 1554 show her wearing the scarlet parliament robes.¹³ As such, Mary chose to continue the imagery associated with her coronation for the rest of the year, before switching over to the model used by the male Tudors. Although the crimson robes were a mark of status, accounts reveal that Elizabeth struggled with the weight of her parliament robes as she got older and that she had the fur lining removed.¹⁴

The same crimson robes were used to dress the dead monarch's funeral effigy. Mary's effigy was "appareled in robes of Estate with a crowne on her hed the ball and sceptor in her hand as her fingers being richly sett with rings."¹⁵ The hearse was "garneshed and sett with Angelles morners and Qwenes in their Robes of Estate" and this imagery reflected both her religious conformity and her status as queen.¹⁶ Elizabeth's effigy was also dressed with the level of care thought appropriate for the monarch.¹⁷ Although the formal descriptions of the funeral indicate that the effigy was dressed in the "clothe of golde and silver tissue kirtle" used for Elizabeth's coronation and the crimson velvet mantle of her parliament robes, the costly robes were then returned to the royal wardrobe for safe storage.¹⁸

The relationship between the half-sisters was sometimes cordial, sometimes competitive. Once queen, two of the ways in which Mary asserted her authority over Elizabeth involved clothing. First, although Mary included her sister at key occasions such as her coronation or when Philip left England on August 23, 1555, the clothes selected for Elizabeth were intended to emphasize her inferior position. When Mary entered London on September 30, 1553 for her coronation she wore white cloth of gold.¹⁹ The sources are unclear on whether Elizabeth and Anne of Cleves wore red velvet, like the ladies, or cloth of silver, which would have marked them out as superior to the ladies but still of lesser status than Mary.²⁰ Second, Mary could elevate other women, including Frances Grey, countess of Suffolk, and Margaret Douglas, countess of Lennox, into her sister's rightful position.²¹ One way in which Elizabeth could counter this competitive use of clothing was by dressing simply. She did this by adopting dark colors worn with little or no jewelry.

As monarchs, Mary and Elizabeth were both head of the Order of the Garter as their father had been. Although the surviving Great Wardrobe accounts of Henry VII, Henry VIII, and Mary make no reference to their garter robes being altered, Elizabeth's accounts demonstrate a deep concern with the fashionable cut of her garter kirtle with alterations to the sleeves, bodice, and skirt being made in 1564, 1571, 1575, 1577, 1578, 1580, 1583, 1587, and 1595.²² As such it was possible for the monarchs to modify their formal robes to reflect changes in taste and fashion and for Elizabeth to stamp her own identity on these otherwise very traditional garments. While Mary adopted a magnificent style of dress, Elizabeth tempered magnificence with fashion to set herself apart.

III

For a queen to produce a legitimate heir, she would have experienced betrothal, marriage, pregnancy, childbirth, and, prior to the Reformation, churching. Each event would have been marked with specific ceremonies, festivities, and special clothes.²³ By marrying, Mary followed the accepted female path that her mother, Catherine of Aragon, and her maternal grandmother, Isabel of Castile, had followed before her. Her experiences, therefore, differed from those of her unmarried sister, Elizabeth. From her early childhood, Mary's hand in marriage had formed a key part of Henry VIII's foreign policy. For example, on October 5, 1518 Mary, aged two, was betrothed to the dauphin under the terms of the Universal Peace with France. She was dressed royally "in cloth of gold, with a cap of black velvet on her head, adorned with many jewels."²⁴ In contrast, although Elizabeth toyed with the idea of marriage in 1560 and 1579, none of the negotiations came to anything. Even so, there are glimpses of how she presented herself as a prospective bride. In the portrait sent to Eric XIV of Sweden in 1560 she was dressed in scarlet velvet and cloth of gold.²⁵

When Mary married Philip of Spain in 1554 her gown and round kirtle were made from cloth of tissue, the costliest of the cloths of gold. As was

appropriate on such a significant occasion, the gown was in the French style that was often used for formal events: "one frenche gowne of riche golde tissue with a border of purple satten allover enbrodered with purles of damaske golde and pearle lined with purple Taphata."²⁶ Mary dressed her husband in her own image for their wedding: "His breeches and doublet were white, the collar of the doublet exceeding rich, and over all a mantle of rich cloth of gold, a present from the queen, who wore one of the same."²⁷ After her marriage, Mary used her wardrobe warrants to order gifts of clothing for "our moste dere and most enterlie beloved housbande," including a gown of purple tissue and another of crimson tissue.²⁸ In this Mary emulated her father, who had ordered clothing for Catherine of Aragon on his warrants.²⁹ Elizabeth preserved these mementos of her sister's marriage and in 1600 they were listed amongst the "Gownes late Queene Maries" and a group of kirtles.³⁰ In spite of their high financial value, it is surprising that Elizabeth kept this gown and kirtle in her wardrobe of the robes. However, since she had opted to wear the coronation robes of the first Tudor queen who demonstrated that a woman could rule England, it is possible that Elizabeth had also considered wearing Mary's wedding garments for her own wedding, which was much discussed in the early years of her reign. In addition, keeping this reminder of her sister's marriage is reminiscent of Henry VIII preserving the garter robes of his elder brother Arthur.³¹

On November 28, 1554 Mary announced her pregnancy at court visually rather than verbally by using her clothing to emphasize her condition.³² She sat under her cloth of estate in the great chamber at Whitehall "richly apparelled, and her belly laid out, that all men might see that she was with child."³³ This description compares closely with the accounts of Jane Seymour's developing pregnancy in 1537. For instance, on May 23 the Lisles were informed that "The Queen's Grace is great with child, and shall be open-laced with stomacher betwixt this and Corpus Christi Day."³⁴ Later in the century there was a short-lived vogue in England for pregnancy portraits that stressed the fecundity of the sitters and contrasted it with Elizabeth's virginity.³⁵ When rumors circulated about Elizabeth being pregnant, it was, however, linked to her flirtation with Robert Dudley rather than any change in her style of dress. Indeed, if there had been any truth in the view promoted by Henry Hawkins in 1581 that Elizabeth went on progress "to be delivered" then she would have actively selected clothes that disguised rather than emphasized her pregnancy.³⁶

Since she had chosen not to marry, Elizabeth could emphasize her unmarried state on occasion by dressing in styles permitted to single women such as the low neckline, the open ruff, and wearing her hair loose.³⁷ However, in spite of the promotion in her portraiture of the idea of a virgin queen supported by the mask of youth, for those who met her in person these styles became less suitable and provoked comment as she grew older. In 1598 Paul Hentzer saw Elizabeth on her way to chapel. Although she was 66 years old, "her bosom was uncovered, as all the English ladies have it, till they marry."³⁸ This style was recorded in a number of the queen's portraits



Figure 5.2 Queen Elizabeth I (“The Ditchley Portrait”) by Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger (c. 1592), National Portrait Gallery, London

such as the Ditchley portrait (c. 1592, see Figure 5.2), the Hardwick portrait (1599), and the Rainbow portrait (c.1600–1602), but not universally, the Armada portrait (1588) being an exception. In other words, Elizabeth had the best of both worlds. Sartorially, she could draw on the benefits of being unmarried and also wear the clothes usually reserved for married women. As such she could use her appearance to vindicate her decision not to marry and shun the usual female life-cycle.

IV

Like the Tudor kings, the Tudor queens regnant could express their piety through their dress either during the cycle of events that marked the observance of the liturgical year or as part of their own religious devotion. The ways in which the liturgical year was observed changed markedly with the Reformation, introducing variations that highlight the differing religious views of Mary and Elizabeth.³⁹ Mary followed a pattern similar to that followed by Henry VII and Henry VIII, who had observed the traditional religious feast days, the days for crown-wearing, and the days for wearing purple and crimson laid down in fifteenth-century royal household ordinances.⁴⁰ Her siblings, Edward and Elizabeth, broke with

these traditions and established a different ceremonial cycle, thereby demonstrating that religious belief rather than gender was more important in defining how the Tudor monarchs celebrated the liturgical year and weekly observance.

Elizabeth took a leading role in the collar-day processions that were held on the key days of the pre-Reformation calendar. On collar days, the knights of the Garter and the leading officers of the royal household wore their respective collars as a visual reminder of their service to the crown.⁴¹ It has been suggested that a painting attributed to Robert Peake (c. 1601) depicts Elizabeth crowned, dressed in white, and participating in a collar-day procession. She was surrounded by her leading courtiers and household officials including George Carey, her lord chamberlain, and Edward Somerset, fourth earl of Worcester and master of the horse. Collar days, which were a vehicle for sumptuous dress, were a way of converting the key days of the liturgical year into part of court ceremonial. Another significant date was November 17, the anniversary of Elizabeth's accession. On this day in 1585, Wedel described her as being "dressed in white," adding that she "appeared like a goddess such as painters are wont to depict."⁴²

Even so, certain days such as Maundy Thursday and certain practices, such as touching for the king's or queen's evil, were observed by all Tudor monarchs and their consorts. In c. 1560 Levina Teerlinc painted a miniature recording one of the Elizabethan Maundy ceremonies at which the queen was present dressed in a blue gown with a train.⁴³ On one level the choice of blue was appropriate as this was the royal color of mourning for the early Tudors, and this was a day of mourning. However, the Great Wardrobe accounts show that Elizabeth did not order a special gown for the Maundy ceremonies as Henry VII, Henry VIII, and Mary had. Annually, all three wore gowns of violet wool, dyed in grain and trimmed with marten fur.⁴⁴ Like Henry VIII's other wives, Catherine of Aragon observed Maundy Thursday and she too wore a violet gown, but it was furred with gray, possibly in acknowledgment of her status as queen consort.⁴⁵ So although the miniature and the accounts suggest that Elizabeth broke with tradition, it is not possible to establish whether the blue dress is an accurate record of what she wore in 1560 or artistic license.⁴⁶

Moving to consider the queens' more personal expressions of their religious beliefs, Mary often carried a rosary and wore a pendant cross, just as her mother had favored a brooch with the IHS monogram (representing the Greek word for Jesus). Catherine had also bequeathed to her daughter a collar with a cross that she had brought from Spain.⁴⁷ Elizabeth made very little use of religious insignia, although, as a young girl, she occasionally carried (like Anne Boleyn) a girdle book. During her brother's reign, Elizabeth chose to appear at court in a simple style and also to be painted thus, favoring black and white—an understated appearance that was intended to reflect her religious views. John Foxe noted that "she had so little pride of stomach, so little delight in glistening gazes of the world, in gay apparel, rich attire and precious jewels that . . . she never looked upon those that her father left her."⁴⁸ Lady Jane Grey took a similar stance when

she rejected a gift of “goodly apparel of tinsel cloth of gold, and velvet laid on with parchment lace” from Mary. “What shall we do with it?” she asked. The reply was, “Marry, wear it.” To which Jane responded that that “were shame, to follow lady Mary against God’s word, and leave my lady Elizabeth, which followeth God’s word.”⁴⁹ This was a style and a standpoint that Elizabeth continued to display during Mary’s reign, and her somber appearance contrasted with the bright colors of her sister’s Catholic court. However, once married, Mary did adopt the more somber style of dress favored in Spain and the two sisters would have looked more similar.

Sunday observance was important to both queens and they expressed this through the clothes that they selected. In 1537 Mary asked whether she should wear mourning for Jane Seymour on Easter Sunday. When given permission to wear what she liked, Mary sought her father’s approval to wear “her whiten taffaty edged with velvet, which used to be to his own liking, whenever he saw her grace, and suiteth to this joyful feast of our Lord’s holy rising from the dead.”⁵⁰ In contrast, in the 1590s one foolhardy preacher criticized Elizabeth during a Sunday service for vanity expressed through her clothing choices:

One Sunday...my lord of London preached to the Queen’s Majesty and seemed to touch on the vanity of decking the body too finely. Her Majesty told the ladies that “if the bishop held more discourse on such matters, she would fit him for heaven—but he should walk thither without a staff and leave his mantle behind him.” Perchance the bishop hath never sought Her Highness’ wardrobe, or he would have chosen another text.⁵¹

However, perhaps the most poignant expression of Mary’s personal beliefs was her wish to be buried dressed in a nun’s habit.⁵² This was an expression of her piety and this type of request was not without precedent. Her mother was known to wear a habit of the order of St Francis, as did several male Habsburgs, her husband’s relatives.⁵³

V

Both Mary and Elizabeth received numerous gifts of clothing from their mothers and the girls’ loss of a maternal influence was reflected in many ways, including a diminished wardrobe. They both would have learned young the link between dress and status. Evidence for the years prior to their accessions is fragmentary but reveals different facets of their attitudes to clothes. Mary’s privy purse accounts from the 1540s record how she used her limited resources to keep her appearance as sumptuous as possible and thus suited to her status as her father’s firstborn child.⁵⁴ By contrast, Elizabeth’s household accounts for 1551–52 reveal a wardrobe of someone seeking to keep a low profile. The main purchase for the year was enough wrought velvet for a gown, black velvet for a kirtle, matching sleeves, two French hoods, and partlets, altogether costing £43 7s 2d. There were two other purchases of fabric: damask and crimson satin

costing £8 15s 3d and velvets and silks worth £79.⁵⁵ It is quite possible that their limited access to suitable clothing prior to their accessions explains why both Mary and Elizabeth ensured that they had a sumptuous wardrobe once they became queen.

The Great Wardrobe and its staff worked during the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth to meet their clothing needs, just as they had done for Henry VII, Henry VIII, and Edward VI.⁵⁶ However, the wardrobe of the robes had to have a female staff to serve a female monarch and so a mistress of the robes was appointed to work with the yeoman of the robes. This role often went to a confidante of the queen: Mary's mistress of the robes was Susan Tonge, who was also referred to as Mistress Clarencieux, while Elizabeth's chief lady-in-waiting and first mistress of the robes was Kat Astley. Prior to their accessions, Mary and Elizabeth maintained their own specialist craftsmen including a tailor, skinner, silk woman, and cordwainer, but on a more ad hoc basis. These individuals were often organized and paid by the male officers of the wardrobe of the robes.

Clothes were intimately linked to theories about royal magnificence by the use of expensive, luxurious fabrics, by the number and variety of garments owned by an individual, and by the frequency with which new or different clothes were worn.⁵⁷ This is evident in a comment made by Venetian ambassador Giacomo Soranzo who described Mary's clothes in the following terms: "She seems to delight above all in arraying herself elegantly and magnificently," adding that "she also wears much embroidery and gowns and mantles of cloth of gold and cloth of silver of great value and changes them every day."⁵⁸ Similar comments were made about the scale and quality of Elizabeth's clothes. For instance, in 1599 Thomas Platter described the queen as being "most lavishly attired in a gown of pure white satin, gold-embroidered... in short she was most gorgeously apparelled."⁵⁹ The lavish nature of Elizabeth's clothes is borne out by the 1600 inventory of her wardrobe that provides evidence of its scale, as well as an overview of the hierarchies of fabrics, colors, and garment types.⁶⁰ Following the pattern established by Henry VIII, Mary and Elizabeth ordered their clothes from the Great Wardrobe twice a year, in the spring and autumn.⁶¹ The scale and quality of the royal wardrobe was intended to place it out of reach of the rest of society. As such, both women exploited ideas of royal magnificence to the full, just like their father.

While the gown was the staple item in the female wardrobe, the loose gown or nightgown could be worn in private when a less formal style was appropriate. Mary ordered a number of loose gowns or nightgowns and it is possible that these were more comfortable than the more tailored garments, especially during her phantom pregnancy and periods of ill health. However, there are almost no references to Mary's appearance in private. But there are several hints about Elizabeth's private attire. Dressing was a long and complex process and, from personal preference, Elizabeth quite often dressed late in the morning.⁶² On May 3, 1578, Gilbert Talbot happened to catch sight of the queen at her window, and she "shewed to be greatly ashamed thereof, for she was unreddy, and in her nyght stuffe."⁶³

More interestingly, in 1597 Elizabeth received the French ambassadors in her nightgown but was concerned and asked, "What will these gentlemen say to see me so attired? I am much disturbed that they should see me this way."⁶⁴ While it was not unheard of for Henry VIII to receive visitors, such as William Cavendish, in his nightgown, there were different codes of what was appropriate for men and women. When Essex rushed into Elizabeth's bedchamber on the morning of September 28, 1599 to find her in her nightgown and with "her grey hairs about her ears," she responded by stripping him of his offices.⁶⁵

Foreign styles of clothing could be adopted in a number of ways. Spanish dress was worn by Catherine of Aragon on occasion to emphasize her heritage.⁶⁶ These styles were also favored by her daughter, especially after her marriage to Philip of Spain. This is even more understandable in light of the Spanish criticizing her English wardrobe. One Spaniard described Mary as "a perfect saint" but added that she "dresses very badly."⁶⁷

Alternatively, although Anne of Cleves wore the styles favored in the Low Countries for her wedding she soon adopted English dress. These examples illustrate the ways in which clothes could be used by foreign queens to assert their identity or to indicate their adoption of another. However, foreign styles of dress were also fashionable in their own right. Mary and Elizabeth both wore gowns in the French, Spanish, Dutch, and Venetian styles, as did their father, suggesting that the proliferation of styles inspired by foreign dress was adopted first within the male wardrobe, and then the female.

English queens and princesses could use foreign styles of dress politically. For example, Henry VIII ensured that his sister Mary had French, English, and Italian gowns in her trousseau for her marriage to Louis XII. Similarly, in 1582, Elizabeth sent her portrait to France during the discussion over whether she would accept the duke d'Alençon, Catherine de Medici's son, as her husband. Reports from France stated that "The ladies . . . noted with satisfaction that she was attired all over *à la Française*."⁶⁸ However, on occasion the choice of style is at first sight harder to explain. Elizabeth, for example, selected French court dress and a French style headdress for the Armada portrait of c. 1588 that celebrated the English victory over the Spanish fleet.⁶⁹ One possible explanation for her choice is that French styles were regarded as the most formal and so would be suited to a portrait recording a great English victory. As such, dress did not always denote nationalism.

VI

On September 7, 1553 Henri II of France was advised that Mary would appreciate gifts of clothing "because she is . . . one of those ladies who takes the greatest pleasure in clothes."⁷⁰ Elizabeth was equally fond of clothes and both sisters had inherited this trait from their father, a fact that was understood and exploited by those around them. The value of clothing can be seen in the way that it was given as gifts to the monarch, chiefly at

New Year but also at other times including during the summer progresses. Henry VIII had received doublets, shirts, bonnets, and jewelry on quite a regular basis as New Year gifts, but plate and money were more popular.⁷¹ However, by the middle of Elizabeth's reign, clothing was the leading gift, with donors making careful enquiries with her ladies and gentlewomen of the privy chamber and bedchamber about her preferences.⁷² In 1584 clothes or accessories formed 51.8 percent of her gifts, money accounted for 26.9 percent, and jewelry came to 7.4 percent, while plate was a mere 0.4 percent.⁷³

Gifts given at New Year or at other times could significantly augment a princess's or queen's wardrobe. In 1543 Mary received a number of gifts including a gown "of Carnation Saten of the venice fashion" from Lady Margaret Douglas.⁷⁴ Elizabeth's haul in 1584 was significant: she received seven foreparts, five doublets, and four petticoats, as well as six ruffs, two pairs of cuffs, and a pair of slippers. These items were sumptuous and chosen with care, as in the case of Baroness Lumley's present of "a mantle of white striped Lawne set with Tufts and Spangells of black silke."⁷⁵ Five years later the baroness presented "a wastcoate of white taffety, imbrodered all over with a twist of flowers of Venis gold, silver and some black silke."⁷⁶

Gift giving was supposed to be a reciprocal process, as indicated by a skirt of crimson satin that Mary Queen of Scots had sent to Elizabeth in 1574, one that she had embroidered herself. The aim of the gift was made clear in a letter sent by the French ambassador who noted that "the present was very agreeable, for she found it very nice and has prized it much; and she seemed to me that I found her much softened towards her."⁷⁷ Although the skirt did not have the desired effect, both Mary and Elizabeth used gifts to seek favor with their father and his later wives. They also exchanged gifts with each other. Perhaps not surprisingly, Mary usually had the upper hand as the older sibling. In 1537 her privy purse accounts reveal that she spent 12s on silver thread to embroider a box for Elizabeth, while on January 1, 1543 she received a little chain and "a payr of housen gold & silke" from "my lady Elizabeth."⁷⁸

Perhaps more telling is the way in which the Tudor monarchs regularly gave their clothing away as perks to members of their households, friends, and foreign visitors to court. This pattern is most evident during the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth because both of them have left relatively large amounts of documentation including the wardrobe books of James Worlsey and Mary Scudamore.⁷⁹ Although the recipient could have worn the clothing with royal permission, preserving the item as a record of royal favor or recycling the cloth were more likely, thus making the gender of the recipient less significant. For example, in 1578 Elizabeth gave Sir Francis Walsingham four gowns including "One Frenche Gowne of carnacyon clothe of golde tyssewed with golde & silver lined with crymsen sarceonet."⁸⁰ Taking the specific garments out of the equation, which were naturally dictated by the wearer's gender, the Tudor queens regnant used their clothes in ways very similar to how their male

counterparts did. Dressing magnificently was essential for any monarch, but more so for Mary and Elizabeth because of the negative contemporary view of female monarchs. Their clothes proclaimed clear messages of magnificence, authority, and religious devotion. While Mary presented a stately and elegant image throughout her reign, Elizabeth's attitude to clothes changed over time.⁸¹ Although she favored sumptuous, fashionable dress during her father's reign and her own, she adopted much simpler styles during the reigns of her brother and sister. Equally, while the quality of her wardrobe was important for much of her life, by 1603 Giovanni Scaramelli noted that she was less conscious of fashion and "her skirts were much fuller and began lower down than is the fashion in France."⁸² Even so, in 1600 gaining an audience with Elizabeth I was the highpoint of the well-connected traveler's visit to England. Baron Waldstein was left with a lasting impression of the queen "glittering with the glory of majesty," an image in which her clothes were synonymous with her authority, wealth, and right to rule.⁸³

Notes

1. Thomas Elyot, *The Book Named the Governour*, ed. H. H. S. Croft (London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Co., 1880), 188, 201.
2. For example, Thorstein Veblen and Georg Simmel. See M. Carter, *Fashion Classics from Carlyle to Barthes* (New York and Oxford: Berg, 2003).
3. *Sir John Fortescue: The Governance of England*, ed. C. Plummer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885), 125.
4. For example, Judith M. Richards, "To promote a woman to beare rule: Talking of Queens in Mid-Tudor England," *SCJ*, 28 (1997): 101–21.
5. Charles Wriothesley, *A chronicle of England during the reigns of the Tudors from A. D. 1485 to 1559*, 2 vols. (London: Camden Society, 1875–77), I: 93.
6. Judith M. Richards, *Mary Tudor* (London: Routledge, 2008), 135–7.
7. See J. Ashelford, *A Visual History of Costume: The Sixteenth Century* (London: Batsford, 1983).
8. Janet Arnold, "The Coronation Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I," *Burlington Magazine*, 120 (1978): 727–41.
9. TNA LC 2/4/3, fol. 7.
10. BL Egerton MS 985, fols. 58^v–59^v.
11. Maria Hayward, *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII* (Leeds: Maney, 2007), 47.
12. E. Auerbach, *Tudor Artists* (London: Athlone Press, 1954), 96–101.
13. TNA KB27/1168 and KB27/1172.
14. Janet Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd* (Leeds: Maney, 1988), 59.
15. TNA SP12/1, fol. 74^r; A. Harvey and R. Mortimer, *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994), 55.
16. TNA SP12/1, fol. 75^v.
17. TNA 315/3145, fol. 25.
18. Harvey and Mortimer, *Funeral Effigies*, 156.
19. Richards, *Mary Tudor*, 135–7.
20. Robert Tittler, *The Reign of Mary I* (London and New York: Longman, 1983), 87.

21. Richards, *Mary Tudor*, 154, 224.
22. Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth*, 65–6.
23. Hayward, *Dress*, 129–41.
24. *LP*, II.ii: 4481.
25. Illustrated in M. Perry, *Elizabeth I: The Word of a Prince* (London: Folio Society, 1990), 153.
26. A. Carter, “Mary Tudor’s Wardrobe,” *Costume*, 18 (1984): 16.
27. *The Chronicle of Queen Jane and Two Years of Queen Mary...*, ed. J. G. Nichols (London: Camden Society, 1850), 167.
28. TNA E101/427/11, fol. 38.
29. For example, TNA E101/417/3, no. 68; Hayward, *Dress*, 178–9.
30. BL Stowe MS 557, fols. 8^r and 9^v; Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth*, 254–5.
31. BL Harley MS 1419, fol. 398^r; *The Inventory of King Henry VIII: The Transcript*, ed. David Starkey (London: Harvey Miller, 1998), entries 14177–8.
32. Hayward, *Dress*, 195–7.
33. BL Harley MS 419, fol. 132; *CSPVen*, VI: 174. However, when she was painted by Antonis Mor he made no reference to her condition even though she was rumored to be with child. See *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England 1530–1630*, ed. Karen Hearn (London: Tate Publishing, 1995), 54.
34. *The Lisle Letters*, ed. M. St Clare Byrne (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), IV: 880.
35. Karen Hearn, “A Fatal Fertility? Elizabethan and Jacobean Pregnancy Portraits,” *Costume*, 34 (2000): 39–43.
36. Carole Levin, “‘We shall never have a merry world while the Queen liveth’: Gender, Monarchy and the Power of Words,” in *Dissing Elizabeth: Negative Representations of Gloriana*, ed. J. M. Walker (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 89.
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CHAPTER 6

ELIZABETH I: AN OLD TESTAMENT KING

Susan Doran

I

Representations of Elizabeth as the Old Testament heroines, Deborah, Esther, Jael, and Judith, have been widely explored, thanks to the pioneering work of Professor John King.¹ It is now well understood how these biblical figures were used both to counter attacks on the legitimacy of female rule and to provide exemplars of godly conduct to a Protestant queen. Much less fully appreciated, I think, is the extent and variety of associations made between Elizabeth and a long line of *male* prophets, judges, and kings in the Hebrew Bible: David, Gideon, Elias, Hezekiah, Joseph, Joshua, Josiah, Moses, Saul, Solomon, and more besides.² Scholars, moreover, seem not to have noticed that while biblical women tended to drop out of the contemporary literature after Thomas Bentley's *Monument of Matrones* in 1582, Protestant writers, preachers, and politicians continued to draw parallels between Elizabeth I and male biblical figures—especially David and Solomon—until the queen's death.³

Elizabeth was, of course, neither the first nor last early modern English monarch to be fashioned as David or Solomon. A 1486 pageant presented Henry VII as a David triumphing over Goliath (Richard III), while more than a century later John Davies called the first Tudor king "England's Salomon" on the grounds that they both understood that "the safetie, and weale" of their state "Rested in wealth and peace, and quiet raigne / And not in forraine Conquests, and debate."⁴ Following his assertion of the royal supremacy, Henry VIII was regularly depicted as a theocratic king in the mold of David and Solomon; although after his death, Henry's lust for Anne Boleyn was portrayed as analogous with David's for Bathsheba. James I too was closely associated with both biblical kings. He came to be linked with David because of his sponsorship of a new English Bible and his own translation of the Psalms; comparisons with Solomon were made on the basis of their writings, their wisdom, their difficult minorities, their policies toward the church and state, and even their similar "white and ruddy" complexions.⁵ Only Mary I was not connected to the Old Testament kings, no doubt because by 1553 they were primarily associated with the royal supremacy and theocratic kingship.

It is only because scholars have been so mesmerized by Elizabeth's image as Deborah and the Virgin Queen that they have not emphasized this continuing tradition of royal representation. They have also not examined the various political messages and meanings in the queen's image as David and Solomon. In this essay I aim to show how the identification of Elizabeth with these two biblical kings was used to offer a critique of the queen's religious policies, to combat the Catholic challenge to the legitimacy of Protestant rule, to defend the royal supremacy, and to find a new rhetoric to discuss the succession.

II

Of course, some difficulties existed in drawing parallels between Elizabeth and the Old Testament kings. Given that Elizabeth had been dogged by sexual slanders as the bad seed of Anne Boleyn, the possible paramour of Thomas Seymour, and the putative lover of Robert Dudley, associating her too closely with figures well known for "their horrible luste" might give rise to some unwelcome comparisons.⁶ Because of David's adultery with Bathsheba and general polygamy, he was generally connected with the sin of lechery, while Solomon was said to have "lusted so much that he did forget his God."⁷ Yet Elizabethans brushed this difficulty aside and from the very outset of the reign confidently drew analogies between Elizabeth and the two kings.

From the start, parallels with David were made in order to assert the queen's providential status, exhort her to destroy their own "Goliath" (Roman Catholicism), and encourage her to set up God's Ark of the Covenant (a typology for the true Church).⁸ To take just one example, in a book of Psalms, printed in Geneva in 1559 and dedicated to Elizabeth, the anonymous translator and editor pointed out that the new queen had been miraculously saved during Mary's reign "from the furie of suche as sought your blood" just as David had endured "perils and persecutions" before "he came to the royal dignitie." So now, went on the dedication, Elizabeth had to follow the model of David and carry out God's purpose. Like David of the Psalms, Elizabeth must put her faith in God "so to be zealous of his glorie, obedient to his wil, careful and diligent to suppress all papistrie, vice & heresie, and to cause the light of God's holy worde spedely to shine throughout all your dominions." If she did this, God "will honour you and make your kingdome stable, he wil blesse you with a godlie prosperitie and mainteine you in perfect peace and quietnes" just as He had preserved David from his enemies, once king, and enlarged his dominions.⁹

Similarly, during the early years of the reign, Elizabeth was promised God's favor if she behaved like Solomon. As part of his oration to the queen on her accession, John Hales urged Elizabeth to follow the example of this king and "build and set up the lively house of God." If she did so, he declared, she would win earthly blessings and earn everlasting fame: "And as the queene of Sabe cam from farr of to see the glorie of Kyng Salomon, a woman to a man: even so shell the princes of our tyme come

men to a woman and Kinges marvell at the virtue of queene Elizabeth."¹⁰ A little later on, a production of *Sapientia Salomonis* also used Solomon as a model of kingship for Elizabeth. The original play, written by Sixt Birck, was adapted for a performance by the boys of Westminster School before Elizabeth and courtiers on January 17, 1566, and the speeches of the new prologue and epilogue rammed home the parallel between the two rulers. According to a modern English translation, the prologue announced that "blessed Solomon will see presently another ruler blessed by the same tokens and the same good omens and likewise administering justice and the law to the people whom God gave her to reign over." The epilogue stated the significance of the parallel: "The model of a wise king, both just and righteous, is placed before our eyes in this play. The cause of his wisdom we have observed: he was pious and wholly dedicated to God . . . A Queen is given to us who is a rival of illustrious King Solomon." Both were just and merciful. As for their godliness, "Solomon built a holy temple to God; our Queen held nothing more important than to renew quickly the ritual of holy worship which had been overthrown."¹¹ The tone throughout was laudatory, but the implication was that Elizabeth should keep up the good work, and then like Solomon she would receive her wish from heaven.

By the late 1560s, however, Elizabeth was rapidly losing her credentials as a godly ruler. Not only had she rebuffed attempts to introduce a program of religious reform, she was also forcing her clergy to wear surplices and perform ceremonies that they considered superstitious and unscriptural. To make matters worse, in 1576 she ordered the suppression of prophesyings; in 1577 she suspended the godly Archbishop Grindal; and in 1578 she began negotiations for a Catholic marriage to a member of the persecuting royal family of France. Her godly reputation plummeted still further after 1583 when Archbishop Whitgift started his drive to impose subscription to the 1559 prayer book and the Thirty-nine Articles. From the early 1570s until the mid-1580s, moreover, she was strongly criticized for giving succor to the enemies of the Protestant Church, because she rejected calls for the execution of the imprisoned Mary Queen of Scots.

Critics of these policies dealt with this situation in several different ways. Some continued to use the histories of David and/or Solomon as a "mirror for magistrates" to hold up and show the queen examples of godly behavior to be followed and errors to be shunned. This was most easily done when it came to censuring Elizabeth's clemency toward Mary Stuart. Here, Solomon offered a commendable model. As MPs pointed out in the November 1586 Parliament, the king had wisely put to death his brother Adonijah merely on suspicion of treason, just because Adonijah had earlier challenged his right to the throne.¹² However, David's conduct in relation to his sons was an example to be avoided. Calling for Mary's death in May 1572, the English bishops reminded Elizabeth "how greivously" God had punished David for showing leniency and sentimentality toward his "licentious sonnes" who had committed the same sins as the deposed Scottish Queen: "adulterye, murdere, conspiracye, treasons, and blasphemyes

against God." Absalom, one of those sons "towardses whome he used that excessive tenderness and pittye," eventually raised a rebellion against him. Elizabeth too, they urged, should note the words of his counselor, Joab, who had rebuked David for weeping on hearing news of Absalom's death: "yf Absolon [*sic*] had lived and all we had ben slayne, it would have pleased thee well?" If Elizabeth did not heed this biblical lesson, the bishops concluded, "God will reserve her [Mary] as an instrumente to put her [Elizabeth] from the royall seat of this kingdome and to plague the unthankfull and noughty subiectes."¹³

It was probably just before this Parliament that the archbishop of York, Edwin Sandys, delivered his sermon on Psalm 4 in which he too fashioned the story of David and Absalom to make its contemporary relevance immediately recognizable without referring to Mary by name.¹⁴ Absalom, pointed out Sandys, had shown his true colors long before his rebellion, for he "had imbrued his handes in bloud, after he had cowardly slaine his brother." As the Scottish queen was held responsible for the murder of her husband, she likewise could be said to have a history of blood on her hands. Also in Sandys' telling, the character of Absalom resembled that of Mary. The prince, he said, pretended to be "gentle & humble to every one" and additionally was a "holie hypocrite [who] would hide his treason under the cloake of religion." And, of course, the political troubles that followed under David were applicable to those under Elizabeth. "Manie of the nobles suspecting no treason liked well of him [Absalom], [and] honoured him as chiefe next to kinge David," preached Sandys, alluding to the conduct of the duke of Norfolk and earls of Northumberland and Westmorland. Then, in preparation for his rebellion, Absalom had "sent closely abroad his secret messengers" as had Mary in plotting with the king of Spain. David, meanwhile, had acted like Elizabeth in showing "wonderfull patience," winking at Absalom's "former faultes" and pardoning them "sundrie times" in the hope that he would reform, but in the end "his lenitie was abused" for the son betrayed his father, as had Mary by her involvement in the Ridolfi Plot. The moral was clear: "Treason wil not be cured till traitors be extinguished: this hydra hath many heades; if you cut of one, mo[r]e will start up unlesse the neck be seared." God required of the magistrate, concluded Sandys, that he offer justice as well as mercy.¹⁵

When it came to Elizabeth's unsatisfactory policy toward the English Church, some Protestant critics similarly chastised their queen by parading before her the relevant biblical examples, urging her to emulate David as well as Solomon. Famously, in his court sermon of February 1570, Edward Dering took as his text a verse in Psalm 78 and compared Elizabeth unfavorably with its author for neglecting to amend the abuses in her Church and make provision for its preachers. Citing the words and actions of David and Solomon on the duties of a prince, Dering ended his sermon with the prayer that "The Lord [would] encrease the giftes of his holy spirite in you, that from faith to faith you maye grow continually, till that you be zealous as good king David to woorke his will."¹⁶ With the same intent, though with considerably more subtlety and circumspection, John Foxe likewise

tried to highlight Elizabeth's failure to reform the Church by printing in the third edition of the *Acts and Monumentes* Hales' accession oration voicing the hope that Elizabeth would rule as a new Solomon. Hales' words re-expressed in 1576—a time when Elizabeth was facing a storm of criticism from Protestant laity and clergy alike—took on a new significance by exposing to readers the gap between the expectation and the reality. Similarly, Hales' warning to Elizabeth of the dangers that would surely follow if she failed to remember what had happened to ungodly kings in Samuel II took on a more sinister note of urgency in the context of 1576 when many believed she had indeed fallen off the path of godly rule:

If ye feare him and seeke to do his will, then will he favour you, and preserve you to the end from all enemyes, as he did kyng David. If ye now fall from him, or juggle with him, looke for no more favour, then Saule had shewed to him.¹⁷

A number of other Protestant critics, however, preferred to express their frustration and annoyance with Elizabeth's religious policies by exercising the right of silence. They simply omitted all comparisons between their queen and the Old Testament kings in the very circumstances where they might be expected to make one. Edmund Bunny, in his *Coronation of David*, a work written in response to England's victory over the Spanish Armada, chose to identify David with the Gospel rather than with Elizabeth. By this device, he avoided presenting the queen as a monarch favored by God and praising her government as a model of godly rule, both of which would have been a natural course to follow given the triumphalist mood of 1588. Indeed, far from comparing Elizabeth with David, Bunny seemed to imply that she could be likened to Saul, for he noted that few princes of his day (even those who had delivered their realms from Rome) were any better than Saul: "seldome is it seene," he intoned, "that in all thinges they purpose, and fully determine, ever to await the direction of God, and then to frame their doings according." The fate of Saul, he thought, should, therefore, be heeded by *all* princes, not just Catholic ones:

A patterne likewise may therein be left to all Princes whatsoever, to take good heed to their manner of government when as they may see, with what severitie the Lord did punish . . . [the] faults [of Saul].¹⁸

In England's case, if areas of ungodliness in the commonwealth were not amended, then the queen's enemies might rise again and divine vengeance be exacted.

Far more Protestants, however, chose the route of epideictic literature, a form of rhetoric in which admonishments and counsel lurked beneath surface praise. From the late 1570s onward, for example, a number of Protestant writers dedicated devotional books based on the Psalms and/or Book of Ecclesiastes to Elizabeth that explained in complimentary terms why they thought that the queen was an appropriate recipient, while advising that

she improve her godly record or make changes in policy. So, in the dedication of his devotional work, *A Golden Chaine*, Thomas Rogers drew a complimentary set of appropriate comparisons between Elizabeth and David:

Application hereof might aptly be made unto your Highnes, as the foiling of Goliath with your Majestie's overthrowing the Pope; his rooting out of the Philistines with your Majestie's suppressing the Papistes; his affliction [under Saul] with your imprisonment; his persecution with your troubles; his singing of godlie songes with your godlie bookes; his love of his God with your promoting his glorie and defending of pure religion...

Rogers also drew a parallel between Elizabeth and Solomon in a short passage stronger on rhetoric than specifics:

He that seeth not that both we your subjects reape as great benefits by the meanes of your Highnes from God, as did the Israelites by the meanes of King Salomon; and also your Majestie as great blessings, as ever Salomon, he is senseless; if he confesse them not, he is ungrateful, unworthie of any blessing of God.¹⁹

At the same time, though, Rogers' dedication reminded Elizabeth of her princely duties and exhorted her to fulfill them properly. Magistrates, he wrote, should benefit their country, profit their Church, avoid behaving like tyrants, and encourage subjects to live in godliness by banishing idolatry and sponsoring "good learning." One day, Rogers cautioned, Elizabeth, like all rulers, "shal render an accompt unto the King of al Kings of their behavior," and so she should take good care to imitate David and Solomon (whose words of wisdom were in his book), but not Cesare Borgia "as that Florentine [i.e., Machiavelli] doth counsel."²⁰

Likewise, in the poetic dedication of her translation of Psalms (which was presented to the queen in 1599) Mary Sidney Herbert, the countess of Pembroke, offered surface tributes to Elizabeth and declared that it was fitting to give "Gods loved choice unto his chosen love." After all, she said, both Elizabeth and David were equally of royal status, both were chosen and beloved by God, and their experiences mirrored each other's. In their early lives, she wrote, they were "Both clear in right, both nigh by wrong oppressed"; once on the throne, both were beset by "The foes of heav'n"—the Philistines in David's case, and in Elizabeth's the even greater enemy of Spain. "Thus hand in hand with him thy glories walke," enthused Pembroke.²¹ Nonetheless, Pembroke also gave Elizabeth advice. In her dedicatory poem she restricted herself to recommending an interventionist godly foreign policy: the queen would have to defend Protestant Europe "in these most active times" if her reputation were to surpass "her living peers/ And rival still to Judah's faithful King." Within the Psalms themselves—particularly numbers 45, 82, and 83—Pembroke proffered counsel about the duties expected of the godly monarch together with threats of divine punishment if these expectations were not fulfilled.²²

Unwilling to follow the admonitory path of Edward Dering, various godly Protestant preachers likewise chose the epideictic genre, lauding Elizabeth as David or Solomon while at the same time offering advice or drawing attention to some of her inadequacies as a godly ruler. John Rainolds, for example, extolled without reservation the secular achievements of Elizabeth that corresponded to those of David and Solomon in his sermon on Psalm 18 (preached at a meeting in the University of Oxford to give thanks to God for the foiling of the Babington plot in August 1586). Just as David brought his kingdom silver and gold, Elizabeth gave hers the “puritie of coine.” Just as David put garrisons in Syria and Idumaea (countries that bordered the north and south), so she fortified her land borders and protected her seas with a strong navy. Just as David delivered Israel from the Philistines, so Elizabeth fought successfully in Scotland and France and now hoped for similar victory in the Netherlands. In one respect Elizabeth even surpassed David: “The peace we have enjoyed makes her a Solomon rather than a David.”²³

However, when it came to the establishment of true religion, Rainolds was unwilling to equate Elizabeth with Solomon. Her achievements in this area, he pointed out, were closer to those of David than those of the son who went on to complete his father’s work. Just as David had brought the Ark of the Covenant into Jerusalem but did not build the Temple, so Elizabeth had introduced into England the Gospel, prayers, and hymns “in a language knowen to all” but had not established true religion. David had been unable “by reason of his warres to build up the Temple”; similarly, Elizabeth “by occasion of difficulties and wants” had not been able to provide “that wise and faithful workmen for the perfite edifieing of the house of God with doctrine and discipline.” She had gone some way to prepare for it “by fostering Colleges and Schooles, the nurseries of the ministerie” but had left much to be done, presumably by a future Solomon.²⁴

In 1601, William Leigh alighted upon a similar theme. In his sermon on Psalm 123, Leigh noted that David had left his heir a great deal to do. When close to death, David had commended the princes of Israel to help Solomon perfect his work, telling them,

I have beene your King in warre, that peace might bee within your borders, and by my hand the Lord hath given you rest on every side. Now therefore, see to His rest who hath thus repaired your ruines, builde God an House...²⁵

Although Leigh did not say it outright, the implication was that David’s words could equally well apply to Elizabeth (and consequently that her successor should behave as Solomon). At the same time, Leigh identified one damning contrast between the two princes: David had put aside riches and left “plentifull provision towards the Lord and his Religion”; not so Elizabeth. “[I]n these chilling and colde dayes of decayed Devotion,” wrote Leigh, “... both Princes & people are prodigall to spend upon themselves, but too sparing (God wot) to maintain the religion.”²⁶

III

Given their recognition of Elizabeth's evident limitations as a godly ruler, why did fervent Protestants such as these continue to associate her so closely and positively with the godly Old Testament kings? When writing commentaries or preaching on texts from Samuel, Chronicles, Kings, Psalms, Canticles, or Ecclesiastes, why did they not follow the example of Bunny and simply avoid parallels with Elizabeth? A principal reason seems to be that the biblical analogies were an instrument in the polemical war against papists.

One form of counterattack against Catholics calling for Elizabeth's deposition was to celebrate her as a providential ruler in the mold of David or Solomon. Protestants, therefore, picked out similarities in the early lives of both monarchs to demonstrate how both had been selected and protected by God. David's accession to the throne had been against all expectations and solely of the Lord's doing: "no lesse merveilous (if we consider it)," declared Isaac Colfe, "was the advancement of Queen Elizabeth to the Crowne of this Realme...if we consider the multitude and mightnesse of her enemies."²⁷ To reinforce this point, preachers listed striking—if, at times, somewhat labored—parallels between David's early life and Elizabeth's personal history. David, they explained, was the "last and least of his father's house," and so was Elizabeth. David faced the derision of his siblings, Elizabeth of a sister. Saul, a king, egged on by Doeg, persecuted David; Mary, a queen, encouraged by Gardiner, "was wroth with Elizabeth." David was exiled in the "holds" of Ein Gedi; Elizabeth in the "holds" of Woodstock. David was pitied by the king of Gath, enemy to his religion; Elizabeth was pitied by Philip of Spain.²⁸

Protestant preachers similarly found parallels in the later political careers of the two monarchs. In the same way that David had faced enemies from the idolatrous nations surrounding Israel and the rebellion of his friends and kin, so Elizabeth had confronted and vanquished her Catholic enemies at home and abroad. Specific contemporary counterparts were found for David's individual foes. Rainolds thought that Ish-boseth (the fourth son of Saul) and David's renegade general Abner were analogous to the rebellious earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, Lord Dacre, and the duke of Norfolk.²⁹ As already seen, many Protestants found in Mary Stuart a highly suitable candidate for the role of Absalom;³⁰ even after Mary's death, the parallel continued to be drawn with Thomas White declaring in his Accession Day sermon of 1589,

For Dangers, whether shee [Elizabeth] resemble David or no? Consider yee: He afraid of Saule, and shee of hir Sister. And who was worse beset, he, with Saul before, and Absolon behinde; or shee, set betweene two (Marahs) the one Crowned before hir, the other shrewdlie hastening to hir Crowne.³¹

Once Mary was completely out of the political frame, David's enemies were more usually compared with the Catholic seminaries and Jesuits. William Leigh likened the "mightie Absaloms" and "many Achitophels"

to “plotting Jesuits, and Seminaries, with their whining Cardinall Allen, [who] in their bloody designes, have disclaimed their Elizabeth.”³² Similarly in his anti-Catholic diatribe, Francis Hastings maintained “as wicked Sheba blew the trumpet of sedition against Daud; so hath this your Cardinall [Allen] done against her Majestie.”³³ Protestants obviously delighted in the propaganda coup that these parallels afforded them, for they demonstrated God’s continuing support for their queen and religion. So John Prime could triumphantly pronounce in an Accession Day sermon of 1588, only months after the defeat of the Spanish Armada, “Truely the deliveraunces of David were but a tast of those which we feede on. Papists, the peevishe and worst sort of them bite the lippe hereat.”³⁴

Because Elizabeth had experienced deliverances from danger (like David) and brought such great benefits to her subjects (like Solomon), she was, claimed these preachers, clearly God’s chosen ruler who must be obeyed. “If the head be ill, the head cannot prosper,” pronounced John Prime in his sermon on Solomon, and his listeners had only to see “what blessings on us God hath bestowed” to acknowledge “what dutifulnesse is due therefore.” But even if this were not the case, Prime maintained, “All authority is of God” and, therefore, the Catholic doctrine that “Treason against the Prince is no sin against God” was clearly false.³⁵ Taking issue with the scriptural basis—especially Samuel II—utilized by the Catholics for justifying tyrannicide, Prime and other preachers contested the argument of polemicists such as Thomas Dorman, Thomas Stapleton, Thomas Harding, William Allen, and Robert Persons that the prophet Samuel’s anointing of David while Saul was still alive demonstrated the validity of the pope’s deposing power.

Protestant theologians had already taken up the task of dismissing this scriptural argument. In 1573 John Bridges explained that

David (although he were him selfe also the Lords anoynted) would never oppugne Saule, or rebel agaynst him, but only stode at his defence, and when he had Saule in his daunger, he would neither kill him, nor take him, nor depose him, but let him go, and committed his quarell to the Lorde, because Saule was not onely likewise the Lordes annoynted, but then in lawfull possession of the crowne.³⁶

Thomas Bilson presented a similar case in his 1585 treatise, *The True Difference*. In addition, he asserted that Samuel had not, in fact, deposed Saul when anointing David but instead had excluded Saul’s sons from the throne: “the Scepter was not taken out of Saule’s handes, but his seede rejected from inheriting the kingdome.” In other words, David was anointed as Saul’s successor, not his competitor. As this argument could be extended to provide a justification for Mary Stuart’s exclusion from the succession, it was particularly pertinent in the political circumstances of 1585.³⁷ A decade or so later, Francis Bacon (though, of course, not a theologian) adopted and developed the argument when he took up the challenge presented in the polemical works of the Jesuits. As he explained it, not only had David not murdered Saul himself but he had even condemned to

death the soldier who had followed the king's command and dealt Saul a death blow:

because hee [the soldier] dared to lay his hands upon the anointed of the Lord: and yet was Saul a king forsaken and abandoned of God; he had taken his mortall wound before, so as this soldiour tooke from him his paine, and not his life; and it was to a good ende, least a heathenish insulting upon the person of Saul.³⁸

Bridges, Bilson, and Bacon naturally made no explicit reference to the queen in their critical analyses—after all they could not accept the Catholic parallel between Saul and Elizabeth. Nonetheless, their arguments were picked up in the preachers' sermons that associated Elizabeth with David. Indeed, both Prime and Rainolds cited Bilson's work by name, and the latter referred to him as the author who had successfully revealed the flaws in the Catholic claims that it was "lawfull and meritorious to kill Kings."³⁹ Rainolds then reiterated Bilson's two central arguments arising from the David narrative: first, that Samuel had not deposed Saul and, second, that David had refrained from laying hands on Saul after Samuel's sentence: "for who can lay his hand on the Lordes anointed (saith he) and be giltles?"⁴⁰ Leigh equally made use of David's story to show that God alone "setteth up, and pulleth downe" kings and took the opportunity to launch a diatribe against Catholics who argued otherwise:

Antichristian then, miserable & damnable, is the doctrine of all such as dare say, that Popes may either set up, or pull down Princes, discharge the subject of his obedience, put a knife in the hand of any to sheath it in the bowels of their soveraignes.

Addressing papists directly, Leigh thundered that no "boysterous bull" could remove Elizabeth nor "the croaking of your frogges, and Locusts, your Jesuited crew and Seminarie broode, can blast our doctrine, blemish our state, or bereave us of our Soveraigne, disquiet you may, destroy you may not."⁴¹ Although a digression from the central theme of these sermons, the argument these preachers presented against tyrannicide was nonetheless integral to their message.

IV

For a different group of Protestants, those we label conformists, the association of Elizabeth with David or Solomon proved valuable in defense of the royal supremacy and the Elizabethan Church after these two came under heavy attack from Presbyterians and sectarians during the last fifteen years of the reign. The role of the priests, the authority of the monarch over his priests, and the importance of singing in prayers of thanksgiving at the time of David, all became part of conformist Protestants' justification for the style of divine worship and the organization of the Church then in place in England.⁴² Thomas Morton was one of these. In the first part of

his 1597 treatise, *Salomon*, Morton challenged Catholic claims to the right of resistance on the grounds that God had given David and Solomon the supreme authority and absolute power within Israel and that consequently no such power or right remained in the hands of their subjects. Morton then moved on to defend Elizabeth's absolute power over the Church by showing that David, Solomon, and their successors had by their own authority made the laws and orders concerning religion and the Temple. Citing the examples of Abimelech (put to death by David) and Abiathor (deposed and condemned by Solomon), Morton further demonstrated that priests were no less subject to royal authority than was the laity. The contemporary relevance of this biblical exegesis was stated clearly in the preface to the book and was evident from its frontispiece. In the preface to the reader, Morton explained that his description of the supreme authority of Old Testament kings over their Church provided "a most true and lively picture of her Majestie's state and crowne."⁴³ The frontispiece presented Elizabeth as virtually a mirror image of the biblical king. Both monarchs wear the same royal insignia, hold up the English royal coat of arms, and rest their foot on a lion that doubles up as a symbol of the royal houses of

Regni Angloisraelitici typus.



Jacob's prophesie of the kingdome of Israel, Gen. 49. 8.

*J*udah thy brethren shall praise the:
Thy hand in the necke of thy enemies:
The sonnes of thy father shall bowe themselves vnto thee:
Judah my sonne a Lions whelp, thou hast come vp from the spoiles
Thou hast couched like a Lion, yea as a great Lion: and who shal
raise him vp?
The scepter shall not depart from *Judah*, nor a lawgiuer from
betweene his feete till the Messias come:
And to him shall be the obedience of the people.

Figure 6.1 Elizabeth as David. Frontispiece to Thomas Morton's *Salomon* or *A treatise declaring the state of the kingdome of Israel, as it was in the daies of Salomon* (London, 1596)

David and Tudor. That both stand for divinely ordained monarchy and a form of theocratic kingship is made clear by the biblical verse beneath the illustration (see Figure 6.1). Adapted from Genesis 49.8 it ends with the following words: “The sceptre shall not depart from Judah nor a law-giver from between his feet till the Messia’s come. And to him shall be the obedience of the people.”⁴⁴

V

In an apparently throwaway comment in his preface Thomas Morton drew attention to the problem of the succession. Through the telling of an anecdote about a Glastonbury monk troubled about the succession, Morton recommended that Elizabeth’s subjects should be silent on the issue: “Take thou no thought for such matters, for the kingdome of England is God’s kingdome.”⁴⁵ My guess is that Morton brought in this somewhat incongruous remark in order to prevent his readers from making a “false” analogy. It would be all too easy for them to look at their own time as a mirror image of Israel during the last years of David’s reign in the matter of succession; after all they would not be the first to do so. Peter Wentworth had laid before Elizabeth the example of David and Solomon when exhorting her to settle the succession in his *Pithie Exhortation*. Like David, explained Wentworth, Elizabeth had many potential successors to her throne and “the contention for the crowne” was likely to be great on her death: “Wherefore as the state of Israell then mooved David to make his successor knowne: so nowe the state of England ought to move you.”⁴⁶ Elizabeth, he argued, could only gain strength from naming her heir, for once David had appointed Solomon, his son Adonijah was “so dasht and crusht” that his resort to arms faded away. The same outcome would surely occur once Elizabeth had established the succession.⁴⁷

Few were as brave or foolhardy as Wentworth, who died in the Tower, and the succession issue was afterward either debated in unprinted manuscripts or discussed in coded language within a more public arena. The David and Solomon analogy was part of this succession discourse, not least because Robert Persons, aka Doleman, had used the biblical example to justify elected monarchy in his *Conference about the Next Succession*. Solomon could hardly be called David’s natural successor, as he was the tenth son of David, but his election had nonetheless been in accordance with God’s will. The exclusion of Adonijah and accession of Solomon, argued Doleman, therefore, demonstrated the general principle that the election and exclusion of princes “when their designements are to good endes and for just respects and causes, are allowed also by God, and oftentimes, are his owne special driftes and dispositions, though they seme to come from man.”⁴⁸

One coded reference to the contemporary succession issue can be found in the unpublished “Maxims of State” found amongst Sir Walter Raleigh’s papers but now excluded from his canon. The anonymous author, who presented his observations about good policy and government through

classical, biblical, and historical examples, commented on David's difficulties in ruling when "grown into age" and commended his behavior after the suppression of Absalom's revolt. David, wrote the author, "assembled a Parliament of his whole Realm, and took occasion upon the designing of his successor to commend upon them the succession of his house, and the continuance and maintenance of God's true worship then established." By this action and in naming Solomon as his heir, David "retained his Majestie and Authority in his old age."⁴⁹ Although nowhere spelled out, the observation had an obvious relevance to Elizabeth's queenship in the wake of the Essex revolt. And it is difficult to see what other relevance it might have within the context of Elizabethan (or even early Stuart) politics, when the maxims were written.

A second coded reference to the succession issue can be found in George Peele's play *David and Bethsabe with the Tragedie of Absalon*, performed by the Lord Admiral's Company.⁵⁰ The climax of the drama is the rebellion and death of Absalom, events presented as the just dessert for a rebel and usurper who betrayed his closest kin and sovereign lord (another obvious swipe at Mary Stuart). The scene that follows Absalom's death, however, introduces Solomon for the first time in the play and deals with the succession. David expresses his understanding that Solomon will be the one who "shall surely sit upon my throne" in spite of the king's reservations about his son's suitability (l. 1682). But this informal recognition is not enough for the prophet Nathan who wants David to "make him promise, that he may succeed/And rest old Israels bones from broiles of war" (ll. 1774–5). This David does. The action then moves swiftly onto David's inconsolable grief on learning of the death of Absalom, a reaction that is deemed offensive to God and nearly costs the king the support of his generals. There seems to be no dramatic justification for the inclusion of the issue of the succession in the play at this point. Furthermore, in terms of chronology, the scene deviates from the scriptures, the source that Peele followed closely in all other respects. The only reason for the succession scene to be played out is its contemporary relevance in 1594 when the play was entered into the Stationers' Register, and in 1599 when the first quarto edition was printed. Again the message underscores the need for Elizabeth to name her successor.

VI

Although Elizabeth was associated with David and/or Solomon by her subjects, it is evident that she did relatively little to fashion herself as one or the other of the biblical kings. In her speeches, she did not refer to herself as David or Solomon. Unlike Henry VIII, she is not known to have commissioned any painting or print that identified her with the biblical kings, even when she used visual emblems to display her Protestantism; nor did she possess anything comparable to Henry's personal psalter where the miniatures portray the king as David playing a harp and killing Goliath and the marginal annotations draw parallels between

Henry's situation and his biblical predecessor.⁵¹ It could be argued that Elizabeth assumed the identity of David and Solomon when quotations from the former's psalms and latter's prayers were incorporated in some of the prayers and devotional poems written in the authorial voice of the queen.⁵² However, it is difficult to know how many of these were actually Elizabeth's own work. Furthermore, as Margaret Hannay reminds us, paraphrasing psalms was a well-established genre among English Protestants, and women especially "prayed in the words of the Psalmist."⁵³ But even if Elizabeth's appropriation of their writings was intended as an act of public self-identification with David and Solomon, it did not last long; few examples can be found after 1579 when, as we have seen, resemblances between her and the Old Testament kings actually became more pronounced in book dedications and sermons. Elizabeth, then, seems to have left the biblical tropes to her critics, while she preferred to cooperate in promoting the image of the "Virgin Queen." We appear to have here another dimension to the "competition for representation" originally detected by Susan Frye.⁵⁴ During Elizabeth's own lifetime her critics had the wider audience: the sermons, for example, were preached at court, Paul's Cross, and the universities, besides going into print (sometimes in more than one edition). But in the long run Elizabeth won the competition hands down, for it was her preferred image of the Virgin Queen that became best known to posterity.

Notes

*I am grateful to Paulina Kewes for pointing me towards some references, to Kathryn Murphy for alerting me to her work, and to Alec Ryrie.

1. John King, "The Godly Woman in Elizabethan Iconography," *RQ* 38 (1985): 41–84 and *Tudor Royal Iconography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 105–6, 153–4, 234–5. See also Alexandra Walsham, "'A Very Deborah?' The Myth of Elizabeth I as a Providential Monarch," in *The Myth of Elizabeth*, ed. Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 143–68.
2. King makes brief references, as does Margaret Christian, "Elizabeth's Preachers and the Government of Women," *SCJ* 24 (1993): 561–76. Two recent essays look at male representation but in a limited number of texts and from a gendered perspective: Michelle Osherow, "'A Poore Shepherde and his Slinge': A Biblical Model for a Renaissance Queen," in *Elizabeth I: Always Her Own Free Woman*, ed. Carole Levin, Jo Eldridge Carney, and Debra Barrett-Graves (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), 119–30; and Linda S. Shenk, "Queen Solomon," in *Queens and Power in Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. Carole Levin and Robert Bucholz (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 98–125.
3. Donald Stump claimed that after 1582 "writers connected to the court were no longer making extensive use of Old Testament figures as images or examples for Elizabeth": "Abandoning the Old Testament: Shifting Paradigms for Elizabeth 1578–82," *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 30 (2004): 89–109, especially 89–90.
4. John Davies, *Microcosmos*... (1603), 152.

5. John Williams, *Greate Britains Salomon: A sermon preached at the magnificent funeral of... King, James...* (1625).
6. Lodowick Lloyd, *The pilgrimage of princes...* (1573), 161.
7. David provides Anthony Munday's example for lechery in *The mirror of mutability* (1579), C–Ci^v. For Solomon, see *A godly ballad declaring by the Scriptures the plagues that haue insued whordome* (1566) and Lloyd, *Pilgrimage of princes*, 161.
8. Other early examples include John Aylmer, *An harborovve for faithfull and trewe subiectes...* (London, 1559) and Thomas Brice, *A compendious regi]ster in metre...* (London, 1559).
9. Anon, *The Boke of Psalmes... with brief and apt annotations in the margent ...* (Geneva, 1559), *iiiiv–*v.
10. BL Harleian MS 149, fol. 148.
11. *Sapientia Solomonis...*, ed. Elizabeth Rogers Payne (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938), especially 53, 129.
12. *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I*, ed. T. E. Hartley, 3 vols. (Leicester: University of Leicester Press, 1981), II: 252.
13. Hartley (ed.), *Proceedings*, I: 274–89.
14. Published in 1585, the sermon is usually considered a response to either the Throckmorton or Babington Plot, but Kathryn Murphy has convincingly argued that it was written just after the Ridolfi Plot: "The Date of Edwin Sandys' Paul's Cross Sermon," *Notes and Queries* 53 (2006): 430–2.
15. Edwin Sandys, *Sermons* (1585), 362–4, 368.
16. Edward Dering, *A sermo[n] preached before the Quenes Maestie...* (1570), Eii.
17. John Foxe, *Acts and Monumentes* (1576), Foxe's *Book of Martyrs Variorum Edition Online*, 2007.
18. Edmund Bunny, *The coronation of David...* (1588), Ci, 72.
19. Thomas Rogers, *A Golden Chaine taken out of the rich Treasurehouse of the Psalmes of King David and the pretious Pearles of King Salomon...* (London, 1579), A5^v.
20. Rogers, *Golden Chaine*, Ai–5.
21. *The Selected Works of Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke*, ed. Margaret P. Hannay, Noel J. Kinnamon and Michael G. Brennan (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005), 159–63 (ll. 54, 66, 70, 74, 104, 80).
22. Margaret P. Hannay, "'Princes You as Men Must Dy': Genevan Advice to Monarchs in the *Psalms* of Mary Sidney," *ELR* 19 (1989): 22–41.
23. John Rainolds, *A sermon upon part of the 18th Psalm...* (Oxford, 1586), B3.
24. Rainolds, *A sermon*, B2^v, B3^v–4.
25. William Leigh, *Queene Elizabeth, paraleld in her princely virtues...* (1612), 28.
26. Leigh, *Elizabeth, paraleld*, 31, 35–6.
27. Isaac Colfe, *A sermon preached on the queenes day...* 1587... (1588), B4–B5.
28. Colfe, *A sermon*, B4^v–5^v; Rainolds, *A sermon*, B5; Leigh, *Elizabeth, paraleld*, 46–9, 54–6; John Prime, *The consolations of David, briefly applied to Queen Elizabeth...* (Oxford, 1588), B4.
29. Rainolds, *A sermon*, B5.
30. Hartley (ed.), *Proceedings*, II: 217. See also Peter E. MacCulloch, "Out of Egypt: Richard Fletcher's Sermon before Elizabeth I after the Execution of Mary Queen of Scots" in *Dissing Elizabeth*, ed. Julia M. Walker (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 134.
31. Thomas White, *A sermon preached at Paules Crosse the 17. of Nouember An. 1589...* fols. 51ff.

32. Leigh, *Elizabeth, paraleld*, 51.
33. Sir Francis Hastings, *An apologie or defence of the watch-word*... (1600), 137.
34. Prime, *Consolations of David*, B4.
35. John Prime, *A sermon briefly comparing the estate of King Salomon and his subiectes together with the condition of Queene Elizabeth and her people* (1585), B-B1, A2^v-3, A5^v-6.
36. John Bridges, *The supremacie of Christian princes*... (1573), 930.
37. Thomas Bilson, *The true difference betweene Christian subiection and unchristian rebellion* (1585), 321, 323.
38. Francis Bacon, *A letter written out of England*... (1599), 10.
39. Prime, *Sermon briefly comparing the estate of King Salomon*, A2.
40. Rainolds, *A sermon*, B4.
41. Leigh, *Elizabeth, paraleld*, 8, 10.
42. John Bridges, *A defence of the gouernment established in the Church of Englande*... (1587). For example, David liked singing as part of the praise of God (600) and the wearing of vestments (610). See also John Whitgift, *A godlie service preached at Paul's Cross 1589* (1590), C3, C5 and Thomas Bell, *Thomas Bels motiues concerning Romish faith and religion* (1593).
43. Thomas Morton, *Salomon* (London, 1596), A4^v and 36, 39-40, 46.
44. The last line is a complete fabrication. In the Geneva Bible, the verse finishes "and the people shalbe gathered unto him."
45. Morton, *Salomon*, A4^v.
46. Peter Wentworth, *A Pithie Exhortation* (Edinburgh, 1598), 14-15.
47. Wentworth, *Pithie Exhortation*, 52-3.
48. R. Doleman, *A conference about the next succession*... (Antwerp, 1594), 128. See also 35, 104.
49. *Maxims of State*... (London, 1656), 77-8 (under "Politically Prince").
50. George Peele, *The love of King David and fair Bethsabe*, ed. W. W. Greg, Malone Society (London, 1912).
51. James P. Carley, *King Henry's Prayer Book: Commentary* (London: Folio Society, 2009).
52. *Precationes privatae* (1563) and the *Christian Prayers and Meditations in English, French, Italian, Spanish, Greeke, and Latine* (1569). Shenk, *Queen Solomon*, claims Elizabeth did fashion herself as Solomon, but some prayers she cites are not Elizabeth's unadulterated compositions.
53. Margaret Hannay, "'So may I with the Psalmist truly say': Early Modern Englishwomen's Psalm Discourse," in *Write or Be Written*, ed. Barbara Smith and Ursula Appelt (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 107, III.
54. Susan Frye, *Elizabeth I: The Competition for Representation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).



III

EDUCATING FOR RULE

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CHAPTER 7

A CULTURE OF REVERENCE: PRINCESS MARY'S HOUSEHOLD 1525–27

Jeri L. McIntosh

I

In the winter of 1536, Robert Aske, one of the ringleaders of a grassroots rebellion against the Henrician Reformation, found himself subjected to an intense interrogation by government officials. The rebellion, known as the “Pilgrimage of Grace,” had seriously alarmed king and government.¹ Officials questioning Aske in the aftermath of the rebellion’s suppression and Aske’s capture focused on his constitutional views on crown power and the royal succession.² One of the demands of the “Pilgrimage” rebels was the restoration of the recently disinherited Princess Mary to the royal succession. When questioned about this rebel demand, Aske claimed that Henry VIII had placed the sovereignty of the English nation at risk by successfully pushing through Parliamentary legislation that disinherited his eldest daughter, Mary—recognized widely within England and Europe as the most credible claimant to the crown by right of blood.³ For Aske, the issue hinged on Henry VIII’s right to declare the next successor to the crown. As Aske pointed out, no other monarch ever had such prerogative and no other person in the realm had the power to overturn common law when it came to the inheritance of real property.⁴ If Mary was disinherited and the king’s younger daughter, Elizabeth, was derided by many in Catholic Europe as illegitimate, then the way was open for the Scottish king (the “alien,” as Aske called him), the nephew of Henry VIII, to make a credible claim to the English throne.⁵ Although most Englishmen could accommodate a Scottish succession in 1603 after the death of Elizabeth I, in 1536 the English polity was not yet supportive of such a political future. Aske’s enthusiasm for Mary’s succession rights derived in part from this fear of a Scottish succession and his belief in her legitimacy as the issue of the valid union of her parents, Catherine of Aragon and Henry VIII.

This essay will argue that there was another element factoring into Aske’s and the rebels’ support for Mary’s succession rights: her status as the *de facto* (rather than *de jure*) Prince(ss) of Wales. Evidence for Mary’s status during the late 1520s–30s (before the birth of the future Edward VI)

is found in household documents relating to her vice-regal household in the Welsh Marches in 1525–27, in a printed representation of her Welsh court by her French tutor, Giles Duwes, and in her household accounts of the mid-1530s.

The demand by the “Pilgrimage” rebels for Mary’s restoration to the crown, therefore, may have been more than a nostalgic longing for the king to return to his original family (Catherine of Aragon and the Princess Mary). The demand may also have been an astute recognition of the current political reality: Mary was too firmly identified in the public mind as the next English sovereign to be replaced by anyone not the king’s undoubted legitimate male offspring. As Robert Aske pointed out during interrogation, to undermine Mary’s legal status (after her tour of duty in the Welsh Marches) meant putting national security at risk.⁶ I argue here that Mary became a positive historical irony before the birth of her half-brother, Prince Edward in 1537. Until that time, her stint in the Welsh Marches as the *de facto* Prince(ss) of Wales meant that her technical status as “heiress presumptive” (normal for female heiresses who were usually little more than place-holders for unborn male heirs) was belied by her real status as “heiress apparent,” that is, the next sovereign of England after Henry VIII.

II

The historical context for Henry VIII’s decision to send Mary to Wales can be summarized as follows: it was to Henry’s advantage for a short period in 1525 to support, very ostentatiously, Mary’s status as his successor after the victory of her betrothed, Charles V, at Pavia.⁷ This political context of Henry’s uncharacteristic support of a female succession had evaporated by the time Mary left for the Welsh Marches in August 1525 (when Charles V repudiated the betrothal and married Isabel of Portugal), but by then the household had been assembled.⁸ Moreover, there was a distinct lack of crown representation in Wales following the death of Sir Rhys ap Thomas in South Wales and the recall in North Wales of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.⁹ As the Instructions for Mary’s household made clear, from the English crown’s viewpoint, Wales needed its English prince(ss) in order to be governed properly:

Inasmuch as by reason of the long absence of any Prince making continuall residence eyther in the principalltie of Wales or in the marches of the same, the good order quiet and tranquillitie of the Countreyes thereabout hath greatlie bene alterd [sic] and subverted and the due adminstrac[i]on of Justice by meanes of sondry contrairieties hitherto hindered and neglected... The kings highness therefore by mature deliberac[i]on and substanciall advise of his counsaile hath determined to send at this tyme his deerest most beloved and onely daughter the Princesse accompanied and esteblished with an honorable, sadd discreete, expert counsaile to reside and remayne in the Marches of Wales.¹⁰

Mary's household was not simply lavish, it was intended to serve as a vice-regal court. Mary's household cost the king nearly £4,500 per annum.¹¹ This was nearly three times what her household normally cost the king.¹² As this essay will detail, the nine-year-old princess presided over much more than one or two well-appointed manor houses. It was a royal vice-regal court with jurisdictional, tenurial, and cultural authority. Mary was invested as the nominal head of a privy council whose jurisdictional authority in the marches was second only to that of the king's bench in Westminster. Mary's household council was also her royal privy council. Henry granted to this council sweeping jurisdictional authority within Wales and the nearby marches.¹³

It is worth pausing here to note that Mary's status as the de facto "prince(ss) of Wales" was unique in English history. Other female heirs apparent such as Princess Charlotte, the daughter of George IV, or Princess Elizabeth (future Elizabeth II), daughter of George VI, did not enjoy a similar status to Mary. Most English princesses had to content themselves with being sisters to the "Prince of Wales." For instance, Mary's half-sister, Elizabeth, never enjoyed a pre-accession household and consequent status approaching that of Mary in 1525. Elizabeth's most lavish household was the one Henry conferred on her soon after her birth in 1533 but even in this instance, she had to share the establishment with the now-demoted Mary.¹⁴ Later in 1558, Elizabeth would complain to the Spanish ambassador that she never had the landed or household revenues commensurate with her rank.¹⁵ Before her accession, Elizabeth never presided over a vice-regal court as Mary did in 1525.

As a nine-year-old child, and a female one at that, Mary's ability to wield actual authority was severely compromised. She was the nominal head of her privy council but it was John Vosey, Bishop of Exeter, who was the president of the "princes[s'] council."¹⁶ Another very significant aspect that placed Mary essentially in wardship to her nominal authority was her title to landed estates granted to her by the king. That Mary was a landed magnate from the age of nine has been obscured by the lack of surviving patent rolls from the 1530s for scholars to consult. However, the instructions issued for Mary's household make clear that she did, in fact, hold crown estates in her own name and title. The instructions, preserved in the Cotton collection in the British Library, clearly state that Mary held title to lands "for the supportation and maintenance of the charges for the estate and household of the said Princess."¹⁷ According to these instructions, Richard Sydnor, Mary's long-serving household treasurer, would also serve as royal surveyor. Part of his duties, as detailed in the instructions, was to survey the lands "nowe assigned to the lady Princess."¹⁸ The term "assigned" puts the matter beyond doubt since land grants were often referred to as "assignments."¹⁹ Further, the Instructions helpfully identified the estates Mary held as the counties of Bromfield, Yale, and Chirkland.²⁰ These were counties that were traditionally granted to the Prince of Wales in addition to the principality (which Mary as a female could not officially receive as a formal grant from the crown).²¹

That Mary received a grant of estates, especially these counties, is significant. These lands were traditionally reserved for the king's eldest son, the Prince of Wales, who served his political apprenticeship by holding court on the Welsh Marches and exercising authority as a landed magnate. Although Mary's authority was much more limited than that exercised by males formally invested with the Welsh principality, it did extend nominally over the tenants and clients associated with the counties of Bromfield, Yale, and Chirkland.

Mary was not the first non-prince to hold these lands as a landed magnate charged with implementing policy and justice originating in Westminster. The last person, before Mary, to hold these counties (though only in stewardship to the crown) was Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, in his bid to become the crown agent in North Wales.²² After Mary ceased to hold them, Henry VIII granted them to his bastard son, Henry Fitzroy. Fitzroy held these counties from 1529 until 1536, the year of his premature death.²³ As he did in Mary's case, the king granted these estates to Fitzroy in 1529 in part to lend him credibility as a potential heir, who could never hold the title of Prince of Wales (due to his illegitimacy).

Mary's status as a landed magnate during her tour of duty in the Welsh Marches is highly significant. Although it is unlikely that, as a nine-year-old, Mary wielded more than a nominal authority over her tenants, she did, nevertheless, have tenants. Her tenants were under her direct nominal authority. Moreover, the tenants of these particular counties—Bromfield, Chirkland, and Yale—traditionally acknowledged the overlordship of the king's designated agent, usually the Prince of Wales, or the next heir to the English throne (though on occasion these counties would pass out of crown hands usually to an agent representing crown interests).²⁴ By entrusting these particular counties to Mary, the king was sending the strongest signal possible, given Mary's gender, that she was, nevertheless, the next sovereign of England. Mary's status as the king's heir had been undermined, firstly by Charles V's repudiation of her as his bride, and secondly by Henry's decision (c.1527) to annul his own marriage to Catherine of Aragon with the aim of disinheriting Mary as the issue of that marriage. Despite those developments, Mary's credibility as a future ruler was permanently reinforced by the grant of these estates. She was from this moment more than just the king's daughter, more than a stand-in for a male Prince of Wales, she was now also a landowner. Like her male contemporaries (including her half-brother Henry Fitzroy), the young princess enjoyed the political status that automatically came with land ownership in this period. As will be discussed below, young as she was, Mary apparently grasped at the time that her position as estate holder and *de facto* Prince(ss) of Wales endowed her with patronage opportunities and significant political status. In 1525, Mary was more than simply the next sovereign-in-waiting. She was the actual overlord of Bromfield, Chirkland, and Yale. She was the vice-regal figure appointed by the crown to administer the Welsh Principality. As the next section of this essay will detail, she was also at the center of a rich court culture as were many other contemporary sovereigns, rulers, and princes.

III

Mary's Welsh household, like other regal courts, was more than just a center of jurisdictional authority; it was also a stage of political theater. A set of instructions drawn up for Mary's household stipulates that all those who attended her household court should "by meanes of good hospitality [be] refreshed."²⁵ And apparently they were treated to all the hospitality that one could expect at a royal court. Like all such courts, Mary's household was expected to host lavish Christmastide festivities. A letter survives from John Vosey, president of Mary's privy council, to Cardinal Wolsey asking Wolsey just how lavish were the Christmas through Twelfth Night festivities supposed to be.²⁶

The young Mary would, of course, have been at the center of these festivities. As a child, her participation may have been limited but the festivities and the court were convened in her name. When present, Mary would have been the object of elaborate political ritual that would likely have impressed onlookers. As specified in the Instructions, her privy chamber attendants were to conduct themselves "sadlei, honorable, vertuously and discreetly in words, co[u]ntenance, gesture, [and] behavior" toward their young mistress.²⁷ Moreover, her attendants were to treat her with humble "reverence" as "due and requisite" to her station as Prince(ss) of Wales and, all things being equal, the next sovereign of England.²⁸

The elaborate deference with which household members were to treat Mary, as stipulated by the Instructions, also found expression in a literary culture specific to this household. Mary's French tutor, Giles Duwes, published a seemingly innocuous French language manual in 1534, *An Introductory for to Learn to Read, to Pronounce, and to Speak French . . .*²⁹ It was much more than a language manual. It was heavy with political intent. At a time when Henry VIII had started a new family with Anne Boleyn and had overseen the disinheritance of his elder daughter, Duwes printed a book in which the disgraced Mary was portrayed as the animating and sovereign center of an important, international court. Duwes was conjuring the Welsh household of the mid-1520s for his readers in 1534, on the eve of the "Pilgrimage of Grace." Duwes, however, was no martyr for the Aragonese cause. To counteract the political implications of the manual, Duwes dedicated it to the new queen, Anne Boleyn. In a further attempt to undermine the implied political agenda of the piece, Duwes claimed he had little choice but to publish it since Mary had commissioned it. In a wonderfully disingenuous ploy to disclaim any particular loyalty to Mary, Duwes stated that he was forced to obey: "bycause of myn obedience/than by any service or sacrifice that to her I may do/fulfylling her most noble and gracious comandement . . ."³⁰ While ostensibly avoiding any political rip tides generated by the Boleyn marriage, Duwes nevertheless assigned to Mary an inexorable royal prestige at odds with her demoted status in relation to the newborn Princess Elizabeth. As if this endorsement of Mary as the princess of England was not enough to broadcast Duwes' political and religious orientation, the manual contained a purported lesson on the importance of the Latin mass offered to Mary by her almoner.³¹

It is clear from the manual's contents that Duwes was presenting to his readers a depiction of Mary at the height of her pre-Reformation power and status as the de facto Prince(ss) of Wales. He mentioned household members such as the "karver" John ap Morgan, who served in Mary's household only during her tour of duty in the Welsh Marches.³² The scale of the household depicted by Duwes was much more suggestive of the Welsh household than Mary's households before or after the mid-1520s.³³ The international situation that Duwes portrayed as forming the topic of conversation between Mary and her privy chamber ladies also suggests the 1520s when Mary was a much-sought after prize on the royal marriage market—a status she would lose after the Boleyn marriage.

In fact, it is the conversations that Duwes presented to his readers that define the manual. In its use of dialogue form and its portrayal of Mary as a princely ruler, the Duwes manual may have represented an early English response to Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier*, printed in Italy in 1528.³⁴ Space constraint does not allow for a consideration of the dissemination of the manual. The argument made here is that the content alone reflects Mary's status, not that Duwes' readers learned of Mary's court through reading his manual—though this may well have been true in some instances. The strongest similarity between Duwes' manual and *The Courtier* was the idea that erudite and polite conversation can (and should) function as a vehicle for the acquisition of virtue (*grazia*).³⁵ Duwes depicted various conversations in which the young prince(ss) sought enlightenment on topics such as the nature of the soul, the definition of love, and how to achieve optimum physical health. Duwes was not starry-eyed about his native language, rather he took a hard-eyed humanist view in this manual: French was a skill, a tool. Duwes depicted Lady Maltravers as advocating this view when she urged Mary to learn French so she would not need to employ a "minion" to translate her speech to her future husband "were he either kyng or emperour."³⁶

Although Duwes presented French as a tool, a vehicle rather than a virtue in and of itself, he depicted Mary's Welsh household as a royal court engaged in the erudite pursuit of virtue. Duwes appeared to bridge the gap between *The Courtier* and the "Mirror for Princes" genre.³⁷ Despite Duwes portraying Mary as the interlocutor seeking enlightenment, the topics rarely concern ruler—or governorship. Nor did Duwes provide advice to aspiring courtiers. The intended audience for this French manual was *everyone*. Anyone who wanted to learn French could, in Duwes' view, derive benefit from this manual. The topics that Duwes selected also furthered the pursuit of learning and virtue. Duwes' decision to use dialogue form meant that those who could not read could, nevertheless, have the dialogues read or, even better, performed for them; the theatrical quality of the conversations suggests that the latter was probably closer to Duwes' original intention.

The egalitarian orientation of Duwes' manual very much accorded with the question that he portrayed Mary as asking about the utility of the Latin mass for those who did not know Latin. Duwes depicted Mary as asking her almoner how can non-Latin speakers derive benefit from

the mass: "what shall do they whiche understand it nat"?³⁸ This question along with the dialogue form and concentration upon language situated the manual within a humanist context. Nevertheless, the manual was not entirely innocent of political or social ambition. Duwes' highly flattering depiction of Mary as a princely ruler, at a time when she was being demoted in favor of her half-sister Elizabeth, was an incendiary commentary on Henry VIII's decision to disinherit Mary. Indeed, one suspects that Duwes took the risk because he hoped his advanced years and long record of service would save him from Henry's wrath and it appears that this was the case as Duwes died in his bed in 1535.³⁹

The egalitarian orientation meant that, like *The Courtier*, Duwes' manual too carried an implicit criticism of the ideal that only the nobility could acquire the necessary virtue to advise rulers. Throughout the manual, Duwes presents mainly non-noble courtiers offering learned examinations on the soul, love, St. Augustine, the mass, and the body, among other topics, to the princess. Nobles or high-ranked officeholders such as Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury, or John Vosey, bishop of Exeter, barely make an appearance in the manual. The most common interlocutors with Mary are Peter Burrell (the lawyer and almoner), Richard Sydnor (the treasurer of Mary's privy chamber), and Duwes himself as her French tutor and gentleman waiter of her privy chamber. Duwes, as was common practice of the time, did not refer to these men by name but by office. Lest the office title should obscure the non-noble status of people such as her almoner Peter Burrell and, to a lesser extent, Sydnor, Duwes explicitly referred to the non-noble status of these household/privy council officers when he depicted Mary referring to Burrell as a "lawyer" and to Sydnor as "a doctour and well lettred."⁴⁰ Duwes referred to himself in the manual as Mary's "unworthy servant."⁴¹

Duwes portrayed the royal court as one characterized by thinly disguised sexual banter. Perhaps following Castiglione's lead, Duwes overlaid the ostensible sexual tension with Platonic philosophy. This is especially welcome given that the court of Duwes' depiction was that of the then nine-year-old Mary (although she would have been eighteen by mid-1534, the likely date of publication of Duwes' manual). The best example of the sexual and Platonic tenor of the conversations was one that Duwes portrayed between Mary and her treasurer of the privy chamber, Richard Sydnor.⁴² In a custom that Mary herself would continue in her later households, Duwes alluded to Mary's active participation in the practice of drawing for valentines.⁴³ Duwes depicted Mary drawing Sydnor one year as her valentine and referring to him as her "husband adoptif."⁴⁴ In this depiction, Duwes portrayed Sydnor as suffering from the gout that caused him to miss some days during his attendance upon Mary. According to Duwes, Sydnor's sick-leave earned a swift reprimand from the young princess: "ye take great care of your goutte... than ye do of your wyfe." In a startling (to modern eyes at any rate) reference to marital relations, Duwes depicted Mary further commenting that Sydnor's retirement to a sickbed should have resulted in him "visiting" his wife (Mary) "oftener" rather

than in absenting himself “specially beyng so nygh of her.” Leaving aside the unsettling portrayal of a preteen girl flirting with a servant old enough to suffer from gout, this exchange was likely intended to showcase Mary’s wit and facility with word-play more than her pubescent sexuality.

Duwes depicted Mary archly continuing the exchange by commanding that Sydnor “declare me what it is of loue/ for ye be a doctour and well let-tred/ with that a good husbände ought to teche his wyfe.” What undercuts the age situation in Duwes’ portrayal was not only the word-play and classical allusions that liberally pepper this lengthy exchange between the princess and her treasurer but also the seeming inversion generated by social station. The princess may have been playing at what was considered then as the subordinate role of “wyfe,” but as a royal she clearly outranked her household servant. The young Mary was not merely the fair lady accepting homage from a lovesick knight. Although Mary’s gender is acknowledged in this long disquisition on the nature of love, she was not depicted according to the contemporary notions of subordinate womanhood. Duwes here was not presenting a gendered advice manual similar to Juan Luis Vives’ *On the Education of a Christian Woman*.⁴⁵ Rather, Mary had issued a command to Sydnor whom Duwes depicted as promptly responding to her order “nat be wylling to disobey you.” Mary was playing the role of “wyfe,” however, she was not adhering to the subordinate status wives were supposed to adopt in relation to their husbands advocated in contemporary prescriptive literature.⁴⁶ No matter what games she played or roles she assumed, the princess never forgot her station nor allowed others to forget it.

Duwes depiction of Mary combining the officially subordinate role of wife with that of rulership anticipated John Aylmer’s much later defense of female sovereignty. That later work refuted the charge levelled by John Knox in *First Blast against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* [1558] that the divinely ordained subordination of wives to their husbands was incompatible with a married woman wielding sovereign authority, since a wife would not possess sufficient authority to command even her husband. Aylmer went on to argue that a married female sovereign could command her husband by virtue of her “office.”⁴⁷ In other words, socio-political hierarchy could overturn the “natural” order of things on occasion. Duwes’ depiction of the mock love-play between the princess and Sydnor suggests he may have shared Aylmer’s view that marriage need not compromise a woman’s ability to govern. Later, the marriage settlement between Queen Mary and her real husband, Philip of Spain, would protect her sovereign prerogative.⁴⁸ Mary would employ the language of subjection toward Philip as Duwes portrayed her doing with Sydnor but in both instances Mary’s explicit consciousness of her rank destabilized the rhetoric of subjection.

IV

The exchange with Sydnor on the nature of love was not the only instance where Duwes depicted Mary as well aware of the privileges “due and

requisite" to her as princess. When her almoner Peter Burrell absented himself from her table one night, the young Mary reminded him that he was promised "a good benefyce" by Henry VIII and Queen Catherine if Burrell would help Mary to attain fluency in French.⁴⁹ Duwes depicted Mary as anxious to immerse herself in the language by speaking it at dinner with Burrell to supplement her lessons with Duwes. Mary linked Burrell's receipt of the benefice to her favorable report to her parents on how Burrell was (or was not) helping her to learn French. Duwes described Mary as dryly noting that, under the circumstances, Burrell could not afford to neglect her at the dinner table since her progress in French, "of the whiche me thynketh that ye ought to do some by dylygence," will determine how favorably Mary reported to her royal parents and, thus, whether Burrell will obtain the benefice.⁵⁰

Throughout the manual, Duwes portrayed Mary's household staff as adhering to the Instructions to behave always toward Mary "with reverence...as to so great a princess doeth appertaine."⁵¹ Duwes depicted a literary court culture in which Mary's servants addressed her in highly reverential terms: "most soverayn," "right hygh/right excellent... My right redouted lady/ my lady Mary of England/my lady and mastresse," and "Trewly madame there is nothyng in my power that I ne dyd for the honour of you" being some of the more ornate declarations.⁵² These highly deferential forms of address are sprinkled throughout the manual and echo some of the injunctions of the king's instructions that Mary's staff should treat her reverently. As the rest of this essay will detail, there was a great deal of agreement amongst Mary's contemporaries that Mary had attained, in 1525, a status as the *de facto* Prince(ss) of Wales that merited the panegyric forms of address found in Duwes' manual.

Duwes' manual was not the only indication that Mary, as *de facto* Prince(ss) of Wales, had acquired a special status that heralded her suitability for future sovereign rule. In the Additional manuscript collection in the British Library, there survives a poem signed by William Newman and dated by him to 1525.⁵³ It has been bound in vellum with documents contemporary to the fifteenth century. However, the poem clearly centers on Mary as the *de facto* Prince(ss) of Wales or, as the poem referred to her, "of rose and pomegarnet [sic] the redolent princesse."⁵⁴ According to the poem, Mary's noble bloodline, deriving from the Spanish and English Royal houses, rendered her worthy to rule one day "the state Imperyall" of England.⁵⁵ Not only did Newman consider her worthy by blood and nature to rule, he also noted that she was serving her political apprenticeship in the Welsh Marches as "cheff governure betwene strange realmys."⁵⁶ Indeed, the poem was likely intended to mark the commencement of Mary's tour of duty in the marches.

Mary's residence in the marches ended in 1528. Yet there were interesting legacies and echoes of her time there that persisted up to the start of her reign in 1553. The culture of reverence specified in the Instructions for Mary's 1525 household, as seen in the works by Duwes and also by Newman, was evidently a feature of Mary's later households. In 1536, one of Mary's attendants, Lady Anne Hussey, was arrested and interrogated

by the state for referring to Mary as “princess” after Mary had been forced to yield the title to her half-sister Elizabeth.⁵⁷ Her privy council continued to operate under the title “the princes[s] council” until 1536 when it assumed a title more in keeping with its function—the Council of the Marches.⁵⁸ Furthermore, at least one member of Mary’s 1525 household continued to receive wages as such until 1532.⁵⁹ Evidently, the official story was that Mary’s household was only in temporary abeyance. In fact, the princess would never return to the marches. Nevertheless, Mary’s household accounts from 1536 to 1543 indicate that she received the Welsh symbol of a leek on the Welsh holiday of St. David’s.⁶⁰ Most worrisome from Henry VIII’s viewpoint was that a yeoman of his own guard presented Mary with the leek in March 1536, a few months before the “Pilgrimage of Grace” rebellion.⁶¹ One of the more surprising evocations of young Mary’s Welsh household comes from a poem celebrating Catherine of Aragon as *The Second Grisild* [1553] penned by William Forrest in which he refers to Catherine pining for Mary in 1525 when the latter was ruling her court in Ludlow as a “sovereign princess.”⁶²

Clearly, the memory of Mary’s Welsh household continued to linger, even to the time of her accession in 1553: the vice-regal council continued to govern Wales in her name until 1536, she retained the estates of Bromfield, Yale, and Chirkland—part of the landed endowment traditionally granted to male Princes of Wales—until 1529, and at least one of her former attendants Anne Hussey (who was also, significantly, wife to one of the noble figureheads of the “Pilgrimage of Grace”) could not break the habit of reverence toward Mary. Consequently, it is hardly surprising that the rebels in the 1536 “Pilgrimage of Grace” regarded Mary as a credible successor to the throne. Traditionally, the demand by the rebels for Mary’s restoration to the succession has been viewed as part of a package of demands to restore the socioeconomic-religious and political apparatus that was in place before Henry VIII’s and the Reformation Parliament’s break with the Roman Catholic Church.⁶³

I suggest here that a supplementary consideration may have played a role in this particular demand. As the daughter of the discarded queen Catherine of Aragon, Mary was, in 1536, undoubtedly a nostalgic symbol of the old order. But there is, perhaps, a case to be made for taking Robert Aske at his word when he stated, under interrogation, that he believed that Mary’s restoration to the succession was the best means to prevent an “alien” (Scottish) succession to the crown after Henry VIII’s death. Rather than indulging in nostalgic wishful thinking, Aske may have been making a practical assessment of the political situation as it existed in the autumn and winter of 1536. Mary had been groomed for sovereign rule as a *de facto* Prince(ss) of Wales. Her household had functioned as a court characterized by an erudite, humanist, literary culture of reverence toward herself as evidenced by Duwes’ French manual, the poem by Newman, and the crown Instructions for her household staff. These resonances of this household and its reverential culture centered on Mary persisted long after she left the marches as evidenced by Anne Hussey’s arrest, the continued payment

of wages to her Welsh household staff until 1532, and William Forrest's 1553 poem. Aske may have been shrewdly gambling that no foreign national, even an adult male Scottish king, could command more loyalty within the English polity than the "redolent" Mary, whether officially demoted or not. Jane Grey and the duke of Northumberland may have done well to remember in 1553 what Aske and the "Pilgrimage" rebels knew in 1536—that when it came to a choice amongst various candidates for the throne, be they adult male kings (James V) or the designated heirs of dead kings (Grey), the English polity would support the rights of the person who had already served a political apprenticeship in the Welsh Marches and so was ready to assume the sovereign reins of power: Mary Tudor, the redolent "sovereign princess."

When Mary acceded to the throne in 1553, she was already an experienced ruler. She had recently been overlord to the tenants and clients associated with the Howard affinity in East Anglia. It was this affinity that had served as her core support in her successful campaign to repel the challenge posed by Jane Grey and John Dudley, duke of Northumberland. Like Mary, Elizabeth too had acted, before her accession, as overlord to her tenants and clients associated with her landed patrimony. Unlike Mary, Elizabeth had never presided over a vice-regal court. This may, perhaps, account for their different governing styles, aside obviously from personality differences and the different particulars of their historical situations as rulers. Mary was used to commanding her household officers as a "great princess" and so it appears she expected absolute obedience from her privy councilors and subjects. By contrast, it was all Elizabeth could do as a teenager from 1547 to 1551 to furnish her household with things that Mary had turned down, secure legal title to her primary residence (Hatfield), and maintain her borders and household with what, she considered, her inadequate landed revenues.⁶⁴ When she came to the throne in 1558, Elizabeth was not nearly as regal and autocratic a figure as Mary had been and this may have resulted in a greater willingness to take advice and consult her subjects on issues such as her marriage. This argument cannot be pushed too far since there were many variables involved, but one point that should be considered when trying to comprehend the difference between England's first two crowned female monarchs is the contrast between their pre-accession careers as heads of household: Elizabeth was an underfunded and underaged landowner overshadowed until November 17, 1558 by her half-sister Mary who had spent most of her life as a sovereign princess.

Notes

1. For large-scale studies that focus on the rebellion, see M. Bush, *The Pilgrimage of Grace: A Study of the Rebel Armies of October 1536* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996) and R. W. Hoyle, *The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Politics of the 1530s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
2. M. Bateson, "Aske's Examination," *EHR* 5 (1890): 550–73.
3. The Second Act of Succession, 28 Hen. VIII c.7; Bateson, "Aske . . .," 564.
4. Bateson, "Aske . . .," 563–4.

5. For an explicit identification of Mary's legitimacy as a preventative measure against a Scottish succession, see item 3 in Pontefract Articles of the "Pilgrimage of Grace" in A. Fletcher, *Tudor Rebellions* (London: Longman, 1973), 128. For one of many attempts to present the infant Elizabeth as a marriage prospect to European royal houses, all such marriage negotiations failed, *LP*, VII: 191.
6. Bateson, "Aske...", 564.
7. For fuller consideration of the historical situation prompting Henry to send Mary to the Welsh Marches, see Jeri L. McIntosh, *From Heads of Household to Heads of State...* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 30–1, also available online via the Gutenberg-e website at: <http://www.gutenberg-e.org/mcintosh/chapter1.html#s1.4>.
8. *LP*, IV.i: 621, 1391.
9. S. J. Gunn, "The Regime of Charles, Duke of Suffolk, in North Wales and the Reform of the Welsh Government, 1509–1525," *The Welsh History Review*, 12 (1985): 461–95 and R. A. Griffiths, *Sir Rhys ap Thomas and his Family: A Study in the Wars of the Roses and Early Tudor Politics* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1993).
10. BL Cotton Vitellius, C.i., fols. 7^v–8^r.
11. BL Royal 14 B. XIX, 5324, unbound manuscript, no folio numbers.
12. *LP*, III, 337; McIntosh, *From Heads of Household to Heads of State...*, 18–37
13. BL Cotton Vitellius C.i, fols. 7^r–18^v (mss misnumbered on fol. 17) [old numbering: fols. 23^r–35^r].
14. BL Cleopatra, E. VI, fols. 325^r–328^r for privy council orders to establish Elizabeth's household and regulate Mary's. Insight into the infant Elizabeth's material existence can be glimpsed in Anne Boleyn's accounts, see E. W. Ives, *Life and Death of Anne Boleyn: The Most Happy* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 253–4.
15. "The Count of Feria's Dispatch to Philip II of 14 November 1558," ed. M. J. Rodríguez-Salgado and S. Adams, *Camden Miscellany*, 28 (Camden Society, 4th series, 29, 1984): 323.
16. BL Cotton Vitellius C.i, fol. 7^r; for later reference to the council as the "princes[s'] council" see *LP*, V: no. 99.
17. BL Cotton Vitellius C.i, fol. 7^r; spelling modernized.
18. BL Cotton Vitellius C.i, fols. 17^r–18^r.
19. As an example, see Edwardian privy council discussions of Henry VIII's will and landed assignments. *APC*, II: 43.
20. BL Cotton Vitellius C.i, fol. 17^r.
21. F. Jones, *The Princes of Wales and Principality of Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1969), 93–7 and T. P. Ellis, *The first extent of Bromfield and Yale...* (London: Hon. Society of Cymmadorion, 1924), 4.
22. S. Gunn, "The Regime of Charles, duke of Suffolk, in North Wales," *Welsh History*, 12 (1985): 486.
23. S. Adams, *Leicester and the Court: Essays on Elizabethan Politics* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002): 294.
24. An example of this was when Elizabeth I granted these estates and/or castles to Ambrose and Robert Dudley. S. Adams, *Leicester and the Court*, 295.
25. BL Cotton Vitellius, C.i., fol. 7^v.
26. BL Vespasian, F. XIII, vol. 2, fol. 240^r (formerly fol. 134) transcribed with idiosyncratic use of modern spelling in *LP*, IV.i: 1785.
27. BL Cotton Vitellius, C.i, fol. 8^v.

28. BL Cotton Vitellius, C.i, fol. 8^v.
29. Giles Du Wes, *An Introductory for to Learn to Read, to Pronounce, and to Speak French [1532?]* ed. R. C. Alston, Facsimile (Menston, U.K.: Scolar Press, 1972). In this useful facsimile edition, Alston assigns a highly speculative date of 1532. The *Revised Short-Title Catalogue* assigns a date of 1533. The confusion probably arises from the book containing two sections clearly composed at different times with separate dedications; the first half, dedicated to "Mary of England," suggests a pre-Boleyn marriage period whereas the second half of the book is dedicated to Henry VIII, Anne Boleyn, and Princess Elizabeth suggesting a date of 1533 or later [see S4^v-Tr^r]. This internal evidence suggest to me a publication date after Elizabeth's birth in September 1533 but before Duwes' death in 1535, hence the 1534 date used here. Hereafter, cited as "Duwes."
30. Duwes, A4.
31. Duwes, Dd2^r; BL Harleian, 6807, fol. 3^v.
32. Listed in Mary's 1525 household (BL Harleian 6807, fol. 3^v) but not listed in Mary's 1533 household, see BL Harleian 6807, fol. 7^v.
33. See n.13.
34. Although *The Courtier* did not appear in an English printed edition until 1561 (tr. Thomas Hoby), there is evidence to suggest that educated people in England were reading it in Italian, see D. Starkey, *Reign of Henry VIII* (London: George Philip, 1985), 33 and, by the same author, "The Court: Castiglione's Ideal and Tudor Reality; Being a Discussion of Sir Thomas Wyatt's Satire Addressed to Sir Francis Bryan," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 45 (1982): 232-9.
35. Castiglione's concepts of grace (*grazia*) as a gift from God and the deliberate human cultivation and consequent (seemingly) artless display of it (*sprezzatura*) were subtle distinctions not always appreciated by his contemporary readers. Duwes' manual concentrates on erudition as the path towards understanding and virtue rather than the ontology of virtue. For extended discussions of Castiglione's philosophy, see L. V. Ryan, "Book Four of Castiglione's Courtier: Climax or Afterthought?" *Studies in the Renaissance*, 19 (1972):156-79; E. Saccone, "Grazia, Sprezzatura, Affettazione in *The Courtier*" in *Castiglione: The Ideal and the Real in Renaissance Culture*, ed. Robert W. Hanning and David Rosand (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 45-67; J. Richards, "Assumed Simplicity and the Critique of Nobility: Or, How Castiglione Read Cicero," *RQ*, 54 (2001): 460-86.
36. Duwes, T3^v.
37. For a detailed discussion of the mid-Tudor iteration of this genre, see S. C. Lucas, "A Mirror for Magistrates" and the Politics of the English Reformation (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009).
38. Duwes, Dd2^v.
39. For more information on Duwes (who was also a lutenist), see Andrew Ashbee, "Groomed for Service: Musicians in the Privy Chamber at the English Court, c. 1495-1558," *Early Music*, 25 (1997): 185-97; 188-9.
40. Duwes, Eer^v, Bb2^r.
41. Duwes, Bbr^v, U3^v.
42. Identifying who's who in Duwes is not a straightforward undertaking given that there exist two variant lists of officers for Mary's household in 1525; one is in BL Cotton Vitellius C i, fols.7^r-18^v [formerly 23^r-35^v] and the other is in BL Harleian 6807, fols. 3^r-6^r. Furthermore, there is a distinction between the Lord Treasurer of the Household and the Treasurer of

the Privy Chamber. BL Cotton Vitellius C. i lists Sir Ralph Egerton only as "Treasurer" and Sydnor as "surveyor" whereas BL Harley 6807 [dated July 17, 1525] lists Sydnor as treasurer of the privy chamber. I managed to confuse Egerton and Sydnor when discussing Duwes' "treasurer" in my book *From Heads of Household to Heads of State*, 75–6.

43. *The Privy Purse Expenses of Princess Mary*, ed. F. Madden (London: William Pickering, 1831), *passim* from BL Royal 17 B.xxviii with divergent folio numbers because the mss was renumbered after Madden consulted it, also Madden leaves out Mary's totals in her own hand.
44. The following description of and all quotations from Mary and Sydnor's conversation are all from Duwes, Bb2^{r-v}.
45. J. L. Vives, *A very frutefull and pleasant boke called the Instructio[n] of a Christen woma[n]*... (2nd edn.) (London, 1529).
46. A representative example would be W. Gouge, *Of domesticall duties*... (2nd edn.) (London, 1622).
47. John Aylmer, *An harborovve for faithfull and trevve subiectes agaynst the late blowne blaste*... (London, 1559) set forth this argument at length, see C4^v, G1^r–3^r.
48. For extended discussion on contemporary views on female sovereignty and marriage, see J. M. Richards, "Mary Tudor as 'Sole Quene'?: Gendering Tudor Monarchy," *HJ*, 40 (1997): 895–924. Glyn Redworth argues that Philip was able to exercise considerable political influence in "'Matters Impertinent to Women': Male and Female Monarchy under Philip and Mary," *EHR*, 112 (1997): 597–613.
49. Duwes, Aa4^v.
50. Duwes, Bb1^r.
51. BL Cotton Vitellius, C.i, fol. 8^r.
52. Duwes, U3^{r-v}, U4^r, Aa2^v, and Aa4^v.
53. BL Add. 11, 814, fols. 26^v–29^r.
54. BL Add. 11, 814, fols. 26^v–29^r.
55. BL Add. 11, 814, fol. 27^r.
56. BL Add. 11, 814, fol. 27^v.
57. BL Cotton Otho X, fols. 260^r–262^v.
58. *LP*, V, no. 99; quoted in *Tudor Wales*, ed. T. Herbert and G. E. Jones (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1988), 147.
59. BL Stowe 141, fol. 13^r; D. M. Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), 46–7.
60. *The Privy Purse Expenses of Princess Mary*, 61, 152.
61. *The Privy Purse Expenses of Princess Mary*, 61.
62. W. Forrest, *The History of Grisild the Second: A Narrative, in verse, of the Divorce of Queen Katharine of Aragon* (1558), ed. W. D. Macray (London, 1875), 86.
63. An example of this interpretation is C. S. L. Davies, "The Pilgrimage of Grace Reconsidered," *Past & Present* 41 (December 1968): 54–76; p. 64.
64. For discussions of Mary's larger patrimony and allocation of royal furnishings as well as Elizabeth's problems retaining Hatfield and her lands, see McIntosh, *From Heads of Household to Heads of State* ..., 51, 120, 126–44.



CHAPTER 8

CHRISTIAN WOMEN OR SOVEREIGN QUEENS? THE SCHOOLING OF MARY AND ELIZABETH

*Aysa Pollnitz**

I

Biographical writing often has a neo-Freudian tendency, particularly when it deals with a subject's childhood and education. Mary and Elizabeth I have proved especially fertile grounds for biography and their early experiences have been mined for evidence of the queens they would become. Elizabeth is typically described as having been cultivated for rule while Mary, despite her early exposure to "Christian humanism," apparently learned to do little more than hand England over to Philip, evil prelates, and/or Rome.¹

Beyond our modern affinity to psychological explanation, scholars have confronted two related evidentiary difficulties in describing the half-sisters' educations. First, although their childhoods are comparatively well-documented, historians confront the same source imbalance that pertains to other learned women in the early modern period: there was much more written *about* them than *by* them. Second, these early modern commentators were frequently unsure what the point of educating women was. Nominally, the object of all learning was to cultivate virtue. In practice, however, the future prospects of a student were critical.²

One might assume that in the cases of Mary and Elizabeth, "future sovereignty" provided an adequate answer to the pedagogues' dilemma. Except, of course, the princesses' positions with respect to the succession changed a number of times between their births and eventual, unlikely accessions. Educators were conscious of the variable fortunes of noblewomen. Thomas Elyot's treatise the *Defence of good women* (1540), for instance, described the fate of Zenobia, the ancient Queen of Palmyra, whose early study of letters had allegedly prepared her for life as a royal daughter, consort, widowed-regent, and captive queen. Although Elyot claimed that moral philosophy would fit women for all fortune, his Zenobia actually demonstrated different qualities and skills in each office. As a royal daughter, she was famous

for her chastity. As a regent, she needed eloquence to maintain justice and order.³ Elyot's observations on the fortunes of noblewomen may have struck a chord with Princess Mary, who rewarded him with five shillings in January 1540.⁴

Elyot was not alone in associating particular sets of knowledge and skills with specific virtues and future duties. Erasmus of Rotterdam and Juan Luis Vives were among those who presented Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon with advice on how to educate their children. Their works described curricula that were meant to engender desirable conduct and sex-specific virtue in future office-bearers. This essay argues that when contemporaries praised Elizabeth's or Mary's learning, or when the princesses and their tutors circulated evidence of their erudition, they relied on similar associations. Instead of offering us windows into Mary's and Elizabeth's psyches (let alone their souls), evidence from their schoolrooms provides insights into English political culture. It also suggests some surprising continuities between the princesses' educations.

II

In the year following Princess Mary's birth, Desiderius Erasmus presented his *Institutio principis Christiani* (1516) to Henry VIII.⁵ The text became quickly and enduringly influential in England.⁶

Erasmus justified the careful education of princes by appealing to the Platonic adage that states were well-governed when kings became philosophers. Specifically he proposed that princes study *honestae* or *bonae litterae* under wise and erudite schoolmasters. Erasmus argued that the prince should learn Latin and Greek grammar by reading fables and parables and then tackle selected books from the Bible. Next he should read moral philosophy: Plutarch's *Apophthegms*, *Moralia* and the *Lives*; the works of Seneca; Aristotle's *Politics*; Cicero's *De officiis*; and Plato's *Republic*, for "the purer message" on the duties of philosopher-kings. Finally, he encouraged the prince to draw on his own work on Latin expression, *De copia*.⁷

In the *Institutio*, Erasmus was circumspect about the moral value of much classical history, but with reference to Henry VIII's own childhood studies, he recommended *historia* to princes in his 1531 edition of Livy.⁸ Indeed, when Elyot and Vives fleshed out Erasmus' curriculum in their treatises on learning for noblemen, they followed Erasmus' emphasis on cultivating moral probity, historically informed prudence, and rhetorical flair.⁹

III

There is no sign, however, that Henry VIII interpreted Erasmus' gift as pertaining to the education of his daughter, Mary. Prince Edward and indeed Henry Fitzroy, the king's illegitimate son, studied under humanist pedagogues from the age of six. Household accounts, however, suggest that Mary had no official schoolmaster until 1525.

This absence was one sign that Mary's princely status had not been resolved prior to 1525. While Mary's household increased in size and stature from 1519 to 1525, particularly with the temporary appointment of Margaret Pole, countess of Salisbury, as her governess, its scale was unequal to Prince Edward's establishment in 1544.¹⁰ Two early contracts for Mary's marriage described her as Henry's sole heir, but related correspondence suggests that the king was gambling on the princess's claim remaining untested.¹¹ Perhaps most tellingly, on June 28, 1520, when the French sent envoys to check on their dauphin's fiancée, Princess Mary was swiftly relocated to the king's palace at Richmond and a gaggle of noblewomen was rounded up to attend on her. Salisbury hastily taught Mary to receive them "w[ith] moost goodly countenance [and] proper commyunycac[i]on."¹² Her "princely" state had to be manufactured for the occasion. The papal envoy, Giovanni Batista Sangi, reported in November 1524 that few believed that "the daughter of the King of England [would] bring that kingdom with her as dower."¹³

Henry doubted his daughter's princely potential; Catherine of Aragon did not. Catherine's mother, Isabel of Castile, had given her a careful education and a positive model of female sovereignty.¹⁴ In turn, Catherine tried to promote her daughter's princely status through her schooling. Reginald Pole reported that it was the queen who had implored the countess of Salisbury to serve as Mary's governess.¹⁵ According to Erasmus, she also took Mary's Latin instruction in hand herself, perhaps in conjunction with Mary's chaplain and clerk of the closet, Henry Rowle.¹⁶ Noting Mary's frequent absences from Catherine's company, David Loades has questioned this claim.¹⁷ Yet in July 1525, following the appointment of Mary's first schoolmaster, Catherine wrote to her daughter: "As for your writing in Lattine, I am glad ye shalt change frome me to Maister [Richard] Federston." She asked Mary to continue sending her "of yo[u]r owne enditing [composition]" so that she could see her keep her letters "latten and fayer writing and all."¹⁸ In lieu of a schoolmaster, Catherine may have tried to fill the gaps. If Mary was educated as a prince, she would have a better chance of becoming one.

The other part of Catherine's campaign was literary patronage. On April 5, 1523 Catherine's client Juan Luis Vives completed his *De institutione feminae christianae*, which he claimed was a plan for Mary's education.¹⁹ Vives's work was influential in England; it was translated into English by Richard Hyrde and printed by Thomas Berthelet in 1529 and reprinted on eight further occasions before 1600.²⁰ The queen had not commissioned it but the pension she granted Vives in July 1521 encouraged him to "send something" to her when he had completed his edition of Augustine's *De civitate Dei* (1522).²¹

Vives claimed to offer Catherine "an image of [her] mind" by describing her honorable conduct as a maid, wife, and widow (to Prince Arthur). If Mary imitated her mother's behavior, he predicted that she would become a paragon of all that was "virtuous and holy."²² As has been pointed out, however, Vives's *De institutione*, like a number of Erasmus' works on female

education, offered a pattern for female domesticity rather than public office.²³ Where Erasmus had used a Platonic justification for teaching kings to be philosophers, Vives reasoned on remedial, Aristotelian lines for women: politics that failed to “provide for the proper education of women deprive themselves of a great part of their prosperity,” and male citizens found “nothing so troublesome as sharing... life with a person of no principles.”²⁴ While Vives tended to view all humanity through Augustinian lenses, he thought that women were even more vulnerable to corruption than men.²⁵ In *De institutione* and in his subsequent *De officio mariti* (1529 and revised 1538), Vives made it clear that female weakness was physical and psychological, not intellectual. Nevertheless it meant that women could only aspire to passive, rather than active, virtues on earth.²⁶

Largely, for Vives, the female virtue under consideration was chastity and the goal of women's education was to protect it.²⁷ As such Vives focused his prescriptions for women on needlework and the study of “that part of philosophy that has assumed as its task the formation and improvement of morals.”²⁸ Vives recommended the Gospels, Acts “and the epistles, the historical and moral books of the Old Testament”; the Church fathers; early Christian writers such as Boethius; Plato, Cicero, and Seneca; and Christian poets such as Prudentius.²⁹ Reading these works in the original would have required knowledge of Latin and Greek but Vives notes in *De officio mariti* that poetry was just as morally efficacious in translation.³⁰ In addition, women were instructed to copy down “wise and holy sentiments from the Holy Scriptures or ... philosophers” so that these teachings would remain firmly in their memories.³¹ Once a Christian woman had such learning, she was discouraged from using it publicly. Vives echoed Italian humanists such as Leonardo Bruni in claiming that women's education was “not at all concerned with eloquence.” He also argued that studying nature, classical histories, chronicles, dialectic, mathematics, political administration, or theology was unsuitable for Christian women.³²

Vives, therefore, debarred women, including the Queen of England and her daughter, from the knowledge of civic disciplines. In fact, apart from self-improvement, the only use for learning that Vives did not proscribe was the instruction of other women and children.³³ Contemporaries typically construed this as permission for women to circulate pious translations for the benefit of their social inferiors (though men made such translations too). Hyrde, Vives's own English translator, dedicated Margaret More's version of a prayer of Erasmus to another “vertuous yonge mayde.”³⁴ Not only did More's translation make a spiritually improving work accessible to other Christian women, it also encouraged them to emulate her in learning.

One might speculate that Catherine had more than this in mind for Mary. On January 25, 1524, Vives reported that he had taken to “philosophizing with the queen, now and then” during his time in England.³⁵ Among other things, they seem to have discussed Mary's future. When the royal couple met Vives in Oxford in October 1523, the humanist presented the queen with an alternative curriculum for her daughter, *Epistola*

I de ratione studii puerilis (printed 1524). Vives noted in his dedicatory epistle that the plan had been commanded (*iussisti*) specifically by Catherine for Mary.³⁶ This may explain why Vives's prescriptions in the *Epistola* differ so strikingly from those in *De institutione feminae Christianae*. The *Epistola* assumed that Mary needed to use learning in public contexts. Vives insisted that Mary pronounce Latin correctly and write it in a hand "not so much elegant as speedy." Her memory must "hold her back from no business" and she should parse little English orations into Latin.³⁷ Vives proposed a variety of techniques for developing ready Latin speech and composition, including stylistic imitation, a commonplace book, and daily conversation.³⁸ Indeed, these methods anticipated Giles du Wés's plan for teaching the princess French in her household in Wales. Du Wés's *Introductorie for to lerne... Frenche* (1533?) suggests that his preferred teaching method was to engage the princess in conversation and to role-play dialogues in which Mary acted as head of a noble household, receiving a messenger from the king or bantering with her treasurer.³⁹ Both Vives's and du Wés's instructions indicate that they thought the princess would need ready Latin and French to manage court business with ease and grace.

Significantly Vives also extended the range of authors suitable for Mary's consideration. He recommended Plutarch's writings and Plato's dialogues "especially those which consider the government of the commonwealth." He also included contemporary political philosophy, such as Thomas More's *Utopia* and Erasmus' *Institutio principis Christiani*, alongside the latter's *Paraphrasis* on the Gospels. When Mary's *ratio* is compared to Vives's contemporary prescriptions for Charles Blount, Greek and *historia* still seem marginalized.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, the *Epistola* described a curriculum for cultivating ready speech and political prudence—qualities for civic leadership.

Beyond reporting that he had been ordered to produce the *Epistola*, Vives did not try to justify his plan or explain how Mary's study of policy or rhetoric would enhance (or fail to detract from) her feminine virtue. Perhaps he was not quite sure himself: he certainly returned to cultivating chaste domesticity with his *De officio mariti* of 1529. It was this preferred, original pattern, moreover, that came to dominate representations of Mary and Elizabeth's schooling.

IV

By 1525, Catherine had made her case with Henry VIII that Mary required a careful education largely on account of her failure to produce a male heir. From August 1525 until early 1527 Mary served as the king's vice-regent in the Welsh Marches, an office typically assigned to the heir-presumptive.⁴¹ The princess was accompanied by her recently reappointed governess, Margaret Pole, a council led by John Voysey, Bishop of Exeter, and an independent household of up to 304 people.⁴² Among them were her new schoolmaster, Richard Fetherstone (archdeacon of St. David's in Brecknock, South Wales) and her French tutor, du Wés.⁴³ On July 20,

1526, Mary's council was instructed to report on her academic progress at least once a month.⁴⁴ "W[i]thout fatigacion or wearines" Salisbury was "to intende to [Mary's] learning of Latine tongue and French" daily.⁴⁵ Salisbury, Fetherstone, and du Wés did well in Wales: the king rewarded the countess with 33 ounces of plate, and Fetherstone and Duwes with 20 $\frac{3}{4}$ oz each on January 1, 1528. All three continued in their posts until December 1533.⁴⁶ Between 1525 and 1533, Henry provided for the careful education of his daughter.

It was Mary's status as a potential heir, rather than Vives's argument that a lack of learning would imperil her chastity, that secured her a schoolmaster. Nevertheless surviving evidence of the princess's education reflected Vives's plan for the Christian woman, rather than Erasmus' curriculum for princes, or even the prescriptions of Vives's *Epistola*. Mary's reading apparently focused on works that encouraged piety and moral recititude and she circulated translation exercises, apparently for the edification of her social inferiors.

In 1527, for instance, Mary translated Thomas Aquinas' prayer for the ordering of life, which had begun to attain popularity in England among the devout laity. Indeed the prayer would be included in primers authorized by each Tudor monarch.⁴⁷ Analysis of English and continental versions of the prayer reveals that Mary probably worked from a medieval Latin rendering, printed in a 1514 Salisbury Book of Hours.⁴⁸ Henry Parker, Lord Morley, was right to praise her for coming "neare to the laten" of the original.⁴⁹ The prayer asks God to "graunte [the penitent] to covyt with an ardent mynde those things whiche may please [him]." She begs God to make her "Obedyent w[i]t[h] oute arguyng, Pacient w't oute grutching, And pure wi[t]h oute corrupcion."⁵⁰ These were suitable lessons for a Christian woman. By translating the prayer, Mary demonstrated that she had inscribed them on her character. Moreover, Mary's Englishing was subsequently copied by other women and children, notably a female courtier, who placed it in her book of hours, and the family of Lord Morley, who also copied it into their books.⁵¹ Like Vives's Christian woman, Mary demonstrated that she used learning to edify herself as well as other women and children.

The most important and widely circulated relic of Mary's schooling stretched but did not break with Vives's prescriptions. Shortly after Mary's reinstatement to the succession in 1544, Katherine Parr encouraged the princess to translate the *Paraphrase of Erasmus on the Gospel of Saint John* (printed 1548).⁵² As I have argued elsewhere, Mary made a serious attempt at it.⁵³ Despite the fact that the English *Paraphrases* were subsequently placed in parishes across England to further the Reformation, Erasmus' commentary on John contained little to offend Mary doctrinally. After all, it had been recommended to the princess by Vives himself. Nicholas Udall, the editor of the *Paraphrases*, concurred that Mary's literary activities constituted a "royal exercise in ded of virginly educacio[n]."⁵⁴ The princess was the image of Vives's chastely educated Christian woman.

The surviving evidence of Mary's education does not preclude the possibility that she actually followed a more "princely" curriculum. Indeed she seems to have studied rhetoric at some point.⁵⁵ We can conclude, however, that prior to Mary's accession Featherstone, Morley, Udall, and arguably the princess herself presented her schooling as if it was preparing her for Christian womanhood, rather than sovereignty. This sustained representation of Mary's education as peculiarly feminine has frustrated historians' attempts to analyze her preparedness to rule and encouraged some severe assessments of her intellectual powers.⁵⁶ We may speculate that the guise of the educated Christian woman was a prudent way of dressing the princess's intellectual activities. She was certainly permitted to continue her "most becoming studies" during her years of political marginalization (1534–36) when more civic-minded reading may have appeared seditious.⁵⁷ As we will see, moreover, Elizabeth's pedagogues regarded Mary's education as worthy of imitation.

V

Princess Elizabeth's position with respect to the succession proved to be even more tenuous than Mary's. At birth she was proclaimed Henry's heir but in May 1536, before her formal education had commenced, Elizabeth was declared illegitimate and ineligible to rule. Consequently provisions for her schooling echoed the early arrangements for Mary. No schoolmaster was appointed to Elizabeth's household until 1544 but others stepped in to fill the breach: a certain John Picton and Katherine Champenowne (subsequently Astley), who would become the princess's "mistress" sometime before 1547.⁵⁸ If Elizabeth's first letter and translation are indicative, Picton and Champenowne introduced her to Italian and French, but not Latin or Greek. Her early education was not princely.

In 1544, however, Parliament restored Mary and Elizabeth to the succession behind Prince Edward. On July 7 that year Edward was placed under humanist schoolmasters Richard Coxe, John Cheke, and Jean Belmaine.⁵⁹ These men came to occupy the same sector of the confessional spectrum as Edward's godfather, Thomas Cranmer. Shortly afterward, men of similar outlook were appointed to teach Elizabeth: Cambridge graduate William Grindal, whom Roger Ascham had introduced to John Cheke in 1544; and Jean Belmaine, who taught her handwriting as well as French. After Grindal's death in January 1548, Ascham became Elizabeth's schoolmaster, allegedly at the princess's request.⁶⁰ By August 1549 Edmund Allen, the evangelical catechist, had become her chaplain. At Martin Bucer's request he introduced Johannes Spithovius, a pupil of Melancthon's, to Elizabeth's schoolroom.⁶¹

Yet Elizabeth's surviving school exercises have more in common with Mary's than Edward's.⁶² These relics, predominantly religious translations, do not represent the princess's total curriculum but they were circulated at court, so they provide evidence for how Elizabeth and her tutors wanted

her education to be perceived. Indeed, as late as November 1566, the queen was still claiming to have studied nothing but devotional works before her accession.⁶³ As with Mary, careful arrangements were made for Elizabeth's education because of her position in the succession, but the first fruits of her learning suggested that she was merely a good Christian woman.

On December 31, 1544, for instance, Elizabeth presented an English prose rendering of Marguerite of Navarre's *Le Miroir de l'âme pécheresse*, entitled "Glasse of the synnefull soule," to Katherine Parr. Her text adopted the perspective of a sinner who discovers she can "do nothing that good is or prevayleth for her salvacion, onles it be through the grace of god."⁶⁴ Despite the probable guidance of Belmaine, the translation is riddled with errors, which have led modern scholars to diagnose Elizabeth with various Freudian ailments.⁶⁵ As Janel Mueller and Joshua Scodel have pointed out, however, most of the princess's mistakes are "eye skips" or misuses of gendered pronouns to reflect Marguerite's French.⁶⁶ They are just the sort of errors that an eleven-year-old under pressure of a deadline would make. "There is nothinge done as it shulde be," Elizabeth moaned in her dedicatory letter to Parr.⁶⁷ Actually, all Elizabeth's juvenile translations contain slip-ups; like her sister, she was an enthusiastic but hurried grammarian.

Psychosexual readings of Elizabeth's "Glasse" have gained traction because the Pauline conversion experience of the original was described in deeply sensual language. Specifically, Marguerite employed imagery derived from the royal marriage in the Song of Solomon to describe her soul's union with God.⁶⁸ This had not troubled the Sorbonne, but it strikes modern readers as an odd choice for an eleven-year-old girl.⁶⁹ In fact, Elizabeth chastened Marguerite's language in translation. She excised the most explicit phrases, such as Marguerite's description of God's love as *ung doulx dard* and her injunction to "let Him alone be enclosed in you" (*Et que luy seul soit enfermé en vous*).⁷⁰ Additionally, she moderated the sexual force of Marguerite's figurative language: *consummer/ Fondre, brusler, du tout abeantir/ l'ame* was reduced "to be consumed by love"; love for the Creator should "styrre," rather than *brusler*, a sinner; *charité ardente* became merely "charitie."⁷¹ With this translation, the princess showed her learned capacity to transcend carnal ignorance and attain true chastity of mind.

Finally, Elizabeth justified her translation in Vives's terms. She explained to Parr that she had undertaken the translation to avoid falling into "pusilanimite and ydlenes," which she deemed "most repugnante unto a reasonable creature."⁷² Indeed Elizabeth demonstrated that she had employed both of Vives's prophylactics against female sin by binding her works in covers of her own embroidery. Subsequently Elizabeth's translations were also used to edify her social inferiors. In 1548 John Bale printed Elizabeth's "Glasse" with significant revisions and editorial additions. In one of his commentaries he described Elizabeth as one in a line of English women who cultivated godliness in "all sortes of people, hygh, lowe, hayle, sycke, ryche, poore, lerned, and unlerned."⁷³ As with Mary, Elizabeth's efforts were circulated under her own name because of her royal blood. Yet the virtuous conduct that pious translations could be used

to emphasize—personal attention to morally improving texts and a concern for the spiritual welfare of one's social "children"—was that which Vives had lauded for all Christian women.

Elizabeth and her teachers evidently saw the pattern of the well-educated Christian woman as a useful hand-me-down from Mary. Perhaps they thought it would help to establish Elizabeth's virtue in the eyes of those who had seen her mother's disgrace. When Elizabeth presented French, Italian, and Latin translations of Parr's *Prayers or Meditations* to Henry VIII in 1545, for instance, she insisted it proved she was her father's daughter, who "would be indebted to you not only as an imitator of your virtues but indeed as an inheritor of them."⁷⁴ Of course, in 1545 the chance of Elizabeth inheriting Henry's throne was slight. By translating the work of a queen consort into three tongues, however, Elizabeth demonstrated readiness for her more probable future as a pawn in a diplomatic marriage.

A surprising continuity in both princesses' Henrician displays of erudition lay in their confessional tone. Elizabeth's "Glasse" emphasized that scripture was God's word made flesh in Christ, and that Christ's love was an entry to salvation and a model for human relations. These themes were central to Mary's translation of Erasmus' *Paraphrase on the Gospel of Saint John*, to Elizabeth's (lost) French version of Erasmus' *Dialogus fidei* (1544), and her trilingual translation of Parr's *Prayers or Meditations* (1545).⁷⁵ Elizabeth's school exercises engaged with the Pauline conversion experience to a greater degree, but both sisters were associated with an Erasmian spirituality that emphasized the centrality of scripture and faith for salvation, without attacking the real presence in the Mass. From 1544 to 1546, both princesses steered this moderate course through the murky waters of religious policy. Their public expressions of personal religion diverged only in Edward's reign.

VI

If Mary's education set the pattern for Elizabeth's, we might ask how historians have concluded that Mary had been taught to subject herself and England to Spain, while Elizabeth studied for rule? The explanation lies in the ultimate success of the English Reformation.

Elizabeth's Latin rendering of "De Christo sermo," the twelfth sermon of the second part of Bernardino Ochino's *Prediche* (1543?–62), dedicated to King Edward, demonstrated a new inclination for further reform.⁷⁶ Although it is difficult to date the translation precisely, its performance was part of the celebratory reception of Ochino in London, where he served as one of Cranmer's key recruits to Edward's church militant.⁷⁷ By Edwardian standards "De Christo sermo" was a moderate affair, which emphasized the redeeming power of God's grace as expressed through Christ's love. Nevertheless Elizabeth's translation advertised her acceptance of the idea that "Christ imprinted love (*amorem*) on the heart of his elect (*suorum electorum*)" alone.⁷⁸ In 1545 she had translated the first chapter

of Jean Calvin's *Institution de la religion Chrestienne* (1541, French edition) so as to mute Calvin's claim that God elects only "those to whom it pleases him to give knowledge of himself for salvation" (*ausquels il luy plaist se donner à congnoistre en salut*).⁷⁹ In translating Ochino, however, Elizabeth acknowledged that God would not redeem all his human creations.

Elizabeth's flirtation with predestination was probably short-lived.⁸⁰ It is clear, however, that Elizabeth's new schoolmaster, Ascham, whose handwriting influenced the narrower italic of her "De Christo sermo," was keen to consolidate his credentials as a reformer through his association with the princess. In late 1549 or early 1550 Ascham experienced what he referred to as his "shipwreck" at court and returned to Cambridge.⁸¹ From there, he initiated a correspondence with Strasburg pedagogue Johann Sturm, through which he may have hoped to redeem his position in Elizabeth's household. The humanists' impressively Ciceronian letters (printed 1551) praised Edward as a new Josiah and lauded the learning of evangelical members of the English nobility.⁸² It was here that Ascham articulated the fiction, which sustained historians until the later years of the twentieth century, that classical learning in the English court was the preserve of reformers.⁸³

As Ascham explained, he wished to praise erudite evangelical women, including the daughters of the duke of Somerset, Lady Jane Grey and Mildred Cecil.⁸⁴ "Among them all, however," Ascham wrote, "the shining star, as it were, is my Lady Elizabeth, sister of our king. She stands out not so much for brightness of birth as for the splendour of virtue and letters."⁸⁵ Ascham praised the princess for her facility in subjects that Vives had warned pre-Reformation women off: Greek, which Elizabeth even spoke "moderately well," classical history, and rhetoric. Indeed he alleged that she had learned her Latin from Cicero and Livy and her Greek from Isocrates. It was Elizabeth's evangelicalism, Ascham claimed, that had encouraged him to teach her rhetoric. Reading scripture had made the princess thirsty for Cyprian and Melancthon's *Loci communes*, in which "pure doctrine was joined with elegant speech." Elizabeth's reformed faith enabled her to go "beyond the daughters of Thomas More in all forms of letters."⁸⁶ In order to glorify the reformed religion, Ascham went beyond Vives and his pre-Reformation predecessors in what he was prepared to teach his female pupils.

Yet in his letters to Sturm and in subsequent writings, Ascham continued to insist that Elizabeth excelled in all conventional, Aristotelian measurements of female virtue. "All Aristotelian praise has flowed into her: beauty, birth, prudence and industry, all of the highest order," Ascham wrote. Despite her eloquence, Elizabeth was chaste in mind and body, indeed "the whole manner of her life seems to reflect Hippolyta, not Phaedra."⁸⁷ If a woman was truly Christian, she might study rhetoric with no threat to her virtue.

In Edward's reign, Ascham stretched Vives's pattern for Mary's education in order to glorify Elizabeth as a distinctly evangelical princess. In the seventeenth century, widespread fear of popery meant that the reformers' claim

to have produced the nation's first learned ladies went unchallenged. In 1673, for instance, when Bathsua Makin sought to praise erudite women of the past, her panegyric followed Ascham through Cookes and Greys to arrive at the lofty summit of Elizabeth. Mary's education was never in sight.⁸⁸

VII

In life neither Sturm nor Ascham had disdained the patronage of Catholics. After Edward's death Ascham sought employment with several, including Queen Mary herself.⁸⁹ Nevertheless he remained in sporadic contact with Elizabeth and built his subsequent reputation as "the Scholemaster of the best Scholer, that euer were" on his short stint in her service.⁹⁰ Indeed Ascham's relentless self-promotion has arguably been a significant factor in generating the praise that scholars have heaped on Elizabeth's learning.

One of Ascham's few surviving personal letters from Mary's reign was addressed to Sturm on September 14, 1555. It was written in the month following the dismissal of the rockers, who had been on standby awaiting the birth of Mary's phantom-child.⁹¹ Elizabeth had been brought back to court and her status as Mary's heir was much discussed by ambassadors and Ascham's then-patron, Stephen Gardiner.⁹² In contrast to previous epistles, Ascham's description of Elizabeth's learning in this letter was of a decidedly princely character. He claimed that she had been engaged in the study of Greek forensic oratory, more specifically, in the examination of a pair of speeches by Aeschines and Demosthenes entitled *On the Crown*. Ascham praised Elizabeth's grasp of "all the charges of the case, the decrees of the people, the customs and manners of their city."⁹³ It seems as though he had begun preparing Elizabeth for government. He certainly repeated his praise for her comprehension of these orations on several occasions after her accession.

In the early years of Elizabeth's reign, however, Ascham also continued to extol her feminine virtues. In an early draft of *The Scholemaster*, probably written in 1562–63, Ascham claimed that the queen was "a Mistres of womanhod to all women, & a mirror of cumlie & orderlier lyvinge to all her court." Elizabeth excelled other noble women in feminine accomplishments such as "ridingge most trymlie . . . dansing most comlye, in playing of Instrumments most excellentye in all cunnyng needlework, & finest portraiture." Yet she was as chaste as Diana when it came to "courtlye pleasing" and "vayne delites."⁹⁴ Ascham seemed unsure which humanist template would magnify the queen's virtues and his own achievement most effectively.

It was only in the final, printed version of *The Scholemaster* (1570) that Ascham finally broke the Marian mould for praising Elizabeth's learning. Before his death in 1568 he stripped out all textual reference to Elizabeth's chastity and feminine accomplishments; her chief virtue now was justice. By this retelling, her first exercises were not pious translations from French but the "double translating of Demosthenes and Isocrates dailie without missing euerie forenon, and likewise som part of Tullie euery afternone."⁹⁵ She was the princely embodiment of all that English

gentlemen and noblemen should aspire to.⁹⁶ In short, Ascham rewrote his account of Elizabeth's education retrospectively in order to suggest that he had cultivated her for rule from her childhood.

Of course, some of Elizabeth's reputation for learning is due to her own lion-like oratorical performances as queen. Yet much scholarly praise of the queen's erudition simply repeats Ascham's retrospective and self-promoting account of their time together. Through his influential representations, Elizabeth's education became the education of a philosopher-king, but only after the fact.

VIII

Early modern educational writers would have agreed with Freud that childhood is formative of adult character. Yet they and the culture they shaped viewed the nature and object of education very differently indeed. The princesses, their parents, householders, and schoolmasters regarded the schoolroom as a place for imprinting their otherwise blank and corruptible minds and souls with the knowledge, skills, and virtues they would require as adults. Since Mary's and Elizabeth's futures were politically sensitive and varied affairs, their learning was too. The late appointment of their schoolmasters, Vives's apparently contradictory treatises for Mary's education, and Ascham's shifting accounts of Elizabeth's studies make this quite clear.

As such, the princesses' schooling was shaped by the succession question and the politics of religious reform as much as it was by the pedagogical impulse of humanism. Although Mary and Elizabeth were educated for dynastic reasons, they and their tutors seized on Vives's pattern of the Christian woman as the most useful (or least inflammatory) way of justifying their learning until 1555 at least. Despite their subsequent confessional differences, the princesses' pious translations show the extent to which Mary's education influenced Elizabeth's. Yet the process of religious reform and Ascham's self-promoting account of Elizabeth's cultivation have arguably obscured such continuities in historical accounts of the Tudor queens.

Notes

*The author would like to thank delegates to the "Partners in Throne and Grave" Conference, Chawton House, 2007 and the Early Modern English Literature and History Seminar, University of Oxford for comments on early versions of this paper, and Trinity College, Cambridge and the Folger Shakespeare Library for supporting this research.

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IV

LOVE AND WAR

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CHAPTER 9

“SPES MAXIMA NOSTRA”: EUROPEAN PROPAGANDA AND THE SPANISH MATCH

Corinna Streckfuss

I

When we think about the marriage of Mary I and Philip of Spain, “*spes maxima nostra* / our greatest hope” is a far from obvious description.¹ In terms of greatness, it rather tends to be seen as a “great mistake.” Its political circumstances were difficult: the bride was queen regnant of a country that had forsaken allegiance to the papacy twenty years before, and the bridegroom was a prince from a devout Catholic country within the Habsburg Empire. Due to English fears of “foreign dominance,” the marriage had been controversial ever since Mary’s intentions had leaked out in the autumn of 1553, and its critics were finally proved to have been right four years later when England lost Calais, her last possession on the continent, in Philip’s war against France.²

No wonder, then, that traditional historiography has not grasped the positive aspects of Mary and Philip’s union for contemporaries in England and on the continent. Although a fair amount of scholarly attention has recently been focused on how royal wedding celebrations were publicized in early modern festival books, Mary and Philip’s wedding has not been discussed in this context.³ Given the Marian court’s reputation for a lack of splendid festivities in comparison to the Elizabethan court, this neglect is hardly surprising. But how does it fit in with the so far unnoticed fact that the marriage of Mary and Philip of Spain received much more attention abroad than any other royal union of the 1550s, such as the marriage of Mary Stuart to the French Dauphin and Philip’s third marriage to Elizabeth Valois?

This essay is aimed at filling this gap in Marian historiography by investigating how and why this marriage was made known all over western Europe. Going beyond the usual Anglocentric perspective in Marian historiography, it will place her marriage in the wider context of European dynastic and religious politics of the time. It will show that authors with very different backgrounds were interested in promulgating news about this union and employing it for wider propaganda purposes.⁴ And it will explain what made it such a “great hope” to contemporaries.

II

A first indicator can be found by looking at the numbers and languages of publications related to the marriage of Mary and Philip as well as their authors, places of publication, and literary forms. At least twenty contemporary printed publications dealt exclusively or predominantly with the marriage. Even more striking than their number is the fact that they were written in six different languages. Taking into consideration the difficulties involved in persuading the English to accept the marriage, it is surprising to find only three English texts celebrating the final conclusion of this union.⁵ However, there were seven publications in Italian, four in Latin, and two each in Spanish, German, and Dutch.⁶ With the significant exception of French, this variety covered all the main western European languages of the time.

The European dimension of these publications can also be deduced from their authors and their places of publication. The ten identifiable authors include a wide variety of Europeans from quite different backgrounds and affiliations: the English playwright John Heywood; John Christopherson, the master of Trinity College Cambridge and later Bishop of Chichester; John Elder, the Scottish tutor to Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley; Andrés Muñoz, the Spanish lackey of Philip's son Don Carlos; Pedro Enriquez, one of Philip's Spanish stewards; Giovanni Paolo Car., an Italian servant of the marquis of Pescara (a member of Philip's entourage); Giovanni Alberto Albicante from Milan and Nicolaus Mameranus from Luxembourg, two scholars who had written other celebratory works about the Habsburgs; the Netherlandish scholar Hadrianus Junius; and a scholar from Poland called Leonard Gorecki.⁷ While six texts were printed in London, four came from Rome, two from Milan, and one each from Antwerp, Augsburg, Cologne, Nuremberg, Seville, and Zaragoza—all cities within Tudor, Papal, and, especially, Habsburg dominions.⁸

With regard to literary forms, the following pattern evolves: eleven publications are foreign eyewitness reports giving a detailed account of Philip's journey to England, the actual wedding ceremony, and his first weeks in his new country.⁹ In most cases, the writer does not reveal his identity and the account assumes the form of a printed newsletter based on handwritten letters from London. Another publication with a similar claim to authenticity is *La vera Capitulatione*, an Italian translation of the marriage treaty. The seven other publications are more artistic in form, being eulogistic poems and orations in celebration of the wedding.¹⁰ Furthermore, there was one scholarly tract—Christopherson's.

Thus, publications related to the Tudor-Habsburg union in 1554 covered a wide range of languages, authors, and literary genres. But how unusual was such a European-wide publication of a royal marriage in the mid-sixteenth century?

III

Looking at the marriage of Mary Stuart and the French Dauphin Francis Valois in 1558, it is striking that there are only nine related publications—less

than half the number that had celebrated Mary I's wedding. Five are in French, three in Latin, and one in English.¹¹ Seven of these publications are plays and eulogistic poems of the couple and the Valois family; some of them were performed during the actual wedding celebration.¹² Only two texts are reports about the wedding and they are so similar in wording that one can safely assume that the English report published in Edinburgh is a translation of the French report published in Paris. Paris is also the only identifiable place of publication of the other works and their authors are, with the exception of George Buchanan, Frenchmen with a link to the Valois court. There is thus a striking French dominance in the publicity of the Stuart-Valois union—written in France, and (mainly) for the French.

Publications about the marriage of Philip II and the French Princess Elizabeth Valois in 1559, however, are more numerous and varied with regard to authors and places of publication. Out of the sixteen printed texts, nine are printed in French, four in Italian, two in Spanish, and one in Latin.¹³ With one exception, all the French and Latin texts are printed in Paris and their identifiable authors are scholars who had published other texts on Valois celebrations. The predominant genres are, again, plays and eulogistic poems. The Italian and Spanish publications, however, are all reports and, with the exception of one publication from Venice, do not refer (like most of their French counterparts) to the wedding celebrations in Paris but to celebrations welcoming the bride in Spain. Their places of publication range from Alcalá de Henares and Toledo in Spain to Milan and Bologna in Italy. Unlike Philip's marriage to Mary I, his marriage to a Valois princess received far less attention in the Habsburg lands or the Papal State and was predominantly presented in the "Valois style" of "marriage propaganda" for a French audience that we encountered in connection to the Stuart-Valois union. Clearly the Tudor-Habsburg union was considered more important, and we need to understand why.

IV

Four dominant themes can be identified from looking at the contents and rhetoric of the twenty texts on the marriage of Mary I and Philip of Spain: (1) the description of the wedding festivities and Philip and Mary's entry to London as particularly splendid events; (2) eulogies of the couple and their families; (3) the implications of this union for England in particular and (4) for Catholic Christendom in general.

The first theme, stressing the splendor and uniqueness of the event, is very conventional in the presentation of early modern festivals. Although the wedding festivities in Winchester were rather modest in comparison to those in Paris in 1558 and 1559, the detailed description of all the splendor displayed is the main focus of nine of our texts, most of them being reports on the events from Philip's departure from Spain in July 1554 to his life in London until the beginning of October that year.¹⁴ With different emphases, they describe Philip's arrival in England and his first encounter with Mary, the wedding ceremony in Winchester on July 25, the couple's journey to London via Basing House, Reading, Windsor, and Richmond,

and finally their royal entry into the capital and Philip's first weeks as King of England.

Several publications dwell in great detail on Philip's creation as a member of the Order of the Garter.¹⁵ Not only was this presented as the highest honor Philip could receive from England, it was also the first opportunity for Philip to present himself to his new subjects and to make a "most satisfying" impression.¹⁶ But not only did the prince himself impress, the highest ranking members of his train and the English nobles who accompanied them, often mentioned by name, also conveyed the importance of Philip's coming: he had the honor to be cordially welcomed by the highest representatives of England.¹⁷ The smoothness of his arrival was also underlined by mentioning the good, even "perfect" order in which he and his train moved from place to place and arrived in Winchester on July 23.¹⁸

The actual wedding ceremony two days later, on the feast of St. James, proved to be the best occasion for detailed descriptions of splendor, which dwelled in particular on the clothes and jewelry worn by the participants, on decorations of churches and palaces, and on meals, music, and spectacles. These descriptions could span several pages in some of the more elaborate reports and provide a vast amount of detail, as if standing for visual records of the event. The author of the *Narratione assai piu particolare*, the most detailed account of the wedding, mentions elaborate details of all the clothes Philip wore during his first days in England and lingers on his wedding outfit: Philip was dressed

in brocade, covered with white velvet, rich in gold and pearls, with a very rich brocade collar, a ruby robe, richly decorated with gold and pearls and diamond buttons, on his head a black velvet beret with a little bit of gold inside . . . on his side his sword and dagger, on his feet white shoes and on his leg the Order of the Garter and that of St George at his collar with the most splendid diamond.¹⁹

Mary, however, is described by the same author as dressed

in silver cloth with a cloak and golden *rizzo* above . . . a very rich collar and hair decoration in the French, or Flemish, style of inestimable value, with most charming ornaments, and a belt of richest gold, with jewellery on the breast with a diamond in the centre, which the Prince had sent from Spain as a present, worth 60.000 *scudi*, sparkling on all sides, to which was attached a pearl pendant, estimated to be worth 5.000 *scudi*.²⁰

Other authors kept such descriptions rather short and to the point. Elder in *The copie of a letter sent in to Scotland* describes the couple at dinner wearing "two most pri[n]cely, & most rich Abilimentes . . . of betin gold upo[n] golde, and so riche set with precious stones, as no man coulde esteme the value thereof."²¹ Describing the value of clothes and jewelry as "inestimable" was a common feature in reports on festivals. Some Italian authors, however, obviously rather preferred to estimate a—naturally—high price for particularly outstanding items.²²

What interested the general continental audience was not only the couple itself but also the guests. Lists of guests, sometimes even with short descriptions of their clothes, were incorporated into or attached to three of the reports written in Italian.²³ Guests were listed by rank within groups defined by the country of origin, with the Spaniards always mentioned first, followed by the Italians, the Flemish, and finally the English. They were meant to impress by their number and social position as well as by the uniqueness of their attire, which was reported to be outstanding by English and Habsburg standards alike.²⁴ These rather common presentations of perfection and uniqueness were marred only by one passing remark in one Italian report, which noted that although Philip was received with "as much love as one could say," triumphal arches had been missing.²⁵

More common again was the device of suggesting splendor by describing the reaction of the audience. Many authors mention signs of the people being particularly impressed and stress their general joy over the marriage, which allegedly filled the entire country.²⁶ After the strong opposition initially voiced against this marriage in England, emphasizing the people's joy was obviously more important than in the other two royal marriages.

Another means of conveying general satisfaction with a royal wedding and adding to the splendor of the event was to publish eulogies of the couple and their families. The forms of these eulogies range from remarks within a report and annexes to reports (such as odes or sonnets) to independent publications such as longer poems and orations, often written in Latin. The most elaborate texts on the wedding of Mary and Philip, by Nicolaus Mameranus and Hadrianus Junius, were clearly written on behalf of Philip and the Habsburgs.

Thus, it is not surprising that Mary and the Tudors in general play a far smaller role in these texts. Quite conventionally, Mary is lauded for her noble descent and, mostly without any further specifications, for her virtues.²⁷ Some texts also link these virtues directly to what was generally perceived as the "miracle of her accession," due to divine intervention on her behalf.²⁸ Furthermore, she is presented as God's instrument, his *ancilla* (handmaiden), and likened to Judith in her role in saving her people.²⁹ Piety and constancy are mentioned as her most striking characteristics, through which "she remained the one hope and refuge of the Faith in this realm" under her predecessors, preserved by God through all trials.³⁰ Mary's thankfulness and belief in God's intervention in her favor are also employed in a fictitious speech in which Mary expresses her joy that God had "prescribed" her to the "House of Austria," the most eminent dynasty of its time.³¹

This leads directly to the main focus of all the eulogistic texts examined with regard to the wedding: a praise of Habsburg glory. The occasion of Philip's wedding was obviously grasped as an opportunity to remind Tudor and Habsburg subjects alike of the greatness of his ancestors' deeds, especially those that were similar to his perceived task in England: fighting the infidel. Thus, there are references to his great-grandmother Isabel of Castile, who defeated the Moors in Spain, as well as to Philip's father,

the Emperor Charles V, and his military successes in Tunis and against the Turks in Hungary.³² Philip, however, is lauded in a rather conventional and less specific way as virtuous, pious, scholarly, and faithful as well as generous and merciful. The description of his virtues led Christopherson to the conclusion that “as [the] Spaniards have good cause to lament for his departing, so we Englishmen have just occasion to rejoyse for his comming.”³³ There are also references to other rulers who share his name, such as Philip of Macedonia, the Roman Emperor Philip, and two Dukes of Burgundy, conveying the impression of a tradition of good rule by persons of that name.³⁴ However, being the son of Charles V is presented as Philip’s most outstanding quality and could even be included as part of his title.³⁵ As Leonard Gorecki acknowledged, Philip had already shown the same signs of greatness as his father, who was meant to be the most outstanding role model for his son.³⁶

Stressing that bride and groom were not only virtuous themselves but also descendants of noble and virtuous families was a common feature of positive accounts of unions, raising hopes for a bright future.³⁷ In the case of Mary and Philip, there was a long tradition of unions between England and Spain, from the marriage of King Henry II’s daughter Eleanor to the King of Castile in the twelfth century to the most recent union of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, Mary’s parents. Since precedents were always considered to be a good argument for a political move, these examples were employed by Mameranus, although with some genealogical mistakes.³⁸ More important than the fact that this was already the fifth union between England and Spain was the conclusion that Philip and Mary had common ancestry and, furthermore, that Philip was of English royal blood. His descent from Edward III was the theme of one pageant displayed at the couple’s first entry to London, one of the few occasions where we have evidence of genuinely English propaganda in favor of this union.³⁹ When one Italian author wrote in late September 1554 that “thanks to God’s grace the kingdom was peaceful... and everyone was very satisfied, even more by having realised... that his Majesty [i.e., Philip] was of English royal blood, as it had been publicly demonstrated to everyone,” he grasped not only the intention behind publicizing this fact but also the main aim of this union from the English point of view: to restore peace and unity in their troubled country.⁴⁰

With these expectations in mind, the marriage between Mary and Philip was presented as “most noble news” and “the greatest hope for our realm.”⁴¹ Gorecki directly addresses the English people in telling them that Philip would be useful for them, and a Spanish text states that Mary had chosen her husband solely for her country’s benefit, a statement she had made herself when she had announced her decision to marry.⁴² The publication of the very favorable marriage treaty not only in English but also in Italian (by a Roman printer) underlined this view.⁴³

Philip, of course, also played a very important role in this context. His first encounters with his new people were closely observed and authors unanimously proclaimed their verdict that he did very well in winning the

hearts of his new subjects. The author of the *Narratione assai piu particolare* summed it up best when he wrote that the English

stayed most satisfied with this tall and benign prince whose prudence and seriousness is demonstrated in his reasoning full of importance and [good] counsel, in the courtesy and gentility of speaking, the reception and general treatment of every person after his rank. In the zeal and affection he carries towards the Christian and Catholic religion; the inclination towards all good order, and government of justice . . . with their great satisfaction asking them to give them good and true performance [and to follow every contract agreed on and ratified in advance].⁴⁴

Furthermore, it was observed that Philip not only followed the prescriptions of the marriage treaty but also behaved in line with English customs—a fact very important in sixteenth-century culture with its great emphasis on custom and precedent.⁴⁵

The English fear that their queen would be dominated by her Habsburg husband was tackled by a subtle change in ceremonial: Mary stood on the honorific right side and the Mayor of London delivered a mace signifying his power and authority to the queen alone. Mary also lived in the king's quarters in Whitehall.⁴⁶ However, it was only Elder who mentioned this; the reports printed in foreign languages are silent about what could have been perceived as a snub for the Habsburgs.⁴⁷ Instead, they look forward to Philip's coronation in the near future, which, of course, never took place.⁴⁸

All the reports do stress, however, that the couple seemed to like each other, a positive omen for the much-desired male heir Mary was supposed to conceive as soon as possible. As one Spanish observer put it while commenting on the wedding, "if they give us a son our joy will be complete."⁴⁹ When Mary was (falsely) thought to be pregnant in early autumn 1554, Philip seemed to have fulfilled one major expectation of the marriage.⁵⁰ His popularity was on the rise and even after Mary's death, when all hopes were proved false, it was still stated that he had managed to convince the English that they did not need to fear foreign domination.⁵¹ Though this was probably a rather optimistic assessment, in the autumn of 1554 the future looked bright for those in favor of a Habsburg union, which promised to secure the country's possession of Calais and to restore peace, unity, and tranquility in mainland England—as Gorecki and Mameranus similarly and repeatedly put it.⁵²

The main aim of the marriage, at least in the words of these two authors, was to continue the project Mary had started with her "victory over Lutheran tyranny:" to free England from "heresy." How desirable this had to be for everyone could be inferred from both authors' lengthy description of the horrible state of affairs before Mary's accession.⁵³ In the minds of those Catholic authors, peace and unity could come true only by overcoming what, for them, had been the most fatal mistake of English policy in the past: the break from papal authority. This had to be overcome by all means. "Restoring this kingdom to the place it held in Christendom as an

obedient daughter of the Catholic Church,” however, was a goal that had implications far beyond England herself.⁵⁴

The marriage of Mary and Philip was, therefore, presented as “not only for the comfort and benefit of this entire realm, but universally of the entire Christendom.”⁵⁵ The European dimension of this powerful union between the Tudors and the Habsburgs was underlined by the repeated announcement of the couple’s new titles in Latin, French, and English as

Philip and Marie by the grace of god king and Quene of England, Frau[n]ce, Naples, Hierusale[m], & Ireland, defenders of the faith, Princes of Spain and Secyll Archdukes of Austria, Dukes of Milla[n], Burgu[n]dy, and Braba[n]t, Counties of Haspurge, Flau[n]ders and Tirol.⁵⁶

Mary and Philip were “defenders of the faith”—and, in some of our texts, defending is understood in a very “active” way. Gorecki begs God to save the couple “to propagate the name of his son, our Lord Jesus Christ.”⁵⁷ What he and the author of *La solenne et felice intrata* meant hereby was actively fighting the enemies of the Christian faith, namely “Turks, daemons, heretics.”⁵⁸ Gorecki, looking at problems from a Polish perspective, dwelt extensively on the past and future threat that Protestants and especially Turks posed to Christian Europe. To him, as well as to Mameranus, uniting against the latter had to be the main aim of Christian rulers all over Europe.⁵⁹ The author of the *Kurtze anzeigung* followed this line by a general exhortation to free Jerusalem from the Turks, “not out of selfishness but for the protection of the poor Christians.”⁶⁰

All in all, these authors put the marriage in the broader context of European-wide problems. And thus, the union between England and the Habsburg dominions was presented as an important tool in achieving the ultimate goal: temporal and spiritual peace and unity among Europeans.

V

The aims of publications related to the Tudor–Habsburg union can thus be easily identified: they were meant to celebrate Habsburg glory and to prove that Philip was the ideal husband for Mary, who could ensure that England as well as Catholicism would benefit from this union. They were equally addressing English fears and hopes nurtured in the Habsburg dominions whose inhabitants were meant to perceive this marriage as another example of their rulers’ greatness. The next crucial step was also clearly outlined: England had to be reconciled with Rome—and with the help of these publications it was hoped that no one would fail to perceive the link between the marriage and this victory for Catholicism.

It was probably these great expectations that led to such a wide range of publications related to this particular marriage. The Stuart–Valois marriage, however, was just a standard political union against the English and the Habsburgs, to be celebrated by the French; it was not seen in any greater scheme of strengthening Catholicism. The marriage of Philip II

and Elizabeth Valois in 1559 took place after peace between the Habsburgs and the French had been achieved at Cateau-Cambrésis and was perhaps overshadowed by it. In the Habsburg territories, at least, there seems to have been less interest in publicizing this marriage.

But how successful was the publicity surrounding these marriages? One hint is provided by sixteenth-century chronicles, which seem to have used exactly the reports and newsletters analyzed above.⁶¹ Although the chronicles fail to give us an idea of the general reception of the propaganda, they are vital indicators of the dissemination and assumed reliability of these publications. And, in this respect, the texts related to the marriage of Mary I and Philip of Spain in particular and to the general “Habsburg approach” of focusing on factual reports and addressing political difficulties and hopes seem to have been more successful. Even some French chronicles declare that the initial difficulties of the Tudor–Habsburg union were overcome by the marriage treaty, whereas the marriage of Mary Stuart and the French Dauphin is not even mentioned in two of the most widely disseminated historical works of the time.⁶² However, in works published well after Mary I’s death in 1558, all the three marriages were overshadowed by the importance of the peace treaty of 1559, which seemed to have fulfilled what the Tudor–Habsburg union had failed to provide in the end: Catholic unity.

What remains of the “propaganda value” of Mary and Philip’s marriage? It was clearly publicized in an unusually sensitive way with regard to English fears and in an effective way with regard to placing it well into the greater scheme of Habsburg ambitions, acknowledged even by French chroniclers. That this marriage lost its attraction with time cannot be blamed on unsuccessful propaganda but on the course of history. Analyzing these texts gives a clear idea of the great expectations and the European-wide importance of that union in 1554–55 that should not be neglected if we want to truly understand the reign of Mary. Although these expectations were disappointed in the end, at the time of the actual wedding everything still seemed to be possible—even a lasting victory over Protestantism. As undesirable as this might have been for the majority of later Marian historians, it was certainly the greatest hope for Catholics of that time.

Notes

1. For the expression of hope see Junius, Ci^v. See Appendix A for full references to the primary sources related to Mary and Philip’s marriage.
2. See David Loades, *Mary Tudor. A Life* (Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1989), Chapters 5 and 6, and David Loades, *The Reign of Mary Tudor: Politics, Government and Religion in England 1553–58*, 2nd edn. (London and New York: Longman, 1991), chapters 5 and 9.
3. See, among others, *Europatriumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, ed. J. R. Mulryne, H. Watanabe-O’Kelly and M. Shewring, 2 vols. (Aldershot: MHRA in cooperation with Ashgate, 2004) and H. Watanabe-O’Kelly, “Early Modern European Festivals: Politics and Performance, Event and Record” in *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics*

and Performance, ed. J. R. Mulryne and E. Goldring (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 1–12.

4. “Propaganda” will be understood in this essay as the dissemination of (partially tailored) information in order to persuade specific audiences of the rightfulness and desirability of certain events and aims. For a further discussion of the employability of this term for early modern times see, among others, A. Heintzel, *Propaganda im Zeitalter der Reformation: Persuasive Kommunikation im 16. Jahrhundert* (St. Augustin: Gardez!, 1998) and B. Taithe and T. Thornton, “Propaganda: A Misnomer of Rhetoric and Persuasion?” in *Propaganda: Political Rhetoric and Identity 1300–2000*, ed. B. Taithe and T. Thornton (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1999), 1–24.
5. Heywood, Christopherson, and the often-quoted Elder.
6. In Italian the anonymous publications *Copia d’una lettera, Il trionfo delle superbe Nozze, La vera Capitulatione, La solenne et felice intrata*, and *Narratione assai piu particolare*, as well as Albicante and Car.; in Latin the anonymous *Oratio pia*, Gorecki, Junius and Mameranus; in Spanish Muñoz and Enriquez (the latter translated in CSPSp, XIII: 7–13); in German the anonymous *Kurtze anzeigung* and *Neue Zeytung*; and in Dutch the anonymous *Een nieuu tiidinghe* and *Seker nieuwwe tijdinge*.
7. See “Heywood, John,” ODNB; “Christopherson, John,” ODNB; “Elder, John,” ODNB; P. de Gayangos, “Introduccion” in *Viaje de Felipe Segundo á Inglaterra, por Andrés Muñoz (impreso en Zaragoza en 1554), y relaciones varias relativas al mismo suceso*, ed. P. de Gayangos (Madrid: Aribau, 1877), vi; M. A. S. Hume, “The Visit of Philip II,” EHR 7 (1892): 258–9 (on Enriquez and Car.); A. Asor-Rosa, “Albicante, Giovanni Alberto” in Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana (ed.), *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 63 vols. (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1960–), II: 1–2; A. Roersch, “Nicolas de Mamer” in L’Académie Royale des Sciences des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique (ed.), *Biographie Nationale*, 44 vols. (Brussels, 1898), XV: cols. 685–91; “Junius, Hadrianus,” ODNB; and for Gorecki, *Allgemeines Gelehrtenlexicon* . . . , ed. C. G. Jöcher, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1750), II: col. 1075.
8. The places of publication of *Een nieuu tiidinghe* and *Il trionfo delle superbe Nozze* are unknown.
9. Car., *Copia d’una lettera, Een nieuu tiidinghe*, Enriquez, Elder, *Il trionfo delle superbe Nozze, La solenne et felice intrata*, Muñoz, *Narratione assai piu particolare*, *Neue Zeytung* and *Seker nieuwwe tijdinge*.
10. Albicante, Gorecki, Heywood, Junius, *Kurtze anzeigung*, Mameranus and *Oratio pia*.
11. In French the anonymous, *Discours du grand et magnifique triumphe faict au mariage de tresnoble & magnifique Prince François de Vallois Roy Dauphin* . . . (Paris, 1558); J. A. de Baïf, *Chant de joie du jour des espousailles de François Roidaüfin et de Marie Roine d’Escoce* (Paris, 1558); J. Grévin, *Hymne a Monseigneur le Dauphin sur le mariage dudict seigneur, et de Madame Marie Esteuart, Roine d’Escoce* (Paris, 1558); J. de la Maisonneuve, *L’adieu des neuf muses, aux roys, princes, et princesses de France, à leur departement du festin nuptial de François de Valoys Roy Dauphin, & Marie Estouart Roine d’Escoce* (Paris, 1558); and J. de la Tapie d’Aurillac, *Chantz royaulx sur les Triumphe du mariage du Roy Daulphin, & la Roine Daulphine* (Paris, 1558); in Latin G. Buchanan, “Francisci Valesii et Mariae Stuartae, Regum Franciae et Scotiae, Epithalamium” in *Epithalamia tria Mariana, infelicibus eheu!* . . . , ed. F. Wrangham (Chester: T. Griffith, 1837), 2–17; M. de L’Hôpital, *In*

- Francisci Illustr. Franciae Delphini, et Mariae Sereniss. Scotorum Reginae nuptias, viri cuiusdam ampliss. carmen* (Paris, 1558) and A. Turnebus, *Epithalamium Francisci Valesii... & Mariae Stuartae* (Paris, 1558) and the anonymous English fragment, [A description of Mary's wedding to the dauphin. Scottish translation with additions of "Discours du grand et magnifique triumphe"] ([Edinburgh], [1558]).
12. See John Guy, "My Heart Is My Own": *The Life of Mary Queen of Scots* (London: Harper Perennial, 2004), 89.
 13. In French the anonymous publications, *Discours de la delivrance & reception de la Royne Catholique Elizabeth de France ...* (Lyon, [1559]); (1559) *Discours Des Triumpbes du Mariage du Roy Catholique d'Espagne, & de madame Elizabeth ...* (Paris, 1559); *La publication des emprises du tournoy qui doit estre faict à Paris ... pour la solennité des tresheureux mariages du Roy Catholique ...* (Paris, 1559); *La reception faicte par les deputez du Roy d'Espagne, de la Royne leur souveraine Dame ...* (Paris, 1559); F. de Belleforest, *Chant pastoral sur les nopces de tres-illustres Princes et Princesses, Philippe d'Autriche Roy des Espagnes ...* (Paris, 1559); J. Du Boys, *Comedie et Resjouyssance de Paris, sur les Mariages du Roy Catholique d'Espagne, & du Prince de Piedmont ...* (Paris, 1559); B. de Girard, *L'union des princes par les mariages de tresbault, tresillustre, tresexcellent, & trespuissant Prince, Philippe Roy Catholique des Espagnes, & treshaute, tresillustre, & tresexcellente princesse, Madame Elisabet de France ...* (Paris, 1559); J. Grévin, *Pastorale sur les mariages des princesses Madame Elisabet fille énée de France ...* (Paris, 1559); F. Habert, *Eglogue Pastorale sur l'union nuptialle de tresbault, & trespuissant Seigneur, Philippes, Roy d'Hespagne, & de tresexcellente, & tresvertueuse Princesse, madame Elisabeth ...* (Paris, 1559); in Italian the anonymous *Discorso e particolar notitia de le feste, trionfi, pompe, e giostre fatte in Francia, dopo la conclusion de la pace, nel sposar di Madama Elisabetta primagenita del Re Christianissimo ...* (Venice, 1559); *Narratione del sponsalio delle due serenissime Maesta Philippo Re Catolico di Spagna, & la Regina Isabella sorella del Re Christianissimo di Franza ...* (1560); O. Capello, *La regale et trionfante entrata in Spagna nella nobil citta di Toledo Della Ser.ma Regina Isabella figlia del Ser. Henrico Secondo Rè di Francia ...* (Milan, 1560); F. di Marchi, *Aviso mandato d'al magnifico capitano Francesco di Marchi da Bologna, dove narra à pieno le [...] feste fatte nelle Nozze del Serenissimo Re Catholico di Spagna, Et della Serenissima Regina sua Consorte ...* (Bologna, 1560); in Spanish A. Gómez de Castro, *El Recebimiento que la Universidad de Alcalá de Henares hizo a los Reyes Nuestros Señores ...* (1560) and A. Gómez de Castro, *Recebimiento que la imperial ciudad de Toledo hizo á la Majestad de la reina nuestra Señora Doña Isabel ...* (Toledo, 1561); and the Latin C. de Vaulx, *Regales Gallorum Regis Triumphi Parrisiis celebrati in gratiam Nuptiarum filiae illius Elisabet cum Hispaniarum Regem ...* (Paris, 1559).
 14. Albicante, Car., *Copia d'una lettera, Een nieuu tiidinghe*, Enriquez, *Il trionfo delle superbe Nozze, La solenne et felice intrata*, Muñoz, *Narratione assai piu particolare and Seker nieuwe tijdinge*.
 15. Elder, Aiii^r; *Newe Zeytung, Aiii^r; Copia d'una lettera, Aii^r* (also displaying the coat of arms of the Order of the Garter on the title page as does *Seker nieuwe tijdinge*, Biv^v); *Narratione assai piu particolare*, 2; Albicante, fol. 4^r.
 16. *Narratione assai piu particolare*, 2. All translations are my own, unless otherwise stated.
 17. *Narratione assai piu particolare*, 2ff.
 18. Elder, Aiii^r; CSPSp, XIII: 10.
 19. *Narratione assai piu particolare*, 5.

20. *Narratione assai piu particolare*, 6.
21. Elder, Aviii^r ff. See also Muñoz, 13–16 and *CSPSp*, XIII: 10.
22. See the passages taken from *Narratione assai piu particolare* above, as well as *Copia d'una lettera*, Aii^v and Car., Av^r.
23. *Copia d'una lettera*, Aiii^v ff.; Car., Av^v ff. and *Il trionfo delle superbe Nozze*, Aiv^r. Muñoz and *Narratione assai piu particolare* rather focus on the dresses of the entire train.
24. Compare the description of guests given by Elder (“... declaration of the riche and sundrie apparells whiche the nobilitie of Englande and Spayne used, and ware at and after the mariage of these two most excellent Princes, it were but a phantasie and losse of paper and ynke: for no mortall Princes (Emperoures and kinges only except) were able surely to excell them...it was a wonder to se” [Elder, Bi^v]) with the translation of Enriquez (“On Wednesday, the feast of St. James, the King went forth with a brave following of grantees and gentlemen of his court, so magnificently attired that neither his Majesty’s nor his Highness’s court ever saw the like, such was the display of rich garments and chains, each one finer than the last” [*CSPSp*, XIII: 10]). It is striking that while Elder is using this description for English and Spanish nobles alike, Enriquez seems to be referring to the Spanish only.
25. *Copia d'una lettera*, Aii^v.
26. Mameranus, Aiv^r ff. See also Junius, Biv^r with reference to “laetitia publica.”
27. Mameranus, Bii^v.
28. Mameranus, Bii^v and *Kurtze anzeigung*, Aii^r, Aiii^r.
29. *Oratio pia*, Aiii^r ff., Av^r; Mameranus, Eiv^r.
30. *CSPSp*, XIII: 12.
31. *Kurtze anzeigung*, Aii^v.
32. Elder, Cv^v. For further references to Charles’s and his ancestors’ achievements see Gorecki, Biii^v, Div^r ff., Ei^r f, Mameranus, Eii^v and *Kurtze anzeigung*, Aiii^v.
33. Christopherson, Nii^v.
34. Elder, Bvii^v ff.
35. Gorecki, Diii^v. See Elder, Aii^v: “Philip by the grace of god king of England, Fraunce Naples, Hierusalem and Irelande, and sonne to the most fortunate and most victorious Monarche Charles the fift of that name, nowe Emperour of rome.”
36. Gorecki, Ci^r Eii^v.
37. Junius, Di^v.
38. Mameranus, Aiv^v, Ci^v.
39. Elder, Cii^r ff. For a full analysis of the royal entry and its pageantry see Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy*, 2nd edn. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 326–39.
40. *Narratione assai piu particolare*, 12.
41. Elder, Aii^v; Junius, Ci^v.
42. Gorecki, Aiii^v ff.; *Copia d'una carta muy verdadera delo que ha suscedido en la corte / y campo de su Magestad. Y tambie[n] delo q[ue] passa en Inglaterra ...* ([1554]), fol. 1^v; Christopherson, Lv^v. See also Loades, *Mary*, 214.
43. *La vera Capitulatione*.

44. *Narratione assai piu particolare*, 11. Also the anonymous Spanish *Copia d'una carta*, fol. 2^v mentioned that Philip was much loved all over the kingdom because he reigned with peace and justice.
45. Mameranus, Dii^r.
46. Elder, Avi^r, Bv^r; Cv^r. See also Judith Richards, "Mary Tudor as "Sole Quene?": Gendering Tudor Monarchy," *Hj* 40 (1997): 910 and Alexander Samson, "The Marriage and Royal Entry of Philip, Prince of Austria, and Mary Tudor, July–August 1554," *SCJ* 36 (2005): 763, 767. See also Alexander Samson's "Power Sharing: The Co-monarchy of Mary and Philip" in this volume.
47. In one Spanish manuscript, however, it was claimed that Philip sat on the right during the wedding ceremony: see R. Hilton, "The Marriage of Queen Mary and Philip of Spain," *Papers and Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*, 14 (1939): 55.
48. *Copia d'una carta*, fol. 2^v; *Copia d'una lettera*, Aiii^v; and *Narratione assai piu particolare*, 10.
49. CSPSp, XIII: 11. See also Albicante, fol. [21]r; *Narratione assai piu particolare*, 5; Elder, Av^r; *Copia d'una lettera*, Aii^v, Aiv^v; *Kurtze anzeigung*, Aii^r; and the title of *Oratio pia*.
50. *Copia d'una carta*, fol. 2^v.
51. See the Latin oration made on behalf of Mary's death by A. Guidus, *Antonii Guidi oratio in funere Mariae Britanniae Reginae ad Cardinales Regumque & Rerumpublicarum legatos* ... (Rome: [1559]), Civ^v.
52. Gorecki, Eiv^r. See also Gorecki, Bi^r, Bii^r, Fiv^r and Mameranus, Biv^v, Eii^r.
53. Gorecki, Aiii^r, Biii^r ff., Fi^r; Mameranus, Bi^r ff., Biv^v.
54. CSPSp, XIII: 11.
55. *Narratione assai piu particolare*, 11.
56. Elder, Aviii^r. See also Car., Aiii^r; *Il trionfo delle superbe Nozze*, Aiii^v and Albicante, fol. 18^v for Italian and *Een nieuu tiidinghe*, Bii^r and *Seker nieuwe tijdinge*, Bii^r for Dutch translations. Richards, 913, and Samson, 767, stress the importance of Philip's precedence in the widely publicized royal titles.
57. Gorecki, Aiv^v.
58. *La solenne et felice intrata*, Avi^v.
59. For Gorecki's comments on the Protestants see Gorecki, Fi^r ff., for comments on the need to unite against the Turks see Gorecki, Aii^r, Bii^r, Giii^v, Kiii^r and Mameranus, Cii^v. See also the references to Isabel of Castile and Charles V in note 32 above.
60. *Kurtze anzeigung*, Aiv^r.
61. See, among many others, P. Giovio and H. Pantaleon, *Pauli Jovii xlv B[ü]cher* (Basel, 1560), F. de Rabutin, *Commentaires sur le faict des dernieres guerres en la Gaule Belgique* ... (Paris, 1555), F. de Rabutin, *Continuation des commentaires des dernieres guerres en la Gaule Belgique* ... (Paris, 1559), J. Sleidanus, *Warhaftige Beschreibung aller H[ä]ndel / so sich ... under dem Großm[ä]chtigsten Keyser Carln dem F[ü]nfften zugetragen und verlauffen haben* ... (Frankfurt, 1558).
62. Namely those written by Sleidanus and Giovio which were both translated into several languages and continuously reprinted and amended in the sixteenth century.

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CHAPTER 10

POWER SHARING: THE CO-MONARCHY OF PHILIP AND MARY

Alexander Samson

I

Writing on Philip and Mary's power-sharing arrangements has been overshadowed by the negative reputations enjoyed by both monarchs: the Habsburg prince's image rooted in the Black Legend and that of the first English queen regnant unfavorably compared to her successor's and embodied in her epithets of bloody and tragic.¹ Women's exercise of royal authority and involvement in a number of different forms of governance were predictable and co-monarchy less uncommon than might first appear. Early modern European governance needs to be understood not only through documentary remains but also in terms of material culture. The historiographical tendency to view the marriage of Philip and Mary negatively needs to be offset by consideration of factors such as the display of courtly magnificence, an area where their marriage enjoyed considerable success. Their entries, entertainments, luxurious clothing, priceless jewels, gifts as well as conjoined arms and style were disseminated globally, from a church dedicated to the pair in Argentina in 1555, to the 1557 stained glass window of them in Gouda commemorating San Quentin. Their joint arms are also found above the Via Maggiore in Milan, symbol of an offensive alliance holding back the French tide in Italy.² Indirect forms of influence and favor can help us understand in a more nuanced way how royal government translated into political action. The idea that Philip's power was compromised by the absence of a personal patrimony in England ignores, firstly, the fact that he had one of the largest pools of personal patrimony from which to draw in western Europe and distributed gifts and pensions that continued to be paid to some Englishmen almost to the end of Elizabeth's reign. Secondly, it has recently been persuasively argued that in the Spanish royal government of the period "clientage was an ineffective administrative tool."³ Our relatively poor understanding of Marian government reflects to some extent the invisibility of high politics in documentary terms under a queen regnant—an invisibility that may be more characteristic of the *modus operandi* of queen consorts, whose influence operated in more informal, less public ways, and through signs of favor, intercession, endowments, and gift-giving. Although

we know that Mary apparently applied herself assiduously to matters of state, co-monarchies hover between the personal and the political, the conspicuous and the invisible, the familial and the international. An instructive comparison is Philip IV's favorite the duke of Lerma, who bequeathed very little documentary evidence as a political actor—not as a symptom of disengagement but of astuteness. It allowed him to disavow creatures and clients when policies proved unpopular, failed, or fell foul of royal disapproval.⁴ A study of the working of the Marian court waits to be written. This essay seeks to uncover how Philip might have been seen at the time, flesh out a fuller context for understanding his and Mary's co-monarchy in relation to Spanish precedents, and argue that, given its circumstances, their co-monarchy was a qualified success.

II

Early modern monarchies were ruled neither by one person nor by a political structure. Instead they consisted of dominant kinship groups forging themselves into dynasties at whose central axis lay the politics of marital alliances, crucially between king and queen. The corporatist nature of monarchy meant that a range of different power-sharing arrangements was common. Most typical, though, was a contract between king, grantees, and urban elites. This "corporational character"⁵ underpinned the queen regents' political authority, which was an extension of their maternal rights as guardians of their (normally) male children, especially when many leading courtiers were also close kin. The distinctive nature of Spanish queenship made royal women in the Iberian peninsula far more likely to participate actively in the governance of the realm than their northern counterparts, effectively forming "political partnerships" with their husbands.⁶ Close dynastic ties between the kingdoms of the Iberian peninsula, as well as the ongoing struggle of the *reconquista* had led to frequent female regencies and regnancies in premodern Iberia.⁷ In Aragón, although women were barred from inheriting the crown, some seven queen consorts governed for varying lengths of time between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁸ Testamentary succession—that vexed question that at the beginning of Mary I's reign provoked John Ponet to ask in his *A Shorte Treatise of Politike Power*, "[H]ow is the Lady Mary Queen? And why might not King Edward ... bequeath the Crown where he would, and as he did?"—was common in medieval Iberia, which was one reason why it was possible, and even probable, for queens to inherit and rule in their own right.⁹

The English opposition to the Spanish match on the eve of the Wyatt rebellion in January 1554 seems to have ignored such reassuring precedents of female sovereign independence and active participation in government. Other familiar contemporary regencies, such as those of Charles V's sister Mary of Hungary and Philip II's recently widowed sister Juana, also went unheeded. Mary's most obvious role model, however, as for her mother Catherine of Aragon, was her grandmother Isabel of Castile, who

had ruled much of Spain in her own right for three decades, despite marrying Ferdinand V of Aragon in 1469. Ferdinand's irritation when Isabel declared herself queen and had herself crowned in his absence in Segovia in 1474 was mollified to some extent by a subsequent agreement about their representational equality and his precedence in their joint style (identical to the case of Philip and Mary). Like Philip and Mary and many other dynasts, Ferdinand and Isabel required a dispensation to marry because of their consanguinity.¹⁰ After fraught negotiations between the two camps, the document was drawn up in 1475 by Pedro González de Mendoza and Alonso Carrillo, Archbishop of Toledo. The "Concordia entre los señores Reyes Catolicos D. Fernando, y Doña Isabel" asserted that "the style on letters patent, proclamations and the coinage, on seals shall be common to both the said lords, king and queen, being present or absent; but the name of the said king's name shall take precedence although the arms of Castile and León shall go before those of Sicily and Aragon."¹¹ The compromise was that while his name preceded hers, the royal arms of Castile came first. Of course, the government of the Catholic monarchs effectively began only at the back-end of civil war, with the death of Isabel's brother Henry IV in 1474 and the eventual defeat of the rival claimant Juana la Beltraneja, supported by Alfonso V of Portugal, at the battle of Toro in 1476. Although Ferdinand and the Aragonese party managed to secure some concessions after their arrival in Segovia, ultimately Isabel remained sole proprietary ruler and Ferdinand enjoyed limited powers in the Castilian kingdoms. Murmurings about a sword being borne before Isabel at her accession,¹² as a symbol inappropriate for a woman, were echoed nearly a century later by malcontents such as John Colwyn, a Cornishman who in the winter of 1553 was arrested for suggesting that "We ought not to have a woman to bear the sword."¹³ Similarly Protestant exiles in anti-Marian propaganda, such as one anonymous pamphleteer in 1555, asked "whether the expres word of god in the xxii chap. of Deut. forbyd a woman to beare a sworde, or weare spurs, as kyngs do in theyr creacion, or to weare any other weapon, or apparell of man."¹⁴ Indeed, girding with the sword and putting-on of spurs were precisely what had occurred at Mary's coronation.

The *capitulación* signed before their marriage, like Philip and Mary's contract, had circumscribed Ferdinand's kingly authority with numerous clauses limiting his freedom of action in kingdoms ruled over by his wife, particularly the disposing of personal patronage there. Ferdinand had agreed:

ITEM that we will go personally to those kingdoms to reside and be in them with the said most serene princess, and that we will not leave or depart from them without her will and counsel and we will not carry her out of the said kingdoms without her consent and wish. ITEM what God granting us some issue whether male or female, one should expect no less, that we will never take them away from her or carry them out of the kingdom... ITEM that we will not alienate nor grant any privilege to any city, town or fortress, whether by grant of rights nor any other thing whatsoever belonging to the Crown, without the consent and advice of the said princess ... ITEM that

in all the privileges, letters and whatever other writings that must be set down, be done and sent either by her or by us, they must be signed together and signed in such a way that they carry signatures in the hand both of the two of us, and that the style of those kingdoms and lordships pertaining to her and us must be jointly styled... ITEM that we will not place any in the council of those kingdoms except Castilians and natural born subjects without the consent and determined deliberation of the said serene princess... ITEM that we will not give the stewardship of any fortress in those kingdoms to any save those that are natural born...¹⁵

The commitment to admit only natural born subjects and not foreigners to any office in Castile was repeated twice, “place whatsoever officials, except that those who must be placed in that office be natural born and not strangers chosen from them,” along with the condition that if no progeny resulted from the marriage “that Isabel may possess and hold them except when after her days all those lands as much those annexed as those improved as all others may return to us and our heirs to whom by right they belong.”¹⁶ Mary’s aunt Juana, the queen unfortunately dubbed “the Mad,” succeeded her mother as queen and not Ferdinand, the husband and co-ruler since 1474. She ruled in her own right nominally for a brief period of five years, before slowly being deprived of political authority in a conspiracy of her closest male relatives, including her father, husband, and nephew—a cautionary tale for England’s new queen in 1553.¹⁷

Other echoes of the precedent set by Ferdinand and Isabel can be found in images of Philip and Mary’s co-monarchy, such as on the coinage. In Castile and León the heads of both Catholic kings appeared, whereas in Aragón and its kingdoms the bust was almost always exclusively of Ferdinand. An instruction sent to Toledo on May 23, 1475, following the agreement of the Concordia ordered their names, titles, busts, arms, and initials to appear on coinage—on the *Doble Castellano* (Excelente) “sus bultos (o figuras) sentados” [their bodies or figures seated] and on the *Medio y Cuarto de Castellano* “sus bustos mirandose” [their profiles regarding each other]—while silver *Reales* had their conjoint royal arms.¹⁸ Even after his wife’s death Ferdinand’s image continued to appear on all the coinage throughout the Spanish kingdoms. The iconography of shared monarchy that began to appear on English coinage from September 1554 combined elements from the earlier Spanish coins, with Philip and Mary in profile looking at each other, their joint arms and a floating crown above their heads. This almost identical image was seized upon by pamphleteers, who interpreted the floating crown as a symbol of the destruction of England’s discrete sovereignty. One pamphleteer complained that it signified “geving to the prince of Spayne (under the name of king) as much auctorite, as if he were king of England in dead. As ye may see...by the quoynd mony going abrode curreant.”¹⁹ Even though the arrangements between Philip and Mary might have been seen in exclusively Anglo-Burgundian terms, negotiated as they were by Simon Renard and Perrenot Granvelle and ratified in the Low Countries, not Spain, all of the clauses in the *capitulación* of the Catholic monarchs discussed here were echoed if not

repeated in Philip and Mary's treaty and marriage contract.²⁰ The treaty was signed by Charles V's imperial delegates: Jean de Montmorency, sieur de Courrières; the Fleming, Charles de Laing, count of Egmont; and Philip Negri. When these ambassadors came to England, the Grey Friars chronicler described them as coming "in the name of the hole howse of Bowrgone."²¹ Nevertheless, high-level envoys of Philip were covering the ground between Spain and London.

III

Philip's *mayordomo mayor*, Diego de Azevedo,²² was continually in London from as early as May 1553, an example of "representation through intimacy."²³ Renard wrote to the prince on September 6 that "don Diego will fill your majesty in on the occurrences of this kingdom."²⁴ Azevedo himself wrote an almost unknown account of Mary's entry into London on August 1 that previous year to his wife back in Zamora.²⁵ In England he served as Philip's *caballerizo mayor* [Master of the Horse] and remained at post there probably until 1557, when we know he returned to Spain.²⁶ The exclusion of Philip from the negotiations was more apparent than real. The treaty and contract had precedents in Spain and the Low Countries. The arrangements, given that he was marrying a queen regnant, were predictable and familiar, established forms of safeguarding succession and dynastic continuity. After Isabel's death, despite nearly thirty years at the head of the Spanish kingdoms, Ferdinand's resentment of his regency led him to retire to Aragón. Following the death of Philip the Fair and due to Juana's apparent madness, Ferdinand again assumed the regency of Castile for Juana's son Charles, in a deeply unpopular move that generated particular anxiety given his second marriage to Germaine de Foix, niece of the king of France Louis XII. Only the tragic death of Ferdinand and Germaine de Foix's only child (a son) shortly after birth ensured that the kingdoms of Castile and Aragón and Spain remained united. A male heir to the Aragonese throne would have taken precedence over Juana and thereby Charles. If Philip had any illusions about his future role in English politics, this example should have been enough to disabuse him about the possibilities of negotiating the treacherous waters of an "admixture of nations."²⁷

Much has been made of Philip's apparently growing reluctance to make the journey to England, after seeing the terms of the treaty and perhaps shaken by the events of Wyatt's revolt. The evidence in Simancas suggests that another explanation is equally credible. Philip initially insisted that the marriage be concluded "per verba de praesenti" before he set sail. However, when his father (or one of his representatives) asked him to ratify the "capitulación" (a term used in Ferdinand and Isabel's agreement), with two powers, one carrying out the espousal "de presente" [in the present] and the other "de futuro" [in the future], Philip duly agreed. Although he was informed that "it seems they are still set on this last" (i.e., the future), Mary "confidently assures us that it will be done in

secret according to our wish, and we hold it to be certain.”²⁸ In his reply of January 21 Philip duly ratified the espousal and playfully signed himself “yo el rey.” On February 16 he was “determined not to wait for anyone” and (not as the *Calendar of State Papers* has it: “trust myself to them as if I were an Englishman born”) but to:

be served by and trust them and do them favours as if I were natural born, in which they can see the confidence that I place in them and go and place myself in that kingdom and their power with no more company than I have said and my people are the principal cause that moves me not to take a greater household because it will be ruled and accommodate itself so much better to the customs of the natives which we must hold for our own.²⁹

A day later the duke of Alba wrote to Francisco de Eraso, Charles’ principal secretary: “Few stir themselves to accompany his highness on this business and I believe that besides his household you can count them on the fingers of one hand.”³⁰ He then worried about whether to take the duchess with him. In the end, she did accompany him, despite an initial suggestion not to allow women to travel to England. Their eventual inclusion in the train suggests that the Spanish were not as fearful as is sometimes suggested.

The delay in Philip’s departure is explained more credibly in relation to the monotonous repetition of demands for one million ducats by Mary of Hungary, who was then effectively in charge of imperial government, following Charles’ total mental collapse in the autumn. In September, Francisco Duarte reported that the Emperor spent “frequently periods of time crying so bitterly and with such shedding of tears as if he were a small child” and “he will not listen to or dispatch business, occupying himself instead night and day in adjusting and setting his clocks, which are numerous, and which are the most important thing to him now.”³¹ In one letter Mary of Hungary repeated her demand eight times for the money to be sent immediately. Philip’s departure also involved extracting his recently widowed sister, who had just given birth to her first child, from the very country whose Infanta he had just spurned, in order for her to act as his regent in the Spanish kingdoms in his absence.

The interpretation of the famous *ad cautelam* document as an expression of Philip’s belief that the marriage arrangements were a betrayal fails to appreciate its legalistic framing and context.³² Although the contract had exclusively been negotiated by Charles’ ambassadors, probably under instruction from Mary of Hungary, its concessions were entirely unsurprising. The attempt to unburden his conscience from any future breach of the treaty’s terms, by attributing his agreement to obedience to his father, was a highly paradoxical and contradictory gesture. On the one hand, it enshrined respect for the legal basis of the treaty, marriage contract and its terms, and on the other rejected it in another secretly witnessed legal document. This is the Spanish equivalent of the “Act for the Queen’s Regal Power,” whose purpose was to restrain the queen’s allegedly unlimited

power (or shore up the uncertain authority of a queen regnant) within a statute law that named only kings by granting her kingly authority.³³

Philip's success in conforming to native customs on his arrival in England, in accordance with his intention to consider English ways his own, was reflected by the assertion of his English servants that "he is English." As the Spanish observer noted, "The English spread abroad their great happiness at having seen and worked with the king and accordingly they say that he is English and not Spanish."³⁴ The utopian sensibility feeding Habsburg dynastic politics was both vindicated and exposed by this appropriation of Philip as "Ingles y no español." Their universalist aspirations and vision of unlimited empire depended in part on the possibility of such negotiations of national particularities. However, the dark underside of this internationalist ideology was the *de facto* tension between his two households, which produced a struggle for control and possession of his person. The definition of Philip's identity as king of England externalized problems implicit in the conceptualization of the treaty. The difficulties the treaty gestured toward resolving, inherent in the inconvenience of a "diversity of nations," were played out as a symbolic household drama, with stabbings taking place within the confines of the court itself. The resulting deaths and seriousness of the situation led Philip to set up a special commission headed by Sir Thomas Holcrofte and Briviesca de Muñatones to investigate incidents and impose the death penalty should there be any further recurrences.³⁵ The discontented amongst Philip's followers over the English servants "waiting for us at Southampton who did not wish to let us serve" had provoked "enormous confusion."³⁶ In spite of the assertion that "with the intercession" of Philip it was being assuaged such that "all would be contented," the solution discriminated between his "Spanish" and English households.³⁷ By relegating the latter for the most part to service exclusively in the outer chambers, he had underlined the hierarchy of trust and confidence that favored his "Spanish" intimates over *outsiders* who, in not possessing the same access to and intimacy with him, could not claim to represent him as fully. Philip's solutions might have been divisive, moving Azevedo from Lord Chamberlain to Master of the Horse, but it is difficult to see what other compromise was possible. Azevedo made way for men like James Basset, originally secretary to Stephen Gardiner, to become Mary's private secretary and Chief Gentleman of Philip's privy chamber. Similarly, Bishop Day fulfilled the role of Almoner in both Philip and Mary's households.³⁸

Whether or not Philip eventually played a significant role in the government of England has produced radically divergent opinions. Some assert that he obtained "actual power...to determine the course of events within the realm and with respect to foreign policy,"³⁹ while others claim that he "was baffled at every turn in his search for an effective role in English government" and that as "king of England there is no doubt that Philip was a failure."⁴⁰ Still others have argued that, by marrying, Mary "announced herself as subject in both her persons—as woman and as queen—to the authority of male superiors: her husband

and king, Philip II of Spain; and the head of the universal church and vicar of Christ, the Pope.⁴¹ Her ability to ignore her husband's advice and wishes when it suited her, for example, in religious policy or England's war with France, suggests that the negotiation of their co-monarchy involved a conscious manipulation of gender expectations by a seasoned and politically aware Mary whose independence had been fostered by the isolation suffered under her father's and brother's regimes. As she had told Renard as early as October 1553, "If he wished to encroach in the government of the kingdom, she would be unable to permit it."⁴² It is well known that, before Philip's arrival, Mary ordered that he be apprised of all relevant business⁴³ and that he should attend privy council meetings on Tuesdays and Fridays.⁴⁴ The alleged Habsburg Select Council was an illusion created by Petre's dispatches of business to him. On August 13, 1554, the duke of Alba wrote to the imperial secretary Eraso from Richmond to report that "Business as far as I understand will not be dealt with in any other language than our own and that is what is happening." He concluded by saying that the king was "very well and most beloved by all the people here; pray God it may continue."⁴⁵ John Guy has written that the Philip of this period was a Renaissance prince, not the Counter-Reformation fundamentalist of legend. The evidence presented here supports this vision of a pragmatic and tolerant ruler, sensitive to the problems presented by cultural difference. Mary, if anything, was the more intransigent and less pragmatic of the two.⁴⁶

Although Philip's attempts to blend distinctive cultural forms such as the joust and Spanish *juego de cañas* together might have been a failure, giving rise to slighting comments about its unmanliness, in other ways there was a successful synthesis. Defending Habsburg dominions provided significant opportunities for the English nobility to test their mettle in a way that they were later to feel nostalgia for. Many soldiers continued to fight for Philip on the continent long into Elizabeth's reign.⁴⁷

The duke of Alba encouraged Philip to appoint his own choice as Lord Chancellor after the death of Gardiner and the king vetoed appointments contrary to the stipulations of the marriage contract.⁴⁸ Alba observed in April 1555 that Philip's

way of negotiating and dispatching business is very good: may Your Majesty, for the love of God, want to be lord of that kingdom, nothing is lacking for you to become it, the most absolute that it has ever had, that loving it and showing them that is it and that it must be so, because that is what they all want apart from that handful of ill-favoured contradictors of your will.⁴⁹

In spite of the distrust of Philip's intentions and the rumors disseminated by anti-Marian propagandists, his attitude in a letter to his father written on November 16, 1554 was far from Machiavellian: "I am anxious to show the whole world by my actions that I am not trying to acquire other peoples' states, and your Majesty I would convince of this not by my actions only, but by my very thoughts."⁵⁰ Philip's behavior in England as king exemplified that of the ideal courtier and the trope of courtesy surfaces

constantly in the accounts. One of his biographers described how Philip “won them [the English] over with his wisdom, affability, honours and favour . . . with these things and the courtesy of his family.”⁵¹ This reception did not weaken over time. On April 13, 1557 he wrote to his father about the goodwill he found on his return there: “I arrived here well and thus have I found the Queen thanks be to God, and I have begun to despatch the business that corresponds to me and I find such good will in all those in this kingdom that they do not differ from anything that I desire.”⁵² Two weeks later he continued in a similar vein: “the Queen and I are well, and the business here all goes very well.”⁵³ If there was implacable opposition to his authority or if his attempts to govern were ineffectual, it does not show in the accounts he wrote to his father.

IV

In his 1619 history of Philip, Luis de Cabrera y Córdoba reflected a feature shared by contemporary and later Spanish accounts of the co-monarchy: a detailed understanding of the precise nature of its terms and what it enshrined in relation to Philip’s power, a grudging understanding that foreigners were “intolerable to any nation” and could “tyrannise,” despite their necessity in the face of a queen regnant because “it was unhappy and dangerous for a kingdom to come into gynaeocracy against natural law.”⁵⁴ Cabrera y Córdoba knew that “Philip and Mary are equal and of one quality: but the queen solely and alone enjoys supreme authority over those kingdoms, without the Prince being able to enjoy it by means of the courtesy of England.”⁵⁵ This recognition of the exact status Philip had enjoyed in English law, even half a century after Mary’s death, reflects the nuanced political understanding in Spain—one that is hard to believe Philip did not share.

While expressions of anti-Spanish sentiment in the Elizabethan period generally focused on the “insufferable lust,” pride, arrogance, and cruelty of the Spanish, the anonymous but surprisingly popular and cryptic 1594 poem *Willobie His Avis* contained an allegorical commentary on Philip’s courtship of Elizabeth even before the death of Mary in 1558. The poem viewed Philip in contradistinction to Spanish-style seduction. The heroine Avis (a mask for Elizabeth if we accept that the poem refers to 1558), at first a “modest maide” then “chast and constant wife,” is the subject of five attempted seductions. Her second suitor—the significantly named Caveilero—argues that she cannot “fare so well at home” for although a “stranger” he can offer “great store of wealth.” She spurns his advances, telling him to spend his cash on his “queanes” for “Your wannie cheekes, your shaggy lockes, / Would rather move my mind to grudge, / To feare the piles, or else the pockes.”⁵⁶ In the preface, the pseudonymous Hadrian Dorrell asserts that the author of the poem had “out of Cornelius Agrippa, drawn the several dispositions of the Italian, the Spanyard, the Frenchman, the German, and the English man, and how they were affected in love,” the Spaniard being, according to Agrippa, “unpatient in burning love, very

mad with troubled lasciviousnesse, hee runneth furiously, and with pittiful complaintes, bewailing his fervent desire, doth call upon his Lady, and worshippeth her, but having obtained his purpose maketh her common to all men.⁵⁷ The figure Caveilero, taken to represent Philip, however, does not exemplify these qualities; rather they are embodied in her final suitor, an Italo-Spaniard, while Caveilero is courteous, calculating, and even forlorn, despite Avisá's accusations about his wenching. Alternative views of Philip to those peddled initially by anti-Marian propagandists and later under Elizabeth by the anti-Spanish party went on surfacing into James' reign.⁵⁸ Two years later, in 1596, Sir John Harrington referred to Philip in his *Apology* as "a beggerly, thridbare Kavalliero, like Lazorelloes maister."⁵⁹ The wealth that Philip had brought to England in 1554, like so much else, had dissipated in the face of constantly having "new warres in hand," as Avisá says to him in her opening lines.⁶⁰

The most common image of Philip and Mary's co-monarchy is perhaps typified by Sir Francis Hastings' *A Watchword to all religious true hearted Englishmen* of 1598, whose content derived in large part from John Bradforth's contemporary work of propaganda, *The Copee of a letter, sent by John Bradforth to the right honourable lordes the Erles of Arundel, Darbie, Shrewsburye, and Pembroke, declaring the nature of Spaniardes, and discovering the most detestable treasons, which thei have pretended most falselye agaynste our moste noble kingdome of Englande* (1556). Hastings described how

the plots and practices, layed, and pursued by the Spanish King, had made a wofull prooffe to England of a further marke shotte at (which was discovered in a letter to some of our nobles from a true harted Englishman in Spaine) had not God almightie, in his rich mercie, prevented their purposes.⁶¹

Hastings mixed attacks on Mary's reintroduction of Catholicism with misplaced blame on the "proude and bloodie monster" Stephen Gardiner, for "he and his complices never rested, till they had brought in the *Spaniard*, and had matched him in marriage with the Queene; by which they betrayed God, her, and the whole realme." He also accused the Spanish of seeking only to win the crown, alter the laws of England, and introduce the Inquisition and declared that the marriage "could not drawe the least sparke of true love from him to this noble Queene, who so lovingly made choice of him to be her husband."⁶² The episode came to represent the stereotype of the proud, tyrannical, and lust-driven Spaniard that became iconic after the beginning of the Dutch revolt and William of Orange's *Apology*. While this is the image that has come to dominate the historiography of the marriage, the reality of the Marian interlude was of a more nuanced and delicate balancing act between competing factional, national, and personal interests.

The notion that Philip failed to forge an effective role for himself as king of England ignores two crucial factors: first, the corporatist nature of monarchy itself, its implication in some form of power-sharing, a fact to which he was well used in Catalunya, for example, where regal authority was hemmed in by *fueros* or subjects' rights far beyond those enjoyed

in England; second—and perhaps more importantly—the extent to which power was exercised symbolically, ceremonially, and ritualistically, through intimacy, clientage, courtly exchange, festival, tournaments, religious observance, and music. Philip clearly influenced major policy decisions and participated in important debates. Getting his way, however, was not a foregone conclusion, despite expectations of Mary's submission to his will. However, he was effective in "aiding" his wife in the administration of her dominions, a task he assiduously carried out, leading both countries in war when the English council following the Stafford raid eventually agreed to support him against the French. Mary's bad press owes much to the unfortunate coincidence of her reign with a more general loss of control over the medium of print and a breakdown of the royal monopoly on public discourse, as religiously oppositional voices exploited the international nature of print culture more and more effectively to undermine her regime.⁶³ These voices echoed down through the Elizabethan period although they never altogether silenced those who saw the co-monarchy as a limited success, despite its failure to resolve the most pressing issue of all—the succession.

Notes

1. The continuities between the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth, the language and conceptualization of Elizabeth's authority and government owes more to the example of Mary than has previously been acknowledged. See Paulina Kewes, "Two Queens, One Inventory: The Lives of Mary and Elizabeth Tudor" in *Writing Lives: Biography and Textuality, Identity and Representation in Early Modern England*, ed. Kevin Sharpe and Steven Zwicker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 187–207.
2. See Corinna Streckfuss, "'Our Greatest Hope?' European Propaganda and the Spanish Match" in this volume. *The window is alluded to in Judith Richards, Mary Tudor* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), 239.
3. J. B. Owens, "By My Absolute Royal Authority": *Justice and the Castilian Commonwealth at the Beginning of the First Global Age* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2005), 215.
4. Patrick Williams, *The Great Favourite: The Duke of Lerma and the Court and Government of Philip III of Spain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006). He leapt from 57th in the list of aristocratic incomes before 1598 to double the next closest grandee, the duke of Medina Sidonia.
5. Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), 381.
6. *Queenship and Political Power in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, ed. Theresa Earenfight (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), Editor's Preface, xiii–xiv. For interesting Spanish views of queenship in the pre-modern period, see the proscriptive ideas found in Alfonso X's *Siete partidas* and *Espéculo*, and the descriptive one in Jaime II of Aragon's *Llibre dels Feyts*.
7. There are numerous examples of queens regnant in medieval Iberia, from Ormisinda, the daughter of Pelayo in the eighth century, to Sancha of León, Elvira of Castile, Urraca of León and Berenguela of Castile in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, María de Molina in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, and Catalina of Lancaster in the fifteenth.

8. See Theresa Earenfight, "Absent Kings: Queens as Political Partners in the Medieval Crown of Aragon" and Ana Echevarria-Asuaga, "The Queen and the Master: Catalina of Lancaster and the Military Orders," in *Queenship and Power*, ed. Earenfight, 34, 96. A number of these precedents were cited by the chronicler Hernando de Pulgar in the context of Fernando and Isabella's marriage. See Peggy Liss, *Isabel the Queen: Life and Times*, 2nd edn. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 114.
9. John Ponet, *A Shorte Treatise of Politike Power* (London, 1556), Eiii.
10. Issued by Paul II on June 23, 1469.
11. Diego Dormer, *Discursos varios de historia; con muchas escrituras reales antiguas, y notas a algunas dellas* (Zaragoza, 1683), 296–7. All translations are my own, unless otherwise noted.
12. For more on the symbolism of this see Judith Richards, "Renaissance Queen" in *"High and Mighty Queens" of Early Modern England: Realities and Representations*, ed. Carole Levin, Jo Carney and Debra Barrett-Graves (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 35.
13. H. F. M. Prescott, *Mary Tudor* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, repr. 1953), 225; CSPD, XI: 2, No. 2.
14. Myles Hogherde, *Certayne questions demaunded and asked by the Noble Realme of Englande of her true naturall chyldren and Subiectes of the same* (London, 1555), Aii^v.
15. "Capitulaciones del matrimonio entre la princesa Doña Isabel y D. Fernando, Rei de Sicilia, ajustadas en Cervera a 7 de enero de 1469, y confirmadas por el Rei D. Juan de Aragon en Zaragoza a 12 del mismo mes y año" in Diego Clemencín, *Elogio de la reina Católica Doña Isabel, al que siguen varias ilustraciones sobre su reinado* (Madrid: I. Sancha, 1821), 578.
16. Clemencín, *Elogio de la reina Católica*, 580, 582.
17. The unfortunate story of Juana is brilliantly recounted, separating myth from what survives in the documentary record, by Bethany Aram in her *Juana the Mad: Sovereignty and Dynasty in Renaissance Europe* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005).
18. Antonio y Pío Beltrán, "Numismatica de los Reyes Católicos" and Pío Beltrán Villagrasa, "Bibliografía numismatica de los Reyes Catolicos" in *Instituciones economicas sociales y politicas de la epoca Fernandina*, ed. J. Vicens Vives, et al. (Zaragoza: Institución 'Fernando el Católico, n. d.), 223–42.
19. *A Supplicacyon to the queenes Maiestie* (Strasbourg: W. Rihel, 1555), Cviii^r.
20. *Papiers d'état du Cardinal de Granvelle*, ed. M. Weiss, 9 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1843), IV: 78, 144 and 149–51. There is interesting information about the power struggle between Renard and Eraso for control of the English mission in a letter dated September 3, 1554, 298–300.
21. *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London*, ed. J. G. Nichols, Camden Society 53, 1st ser. (London: J. B. Nichols and Son, 1851), 86.
22. He is mentioned in *The Accession, Coronation and Marriage of Mary Tudor as Related in Four Manuscripts of the Escorial*, ed. Cesare Malfatti (Barcelona: Sociedad Alianza de Artes Graficas y Ricardo Fontá, 1956), 145: "On the 5 August their majesties left here and ordered Diego de Azevedo to stay on in Windsor to gather together the horses and Spanish courtiers because in the castles where they were going, there were not sufficient number of lodgings for all the courtiers."
23. Phrase coined by David Starkey, "Intimacy and Innovation: The Rise of the Privy Chamber, 1485–1547" in *The English Court: From the Wars of*

- the Roses to the Civil War*, ed. David Starkey et al. (London: Longman, 1987), 87.
24. AGS E807, fol. 15.
 25. BNM MS 9937: Florian de Ocampo, *Sucesos Acaecidos, 1550–1558 and 1521–1549*, “Relaçion enbiada por Don Diego de Azevedo a su muger llego a Çamora en 20. de Agosto de 1553,” fols. 97^r–99^r.
 26. BNM MS 9937, fol. 212^v: “A post arrived for Salamanca with the news that Don Diego de Azevedo had disembarked in this fleet along with the Archbishop of Toledo and the Regent Figueroa,” letter from Hernando Delgadillo in Valladolid to Florián de Ocampo.
 27. Phrase used by the papal emissary Giovanni Francesco Commendone, sent covertly to England to reopen diplomatic relations between England and the papacy in *The Accession, Coronation and Marriage of Mary Tudor*, ed. Malfatti, 58.
 28. AGS E808, fol. 119, Emperor to Philip, January 21, 1554, Brussels. The version in *CSPSp*, XII: 36, mistranslates the letter and, rather than “our wish,” says “your desire,” implying Philip was insistent on the present form of words. The statement “we hold it to be certain” is more assertive than the Calendar’s “trust her word.”
 29. AGS E808, fol. 19^v. Partial translation at *CSPSp*, XII: 103–5.
 30. *Epistolario del III Duque de Alba Don Fernando Alvarez de Toledo*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1952), I: 62–3.
 31. AGS E98, fol. 274: “Memorial que embio Francisco Duarte de lo que le dixo Nicolas Nicolai, September 1553.”
 32. AGS E807, fol. 36.
 33. The most comprehensive discussion of the act is in J. D. Alsop, “The Act for the Queen’s Regal Power, 1554,” *Parliamentary History* 13 (1994): 261–76.
 34. BNM MS 9937, fol. 126^v.
 35. *Viaje de Felipe Segundo*, “Tercera Carta,” 118. See also David Loades, *The Tudor Court* (Oxford: Davenant Press, 2003), 26.
 36. *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, III: 530.
 37. *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, III: 530.
 38. John Murphy, “The Illusion of Decline: The Privy Chamber, 1547–1558” in *The English Court*, ed. Starkey et al., 141.
 39. Constance Jordan, “Woman’s Rule in Sixteenth-Century British Political Thought,” *RQ* 40 (1987): 426–9.
 40. David Loades, “Philip II and the Government of England” in *Law and Government under the Tudors*, ed. Claire Cross, David Loades and J. J. Scarisbrick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 194. This judgement seems to have softened, although not altogether changed, recognizing that “some of them sought to return to firm conceptual ground by accepting Philip as a real king rather than a consort.” Nevertheless, Mary refused to “give him...a realistic share in the government” and so Philip, while “king of England in name, had no sovereignty in his own realm”: David Loades, *Mary Tudor: The Tragical History of the first Queen of England* (Bath: National Archives, 2006), 10–11.
 41. Anne McLaren, *Political Culture in the Reign of Elizabeth I: Queen and Commonwealth, 1558–1585* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 16.
 42. *CSPSp*, XI: 288. A comment rightly cited twice by Judith Richards in her new biography: *Mary Tudor* (London: Routledge, 2008), 145, 157.

43. BL Cotton Vespasian FIII, no. 23.
44. His attendance at privy council meetings on Tuesdays and Fridays is recorded in "Relación de las cosas de Inglaterra," Biblioteca de San Lorenzo del Escorial MS Vii3, fols. 486–7. See also El Escorial MS Vii4, fol. 456.
45. *Epistolario del III Duque de Alba*, 64–5.
46. John Guy, "Conference style" review of *Talking Peace 1604* exhibition and Rosemary Mulcahy, *Philip II of Spain: Patron of the Arts* in *Times Literary Supplement*, September 10, 2004, 17.
47. See the excellent monograph by Rory Rapple, *Martial Power and Elizabethan Political Culture: Military Men in England and Ireland, 1558–1594* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
48. SP11/6, no. 20.
49. *Epistolario del III Duque de Alba*, 77.
50. *CSPSp*, XIII: 97.
51. Luis de Cabrera y Córdoba, *Felipe Segundo, Rey de España* (Madrid, 1619; in modern ed. Aribau, 1876–7), 19.
52. Real Academia de Historia, Salazar y Castro A–52: *Cartas de Felipe II del Emperador, Principes y otras personas 1555 siguientes*, esp. fol. 53^v.
53. *Cartas de Felipe II del Emperador*, fol. 56^v.
54. Cabrera y Córdoba, *Felipe Segundo*, 19.
55. Cabrera y Córdoba, *Felipe Segundo*, 19. See the section discussing "Curtesie of England" in Thomas Edgar, *The Lawes Resolutions of Womens Rights: Or, the Lawes Provision for Woemen* (London, 1632).
56. *Willobie his Auisa. Or the true picture of a modest maid, and of a chast and constant wife* (London, 1594), 15^r, 16^{r-v}.
57. *Willobie his Auisa*, 3^v. See Patricia Shaw, "Philip II and Seduction *a la española* in an Elizabethan roman a clef" in *Actas del II Congreso de la Sociedad Española de Estudios Renacentistas Ingleses*, ed. S. G. Fernández-Corugedo (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 1992), 292–3. Agrippa's *De Vanitate Scientiarum* had been published in Latin in 1530 and translated into English in 1575.
58. See Sandra Clark, "Spanish Characters and English Nationalism in English Drama of the Early Seventeenth Century," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 84 (2007): 131–44.
59. In 1597, Shakespeare referred through Shallow in *Henry IV, Part 2* to caballeros: "I'll drink to Master Bardolph and to all his cavlieroes about London," 5.3.60 (Norton Shakespeare based on Oxford edition).
60. *Willobie his Auisa*, fol. 15^v.
61. Sir Francis Hastings, *A watch-word to all religious, and true hearted English-men* (London, 1598), 90.
62. Hastings, *A watch-word*, 82–3, 101.
63. See Herbert Grabes, "England or the Queen?: Public Conflict of Opinion and National Identity under Mary Tudor" in his *Writing the Early Modern English Nation: The Transformation of National Identity in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), 47–87.



CHAPTER II

“WOMAN, WARRIOR, QUEEN?” RETHINKING MARY AND ELIZABETH*

Anna Whitelock

I

“Early modern culture was deeply imbued with warrior values.”¹ Monarchs were ordained to protect their people with strength and justice and this was seen to be dependent on military might. The great seal of England depicted these basic facets of monarchy. On the one side there was an image of the monarch enthroned as the dispenser of justice, on the other the monarch was armed and on horseback, depicted as a military leader and defender of the country.² The coronation regalia—the spurs and the sword—similarly reflected the knightly origins of monarchy and the monarch’s status as the country’s leader in war, a role premised on masculinity. Writing in the fifteenth century, John Fortescue had argued against a woman’s right to inherit the English crown as “queens could not bear the sword.”³ Fighting was believed to be immodest and unsuited to female virtue. In his *De Institutione*, written as a guide for Mary’s education, the Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives opposed women bearing arms or jousting:

A young woman cannot easily be of chaste mind if her thoughts are occupied with the sword and sinewy muscles and virile strength. What place is here for defenceless, unwarlike and weak chastity? A woman who contemplates these things drinks poison into her breast.⁴

Yet alongside stereotypical images of women as weak and subordinate, early modern society was permeated with tales of the amazons, warrior women of ancient myth such as Penthesilea who defended Troy in the Trojan war before being struck down by Achilles.⁵ Whilst such “viragoes” could be praised for their military prowess, they were at the same time feared for their fierce emotion and unbridled lust. As John Knox declared in his *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, the ancients, could they see Mary Tudor enthroned, would think the world transformed to “monstrous Amazona”:

He that iudgeth it a monstre in nature, that a woman shall exercise weapons, Must iudge it to be a monstre of monstres, that a woman shalbe exalted above a hole realme and nation.⁶

Yet Knox's diatribe specifically targeted a Catholic monarch, thus causing damage that John Aylmer attempted to repair at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. In his *An harbarowwe for faithfull and trewe subjectes, against the late blowne blaste, concerning the government of women* he acknowledged that one of the reasons that people did not want a female ruler was that "she is not mete to go to the wars" but added that "some women have gonne and sped well."⁷ Edmund Spenser went as far as to claim that men's opposition to women taking up arms was masculine envy that had stifled women's fame.⁸ Yet although Spenser presents an acceptable warrior woman in the figure of Britomart in *The Faerie Queene*, he also portrays a more threatening Amazon embodied by the lascivious Radigund.⁹ Later Ben Jonson celebrated female heroic virtue in his *Masque of Queens* and paraded warrior queens from history and legend to entice James I to war.¹⁰ Early modern attitudes to warrior women were not as clear cut as traditional accounts suggest.

The accession of Mary I as queen regnant in England challenged convention as to the martial identity of the monarch. It was an anomaly that was depicted on the Great Seal (see Figure 11.1). Whilst on one side Mary was pictured with the orb and scepter, the traditional symbols of royal power, on the other, rather than being pictured mounted in battle array, Mary, as Elizabeth later, was portrayed riding side-saddle with flowers in the background. It pointed to the emasculation of the monarch's rule with the accession of a queen regnant. As Glyn Redworth has observed, "war for a female ruler entailed a diminution of her authority... in an aggressive war she would nearly always be obliged to surrender command in the field."¹¹ Indeed, it is important to note that there is no evidence of a suit of armor ever being made for Mary or for Elizabeth, a point that enduring representations of Elizabeth, most recently in the Hollywood blockbuster *Elizabeth: The Golden Age*, choose to overlook.¹²

Although queen regnants were extremely limited in the military roles they could take, there remained an imperative that they demonstrate their position as courageous and worthy defenders of the realm—albeit in a female mode. And so we see similarities in the language that Mary and Elizabeth use and the image that they invoke, or that is evoked on their behalves, when faced with a military challenge. In reality both queens have to depend on men—"captains"—to do the military business for them although they will still be held responsible for what happens. In some ways this is easier for Mary as she has Philip but, as this essay will explore, this is problematic because of the anti-Spanish xenophobia that is never far beneath the surface, even among "orthodox" supporters of the reign. And so we see how both queens try to exercise indirect control and how difficult that is.

Traditional assessments of Mary's queenship have focused heavily on the apparent military failures of her reign as epitomized by the loss of Calais in the Anglo-French war of 1557–59. Such a failure contrasts Elizabeth's victory over the Spanish Armada in 1588. Whilst Elizabeth is popularly remembered as a triumphant warrior queen, Mary is pilloried

as a military figure who achieved only national humiliation. Yet the reality of Mary and Elizabeth as warrior figures in contemporary depictions and subsequent representation is much more nuanced than traditional accounts allow. This essay looks to reevaluate the "warrior" credentials of Mary and Elizabeth, while emphasizing the common ground they inhabit as women attempting to function in a warrior society, and explores how that fundamental incongruity shapes the dichotomy that continued to position Elizabeth as the successful warrior queen and Mary as the impotent tyrannical one. Elizabeth emerges as the victorious warrior queen in the seventeenth century not least because by that point her alleged militancy carries an anti-Stuart charge and Mary is heralded as the antithesis of the "defender of the realm" recast at best as the cat's paw of Habsburg imperial ambitions if not as a figure at war with her subjects.

II

Mary decisively demonstrated her qualities as a military leader on two occasions during her short reign: the first in order to gain the throne, a dramatic testament of her abilities as a military commander. Mary's resolute and courageous action and ability to mobilize support in the localities proved decisive:

On this day [that is July 20, 1553] all ranks of soldiers were ordered to go down to the appointed place, the standards were unfurled and the military colours set up; everyone armed themselves fully as if about to meet the enemy. The infantry made ready their pikes, the cavalry brandished lances, the archer bent his bow, and girded on his quiver; the harquebusier filled his weapon with powder, inserted its leaden ball and set his match burning ... when the battle line seemed fully drawn up, sacred Mary rode out from Framlingham castle about four o'clock ... to muster and inspect this most splendid and loyal army. While her majesty was approaching, the white horse which she was riding became rather more frisky at the unaccustomed sight of such an army drawn up in formation ... she ordered her foot soldiers ... to lift up their hands to help their sovereign until she got ready to get down ... they brought the queen down to the ground ... her majesty now on foot, went round both divisions of the army speaking to them with exceptional kindness ... she completely won everyone's affections¹³

Determined, courageous, and inspiring, Mary acted out the traditionally masculine role of a military commander mustering her troops and rallying her forces ready for battle. Such was Mary's success in winning the support of gentlemen and commons in East Anglia and the Thames Valley that the Privy Council in London defected from John Dudley's coup, abandoned the cause of Lady Jane Grey, and declared their loyalty for Mary. It was a victory against the odds and the only successful revolt against central government in sixteenth-century England. As Robert Wingfield continues in his *Vita Mariae Reginae*, written in celebration of her triumph,

... this attempt should have been judged and considered one of Herculean rather than of womanly daring, since to claim and secure her hereditary right, the princess was being so bold as to tackle a powerful and well-prepared enemy, thoroughly provisioned with everything necessary to end or to prolong a war, while she was entirely unprepared for warfare and had insignificant forces.¹⁴

Wingfield celebrates the fact that Mary had overcome the limitations of her gender. The scale of her triumph in 1553 is oft-overlooked. She secured the throne as the first queen of England and defended the line of legitimate Tudor succession. And, as is frequently ignored, whilst Dudley's coup was sponsored by the French, Mary's was an entirely English victory.

Once she won the throne, Mary was celebrated in poems, sermons, ballads, letters, and pamphlets as a warrior figure whose accession represented the triumph of divine providence. In his poem *The Assault of the Sacrament* (1554), Miles Huggarde presented Mary "Geuing to our lorde harty laudes and prayse/ whiche had geuen to hir so great a victory/Against hir enemies in so fewe days without bloude shede most miraculously."¹⁵ Reginald Pole, appointed papal legate to England, heralded Mary as "a Virgin, helpless, naked and unarmed, [who] preuailed & had the victorie ouer tyrauntes."¹⁶ As Kevin Sharpe has observed, Mary's image now "fused national with Catholic images, to represent her as protectoress of her people, martial Christian prince, and successor of the holy virgin."¹⁷ It was a potent combination of religiosity and militarism.

Such themes were picked up in Mary's coronation procession in which she was heralded as a female warrior and deliverer. The Latin inscription on the Genoese arch in Fenchurch Street evoked Mary as a triumphant restorer; the Florentine's pageant represented her as classical and biblical female warriors Judith, Pallas Athene, and Tomyris.¹⁸ Judith had murdered Holofernes thereby releasing the Hebrews from threat of bondage, and Tomyris had led her people to victory against the Persian Emperor Cyrus the Great. Both had decapitated their enemy as Mary had the Duke of Northumberland for his role in the attempted July coup. The same parallel was drawn between Mary and Judith in a pamphlet issued the following year: *Oratio Leonhardi Goretti Equitis Poloni de matrimonio . . . Regis ac Reginae Angliae, Hispaniae, &c. Ad populum principesque Angliae* (London, 1554).¹⁹ And Leonard Stopes made a similar comparison in his *An Ave Maria in Commendation of our most Vertuous Queen*.²⁰

On the first plea roll of King's Bench of the reign, Mary is shown victorious over the rebels over whom she had triumphed to win the throne, surrounded by angels and holding a sword in her right hand. Her victory was divinely ordained and she sits enthroned. On the right are weapons laid down by four horsemen and in the background is an army ready for battle (see Figure 4.2).²¹ This was one of the first representations of any English queen regnant and it was unambiguously militaristic. Similarly, in the miniature contained within the book of prayers to be used "by the queen's highness in the consecration of the cramp rings," Mary is depicted reading a book before the altar whilst in the border are pictured a woman holding a severed head and a sword, doubtless symbolizing Judith, and St. George riding on horseback.²²

The summer of 1553 was not Mary's only outing as a military figure. A year later she rallied Londoners as Thomas Wyatt and an army of rebels threatened the capital in opposition to her intended marriage to Philip of Spain. Having offered to Wyatt terms that he rebuffed, Mary, as Wingfield continues,

applied herself wholly to war, and to prevent the enemy striking while she was unprepared, she placed in control of the city of London, then wavering in its loyalty, William Howard, brother to the duke of Norfolk . . . the queen left the palace and came to the City Guildhall, riding through the streets.

There she delivered a rousing speech, proving to be "an incomparable oratrix," in the words of Wingfield, "so like her ancestors, more to be feared than fearful herself."²³ Again Mary secured popular support in a moment of challenge and crisis. She refused to leave London despite the urgings of her councilors and, according to Malfatti, "she even asked to go and fight herself; that however was not permitted to her."²⁴ Then, in her Guildhall speech, she attacked Thomas Wyatt as a wicked traitor, defended her religion and choice of husband, and called on Londoners to stand firm in support. Moreover, Mary was confident to use the language of her gender to win support. She stressed her defiance and courage—not by claiming to have the qualities of a man but rather by asserting that she had these qualities as a woman:

And this I say to you in the woorde of a Prince, I can not tel[!] how naturally the mother loveth the childe, for I was never the mother of anye, but certainly, if a Prince and governour maye as naturally and earnestly love her subiectes as the Mother doeth the Childe, then assure your selves, that I being your Ladie and Maistres, doe as earnestly and as tenderly love and favour you. And I thus loving you, cannot but thinke that yee as heartely and faithfully love me, and then I doubt not, but we shall give these rebelles a short & speedy overthrow.²⁵

It was a conspicuous display of courage. Her rousing words mobilized the people of London and when Thomas Wyatt approached the Tower of London he found Ludgate barred against him. The rebels were compelled to lay down their arms and to sue for mercy. Again Mary's victory was heralded as an act of divine providence. As John Elder wrote in his letter to Scotland, it "hath pleased God to defende hir, ayde hir and save hir from the handes, power and might of her enemies, and giving her the victorie over them in twinkelunge of an eye, which as roaring lions would have devoured her."²⁶ Mary's spectacular defeat of the rebels was akin to Daniel's miraculous escape from the lion's den.

III

The reality and representation of Mary's queenship and assessments of it became more complicated following her marriage in July 1554. Philip provided the masculine element in government, for "matters impertinent to women," as the Spanish described it, and efforts were quickly



Figure 11.1 The Great Seal of Mary and Philip (1554), The National Archives

made to associate Philip alone with “the royal insignia of war.” From 1556, as Redworth has observed, official portraits and plea rolls of the king and queen evolved to depict only the king bearing a sword.²⁷ Whilst both the king and queen appear on horseback, Philip wears a cuirass and plate armor on his arms and legs and carries a long sword. Mary rides ahead but turning her head completely toward him and holding the reins in her right hand and the scepter in her left. It was a more conventional queenly pose indicative of the return of a more traditional male and militarized monarchy. Philip now took an active part in the jousts and tournaments at court that Mary had not been able to participate in. Henry Machyn records in his diary for December 1554, “the great triumph at the court gate by the King and divers lords both Englishmen and Spaniards . . . they ran as fast with spears and swords at the tourney.”²⁸

Although the marriage treaty had precluded England from being drawn into Philip’s foreign wars, a year later Philip rode at the head of an English army of war-hungry nobles in France. As Suriano, the Venetian ambassador, reported, “a great part of the nobility of the kingdom are preparing, some from a longing for novelty . . . some from rivalry and desire for glory, some to obtain grace and favour with his Majesty and the queen.”²⁹ Philip remarked to his father that, with the prospect of war, he found “such goodwill among everyone in this kingdom” and opportunity for nobles to gain honor and service abroad.³⁰ The invasion of Thomas Stafford on Scarborough Castle in April 1557 proved to be the catalyst

but it was a declaration long petitioned for by Philip and insisted upon by Mary who isolated herself from her English counselors who urged nonintervention. It was a situation that would be reversed in Elizabeth's reign when she persistently desisted from conflict in the face of hawkish counsel. Mary, in contrast, albeit in the service of her husband's Habsburg ambitions, was determined to go to war. On April 13, before the court removed to Greenwich for the Easter holidays, Mary summoned the councilors privately to her room and threatened, "some with death, others with the loss of their goods and estates, if they did not consent to the will of her husband."³¹ Finally, in July a force of 1,200 horses, 4,000 foot soldiers, 1,500 pioneers, and 200 minors finally crossed the Channel.

Within weeks the city of St. Quentin was taken by the English. Some 3,000 French troops were killed and 7,000 captured, including their commander Anne de Montmorency, the constable of France. The news was greeted in England with widespread celebrations.³² London chroniclers heralded the success of "the king, our master," the earl of Bedford reported that "God prospereth the king's majesty in all proceedings."³³ The political community was motivated for the national war effort in the king's service. Yet this English victory is generally overlooked in accounts of the reign. As Redworth has written, "it is almost as if to acknowledge the successes of a foreign king would be to undermine the uniqueness of our insular history."³⁴ Given its Habsburg overtones, it was a military triumph for which Mary has not been given due credit.

Weeks later, however, the English experienced a humiliating defeat that would stamp a decisive imprint on Mary's reign. On New Year's Day 1558, 27,000 French troops attacked Calais, the last English outpost in France to remain from the Plantagenet empire. The garrison was ill-prepared and undermanned. French forces led by the duke of Guise had been able to take it by surprise by launching their attack in mid-winter. The garrisons of Guisnes and Hammes held out until January 21, when forces under Lord Grey, short of ammunition and food, also surrendered. The London chronicler Henry Machyn reported that it was "the hevest tydy[ngs to London] and to England that ever was h[e]ard of."³⁵ Yet here again it is important to place this campaign and responses to it in a broader contemporary context. There was, in fact, neither widespread support nor concerted attempt to reclaim Calais. This was undoubtedly in part due to the impact of the influenza epidemic and the inability to raise sufficient forces. As Philip's minister Granvelle commented, "one would like to see more spirit, more resentment about Calais, and more memory of the ancient virtues of their forebears."³⁶

As in other aspects of her queenship, assessment of Mary's reign has been made by drawing on the work of Protestant and anti-Spanish propagandists. The Marian exile Bartholomew Traheron's *Warning to England* attacked the "despiteful, cruel, bloody, willful, furious" queen who, seeking to "betray her native country," "began a war with a mighty king whose peace was sought and desired, only to satisfy her willful head, to increase

the force of the Spaniard, & to maim . . . thy best captains & soldiers." She had "studied these 4.yeres to betraie the o'Englande into the handes of a straunger, and of a nation most defamed in all the world for pride and crueltie."³⁷ The full title of the tract reveals his agenda, *A Warning to England to repente, and to turn to god from idolatrie and poperie by the terrible exemple of Calece given the 7 of March Ann.D 1558*. The loss of Calais was grist to the Protestant mill.

IV

Irrespective of Calais, the reality and representation of Mary's martial queenship provided important precedents for her sister. From the beginning of her reign Elizabeth was fashioned as a militant Protestant queen through the appropriation of Marian iconography and association with the figures of Judith, Deborah, and Daniel.³⁸ At the Tower of London before her coronation procession she gave thanks to God for sparing her as he had "thy true and faithful servant Daniel thy prophet, whom thou delivered out of the den from the cruelty of the greedy and raging lions."³⁹ The final tableau in the coronation procession heralded Deborah:

In war she, through God's aid, did put her foes to flight And with the dint of sword the bande of bondage brast. In peace she, through God's aid, did always maintain right And judged Israel till forty years were past⁴⁰

Pageants as well as court and civic entertainments that staged battles and mustered troops came to reflect the militant Protestant queen that some of her noblemen sought and which Elizabeth resisted. At Norwich in 1578 Judith and Deborah again appeared appealing to Elizabeth to "hold for aie a noble victor's part."⁴¹ It was a mode of dramatic counsel, an attempt to create a warrior queen: Elizabeth "was being used to mime (and so to legitimate) the ambitions of certain of her male courtiers."⁴² As Robert Naunton described in his *Fragmenta Regalia*:

And it will be a true note of Magnanimity that she loved a soldier and had a propension in her nature to regard, and always to grace them, which falling into the courtiers' consideration, they took as an invitation to win honour together with their mistress' favour by exposing themselves in the wars . . . For we have many instances of the sallies of the nobility and gentry, yea, and of the court, and of her prime favourites that they had touch or tincture of Mars in their inclinations and to steal away without license and the Queen's privy, which had like to have cost them dear, so predominant were their thoughts and hopes of honour grown in them . . . whose absence and their many eruptions were very distasteful unto her.⁴³

Elizabeth, however, attempted to fashion herself as a queen of peace and concord. In the painting known as *An Allegory of the Tudor Succession*



Figure 11.2 An Allegory of the Tudor Succession, attr. to Lucas de Heere (c. 1572), National Museum Wales

(c. 1572)—which, according to the inscription at the bottom, Elizabeth sent to Sir Francis Walsingham—Philip and Mary stand with the armored figure of War while Elizabeth stands holding the hand of Peace who tramples on a sword and shield (see Figure 11.2).⁴⁴ As Mary brought England to war, Elizabeth was and remained inclined to peace. Yet in practice the queen's ability to preserve her peaceful ambitions was limited and her success in the military adventures she was forced to take was much more sporadic than is generally acknowledged.

V

Four years after her accession Elizabeth was presiding over military disaster after she sent an expeditionary force of 3,000 men to Le Havre (Newhaven) in support of the prince of Condé, leader of French Huguenots. The intention was to use Le Havre as a bargaining counter by which to recover Calais. In both objectives it failed. Condé was captured. The English were forced to surrender and make an ignominious retreat. As Susan Doran has observed, "English military intervention in France proved an expensive and humiliating failure." It resulted in the loss of 2,000 men and cost some £250,000.⁴⁵ By the Treaty of Troyes eight months later, Elizabeth abandoned her hopes of regaining Calais. It was a significant failure; the marquess of Winchester had written to Elizabeth urging her to recover Calais given its importance for

commerce and as a bulwark against continental enemies and the honor that would be reflected upon the queen by its return.⁴⁶ As Mary had lost Calais, Elizabeth had failed to regain it. For the next twenty-two years Elizabeth would avoid direct military intervention and preserve her ambitions for peace.

This was all to change in the 1580s as England and Spain drifted toward war. "At the end of her sixth decade," as Wallace MacCaffrey writes, "the Queen reluctantly found herself cast in the Amazonian role that she had for so long sought to avoid."⁴⁷ Following the Treaty of Nonsuch of August 1585, Elizabeth sent the earl of Leicester with 7,000 English troops to the Low Countries in defense of the Protestant cause. These new conditions of war necessarily weakened the queen's position. Elizabeth hesitated, prevaricated, and changed her mind as the men to whom she was forced to cede control failed to follow royal command. Elizabeth was a reluctant warrior queen who lacked the gung-ho spirit of her father, Henry VIII, as her instructions to Leicester make clear: "We do require you that you rather bend your cause to make a defensive than offensive war, and that you seek by all means to avoid the hazard of a battle."⁴⁸

Her actions were not intended to provoke war and Elizabeth merely sought to force Philip to reopen negotiations with the states general. Leicester's appropriation of the post of governor-general of the Low Countries exemplified a failure of command that typified Elizabeth's relations with her generals. Although she had expressly forbidden Leicester from accepting any offers of sovereignty on her behalf, seeking his own glory he ignored Elizabeth's instructions.⁴⁹ The lack of a traditional martial presence was more keenly felt in Elizabeth's reign than in Mary's because of the lack of a king.

The Portugal expedition of 1589 again illustrated Elizabeth's fundamental weakness as a wartime leader. The operation, under the command of Drake and Norris, was intended to destroy the remnants of the Armada that had made their way back to Spain; to seize Lisbon, thereby encouraging a popular rebellion against Spain; and finally to capture a base in the Azores from which to intercept Spanish treasure en route from the Americas. Elizabeth's instructions were ignored. The main fleet sailed direct to Corunna rather than first sailing to the ports to destroy the Spanish ships, and the mission turned out to be a disaster. By the time Norris' army arrived at Lisbon weeks later, the threat could be easily met. Drake's mission to the Azores ended in equal ignominy as his fleet was beaten back by adverse winds. The expedition had failed in all of its objectives.

Such failure of control at sea was demonstrated again in 1596 and 1597. Whilst the 1596 expedition succeeded in capturing the port of Cadiz, the attraction of looting took precedence over strategy and a number of Spanish ships were not sunk and eluded capture. Rather than following the queen's orders to withdraw after attacking the fleet, Essex sought to achieve his own, ultimately unsuccessful plan

of establishing a permanent English garrison at Cadiz from which to attack Spanish ships to the Indies. Through indiscipline among the commanders—and an attempt by Essex to take the initiative from the impotent warrior queen—the mission had again proved to be a squandered opportunity to blunt the Spanish threat; months later Philip sent another fleet against England.

The following year a third naval offensive—the Islands voyage—was attempted and Essex was given command of an expedition to attack Spanish shipping in the port at Ferrol and then to establish a base in the Azores from which to intercept the American treasure fleet. But again disaster ensued and after having set sail much of the English fleet was beaten back by storms. Those ships that did reach the Iberian Peninsula were crippled by disease and contradictory command. Moreover in the absence of an English fleet in the Atlantic another “Armada” sailed toward Cornwall before being scattered by storms. In regard to the war with Spain “almost every independent military initiative had been a failure.”⁵⁰ And such a failure of royal command can also be seen in Ireland following the outbreak of rebellion in 1598 under the leadership of Hugh O’Neill, earl of Tyrone.

In August at Yellow Ford, O’Neill inflicted a catastrophic defeat on the English army: by the autumn practically all of Ireland was lost to the queen. In response Elizabeth was obliged to dispatch the largest army sent there by the Tudors. The following year, Essex was sent to Ireland to command an army of 16,000 foot soldiers and 1,300 cavalrymen with firm instructions to attack Tyrone in Ulster. But again Elizabeth had been unable to control her generals once they were in the field; moreover, having spread his forces by garrisoning towns in Leinster and Munster, Essex was left with too weak an army to engage Tyrone. When Essex did meet his enemy it was for a secret parley that led to what Elizabeth considered to be a dishonorable truce. After Essex abandoned his post Tyrone proclaimed an almost independent Irish nation. It was not until the eve of Elizabeth’s death that Ireland would be reconquered.

In sum, Elizabeth’s military leaders had little confidence in her ability to command and very often ignored her instructions and questioned her judgment. As Raleigh said,

If the late queen would have believed her men of war as she did her scribes, we had in her time beaten that great empire in pieces and made their kings kings of figs and oranges as in old times. But her Majesty did all by halves, and by petty invasions taught the Spaniard how to defend himself, and to see his own weakness.⁵¹

VI

Successive military failures and royal indecision do not largely feature in the representation of Elizabeth of succeeding centuries and all pale into

insignificance given the success of 1588 and the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Her iconic status as a warrior queen was assured and famously depicted in the Armada portrait in which she observes victory from a command position with the Armada fleet in the background. It might be said to have echoes of the early plea roll from Mary's reign in which the vanquished rebels were pictured behind an image of Mary enthroned: both heralded the victory of the English over a foreign or foreign-backed challenge. Moreover much of the same imagery and providential rhetoric representing Mary's victories was commandeered for Elizabeth—for example, the medal struck on Elizabeth's victory read "God breathed and they were scattered."⁵² It is interesting to note, as Patrick Collinson has observed, that this "sounded a note of protestant providentialism rather than triumphalism."⁵² The victory was less due to Elizabeth's agency than to divine providence. Elizabeth was rather a willing and obedient conduit than an aggressive warrior queen.

The image of Elizabeth at Tilbury continued as a vehicle of English nationalism in subsequent centuries. As Calais was Mary's nadir that condemned her to national opprobrium, Tilbury was Elizabeth's climactic moment that sealed her position as an exemplar of English nationalism. But the extent of the victory needs to be qualified: it was neither as spectacular nor as decisive as popular history maintains. It was storms rather than English war strategy that sent a third of the Spanish ships onto rocks and killed some 20,000 men, together with senior naval officers. The war with Spain continued; the threat remained in the Netherlands; in France the Spanish were supporting the French Catholics against the Huguenots and there remained the threat of further Spanish invasion against England.

Yet during the 1590s and beyond representations of her queenship became "ever more fantastic."⁵³ The Dutch print, *Elizabeth as Europa* (c. 1598), features the queen brandishing a sword, with the Armada in the background as the triple-headed pope flees.⁵⁴ Upon Elizabeth's death, one epitaph lamented the loss of a queen whose rule had echoes of biblical heroines:

The reverent Lady, Nurse of all our Land
That swayed a Sword like Judith's, in her hand.
The Deborah that judged Israel:
Whose blessed actions God did prosper well . . .⁵⁵

In John Taylor's *Memorial of All the English Monarchs*, first published in 1622 and expanded in 1630, Elizabeth was heralded as "A Deborah, A Judith, A Susanna, A Virgin, A Virago, A Diana."⁵⁶ It would continue to be so. Elizabeth's military reputation is as much the work of seventeenth-century propagandists as of her own success in the face of battle. It is hard to resist the conclusion that 1588 was a victory "of the pen rather than the sword."⁵⁷

VII

Traditional assessments of Elizabeth's military success and Mary's reputation of failure owe more to perception based on nationalist sentiment and gender expectations than historical fact. Whilst in her stance against the Armada Elizabeth can be seen to have been acting in defense of England against Spanish attack, Mary was perceived as being a tool of the Spanish. A pamphlet from 1555 entitled *Certayne Questions Demanded and asked by the Noble Realme of England of her true naturall children and Subiectes of the same* reproached Mary as a traitor who had led the country into Spanish captivity and, of course, was born of a Spanish mother. In contrast Elizabeth could be praised as English. *A Special Grace, appointed to haue been said after a banket at Yorke, vpo the good nues and Proclamation thear, of the (accession) of Elizabeth, in Nouember 1558* described her as

A Prince (as ye wot all) of no mingled blood of Spaniard or straunger, but borne mere Englishe here amongst vs, and therefore most naturall unto us...⁵⁸

Elizabeth's success can be understood, as with so many other aspects of the reign, only relative to Mary's: Mary's Spanishness made the scale of Elizabeth's celebrated victory possible. Mary was seen as betraying her country and so calls were made to depose her. She was

A moste wicked & idolatrous Quene. A very Iezebel, that is, a frinde to Baal & his priests, & an utter enemie to god and his people. Yea another Athalia, that is, an vtter distroier of hir owne kinerede, kyngdome & countrie, a hater of hir owne subiectes, a lover of strangers & an unnatural step-dame both vnto them& to thy mother Englande.⁵⁹

In contrast, Elizabeth and England were united, "Renowned Queen of this renowned land." England and Elizabeth against "vanquishers, which come to execute His holy will, and diuellish purposes."⁶⁰

With the loss of Calais and her subsequent reputation as a military failure, Mary appeared to merely confirm gender expectations: women were not expected to be great military leaders. Whereas Elizabeth's Armada victory exceeded the traditional expectations of her gender and was thus perceived as unnatural and somewhat masculine. According to eyewitness James Aske, Elizabeth marched "King-like" as she surveyed her soldiers.⁶¹ Similarly early biographers such as William Camden heralded her appearance before the troops at Tilbury as demonstrating her "manly courage."⁶² Her military success was truly unprecedented whilst Mary's apparent "failure," as represented by the loss of Calais, was much easier to explain and so her failure was accepted unquestioningly. Yet such was the power of Mary's words at Whitehall it might be suggested that, though different in the imagery they adopted, they inspired Elizabeth's at Tilbury when she like her sister faced a military challenge:

Wherefore I am come among you at this time but for my recreation and pleasure, being resolved in the midst and heat of the battle to live and die

amongst you all, to lay down for my God and for my kingdom and for my people mine honour and my blood even in the dust. I know I have the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king and of a king of England too...⁶³

Both Mary and Elizabeth's speeches emphasize the reciprocal fidelity and love between a queen and her people, and both speeches produced the desired effect: defeat of a rebel army. Yet it is Elizabeth's Armada oration that is remembered, whilst Mary's Guildhall address and her rallying of supporters at Framlingham Castle during the succession crisis are barely acknowledged.

Mary's reign, notwithstanding its relative brevity, was more consistently militaristic in style and policy than Elizabeth's. Mary's reign was marked by significant military triumphs and Philip's headship of an English army as well as by notable military failure in the loss of Calais. In Elizabeth's own self-fashioning she was the bringer of peace rather than war as had been depicted in the Allegory of the Tudor Succession. In this as in the military initiatives she was forced to pursue, she was largely unsuccessful and conformed exactly to the gender limitations that Mary of Hungary had expressed:

A woman is never feared and respected as a man is, whatever her rank... [i]n times of war... it is entirely impossible for a woman to govern satisfactorily. All she can do is shoulder responsibility for mistakes committed by others.⁶⁴

The Armada victory was an anomaly and a triumph more by luck than judgment. The reality of Mary and Elizabeth's warrior queenship is far more complicated than popular stereotypes allow.

Notes

*I thank Anne McLaren for reading a draft of this essay and making valuable comments.

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CHAPTER 12

“YOUR MOST ASSURED SISTER”: ELIZABETH I AND THE KINGS OF FRANCE

Glenn Richardson

I

In July 1593, Elizabeth I wrote to Henri IV of France remonstrating with him over his conversion to Catholicism while promising to continue as his friend. Elizabeth signed herself: “Your most assured sister, if it be after the old fashion; with the new I have nothing to do.”¹ Her words referred, of course, to Henri’s altered religion, but they also serve to remind us that Elizabeth was always acutely conscious of history in her dealings with France. Her own reputation as a strong monarch and a war leader, such as it is, would come to rest largely on the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588.² Until then, however, the Tudor dynasty’s reputation and international status had been asserted most vigorously in “the old fashion” of war and peace with France.

Mary I was, of course, the first female Tudor sovereign to deal with France. Her highly experienced and effective representative there was Sir Nicholas Wotton, but Mary did not develop a personal rapport with her French counterpart as had her father and half-brother Edward. This was largely because King Henri II was little more than contemptuous of her as a female sovereign. Her marriage to Philip of Spain in July 1554 alienated him further. He rejected Mary’s efforts to mediate in what became the short-lived truce of Vaucelles of February 1556. Henri rightly concluded that England would enter the Habsburg–Valois conflict but he was wrong that this would be merely at Philip’s behest. The shelter he offered a number of English Protestant exiles, chiefly Thomas Stafford, who then plotted against Mary, was a more direct cause of English entry into the war than support for Spain.³

Unfortunately for Mary, the loss of Calais in January 1558 irreparably damaged her reputation as a warrior sovereign and at least some of that damage was inflicted by Elizabeth’s regime. Elizabeth’s relations with Charles IX and Henri III until 1589 and thereafter with Henri IV were always conducted in similarly difficult and constraining circumstances and, like Mary before her, Elizabeth faced contemporary assumptions that women were unsuited to the complexities of diplomacy and warfare. One apparent

strategy adopted in presenting her effectively to her French counterparts was to refashion and from time to time deploy elements of a “chivalric” mode of dealing with French kings first essayed under Henry VIII. Elizabeth regularly used the rhetoric of honor, reputation, and esteem as she strove to portray herself as the more consistent, more generous, and more deserving party in the relationship. To some extent, of course, this language was characteristic of all princes in the sixteenth century, male or female. Elizabeth, however, also drew at times upon a more specific tradition of Anglo-French rhetorical interaction developed in her father’s time.⁴

Between 1515 and 1547 Henry VIII had conducted a very personally competitive relationship with his French counterpart, François Ier. Each monarch strove to display himself as the embodiment of princely and royal chivalry—generous, wise, and honorable and thus worthy of respect. When the two kings were in accord, they exchanged personal friends as ambassadors, sent each other presents and tokens of regard, and spoke of each other in elevated terms in a way that neither did toward or about any of their other contemporaries. When relations became cold they could be equally personal in their criticism of each other. They deployed highly nuanced language, ritual, and etiquette primarily to maintain an often difficult alliance between them.⁵

With the gradual emergence of a Protestant religious “settlement” in England, confessional differences were again an issue in its dealings with France. Much more significant, however, was the collapse of royal authority in France after the deaths of Henri II in 1559 and François II the following year. Elizabeth’s councilors and ambassadors were confronted with a political complexity in France unlike anything in the time of the earlier Tudors and were often uncertain about how best to respond. “France” was now far more than just its monarchy or its merchants. Engulfed in periodic bouts of religious and noble conflict that had potentially destabilizing consequences for England, it could neither be ignored nor mastered by the English sovereign. Burghley, Leicester, Walsingham and later Essex and Robert Cecil all tried to build networks of informants and allies in France—at the court, in the commercial and legal sectors, among the clienteles of the great French nobles, and within differing religious adherences. Not only were these varied networks poorly coordinated but they were also often competitively hostile toward each other and English dealings with France became more multilayered and more multidirectional than they had ever been before.⁶

II

Elizabeth’s initial response to the rise of the Huguenots was aggressively interventionist. In October 1562 she sent 6,000 troops under the earl of Warwick who seized Le Havre (Newhaven) ostensibly in support of Louis de Bourbon, prince de Condé.⁷ After concluding the Peace of Amboise in March 1563, the French regent Catherine de’ Medici sent an army (whose commanders included Condé) that forced the English from Le Havre. Yet, as Susan Doran has argued, despite this rocky start in their relations,

Elizabeth and Catherine were able to establish a reasonable working relationship on the premise that the one avoided any more ill-considered adventures against French ports and the other avoided further interventions in Scotland.⁸ During the later 1560s, Anglo-French relations began to regain something of the more personal and spirited tone associated with the earlier decades of the century and focused on the possibility of Elizabeth's marriage to one of the Valois princes.⁹ Although Henri d'Anjou himself never showed much interest, marriage negotiations did provide the springboard for the conclusion of a new Anglo-French alliance under the Treaty of Blois of April 1572. It was not a "diplomatic revolution" of the kind witnessed between Henry VIII and François Ier in 1527, nor a partnership of the kind Walsingham advocated against Spanish religion, but it did reorient English interests back toward France. For the remainder of Elizabeth's reign, her regime inclined more toward maintaining good relations with the French crown whenever possible and supporting it against Spain and the pro-Spanish Guise faction within France.¹⁰

During a second set of negotiations, carried on over six years between 1572 and 1578, for a marriage between Elizabeth and Henri III's younger brother François, duc d'Alençon/Anjou, Elizabeth the woman and the potential bride, as opposed to the sovereign conducting the negotiations, remained largely invisible. But this changed from the spring of 1579 when, for a time, Elizabeth was serious about using a marriage alliance with France as a means of persuading Philip II to bring conflict in the Netherlands to an end. Anjou visited England in the late summer of 1579. The duke and the queen appeared very taken with each other and she evidently hoped that the question of Anjou's religious practice could be resolved favorably for both parties. Her subjects, however, did not agree. A treaty of marriage was drafted in November 1579 but in the teeth of a widespread campaign of opposition in and well beyond the court, Elizabeth became convinced that she could not marry Anjou.

The queen still wanted a renewed alliance with France and in 1581 the most impressive French delegation to visit England during Elizabeth's reign arrived. The queen received it with much pomp and grandeur and presented the visitors with a magnificent round of entertainments. These culminated in an elaborate, allegorical tournament staged at Whitsun in which those who favored the French match fought against those who did not. The tournament presented a carefully chosen set of chivalric motifs and analogies to communicate Elizabeth's willingness to enter an alliance—but not one based on a marriage. As Susan Doran observes,

Overall, the allegory portrayed the queen as both an unobtainable object of desire in the chivalric tradition and a neo-Platonic celestial being; the clear message was that her chastity was part of her special mystique and that her marriage to the French prince was therefore out of the question.¹¹

In staging this event, Elizabeth's court revived an important strategy in Anglo-French diplomacy as practiced by her father. Henry VIII's gender

had also been part of his “special mystique” and was just as central to the allegorical chivalric combats in which he performed during various Anglo-French encounters in the 1520s. His robust masculinity had been asserted directly through his participation in those tournaments as proof of both his brotherly honor and England’s aggressive potential against France. By the same token, Elizabeth’s chaste femininity was asserted in her role as the unattainable lady of the tournament for whom all the men fought and as proof of both her sisterly (rather than wifely) honor and England’s potential still to be a friend to France, independent of a royal marriage. Thus the “Virgin Queen” was presented for the first time to the English and the French simultaneously and the chivalric register in which their relations were conducted was adapted to new circumstances.

After Anjou’s death in 1584, Elizabeth and Henri III strove to discover more about each other’s resources—material and human—in order to assess how far they could depend upon each other in the face of growing Spanish hostility and Philip’s apparent success in the Netherlands and elsewhere. The early 1580s saw a significant increase in intelligence-gathering in France, encompassing everything from basic fact-finding to elaborate counterespionage.¹² The young Robert Cecil, living in Paris in 1583, was the author of a survey of the French provinces and notes on the nobility of France. A similar survey and notes on the French court were prepared by one Richard Cook of Kent and the sources used for them suggest that their authors had access to at least semi-public documents.¹³ By the mid-1580s the reading English public showed a greater interest in France and its religious problems and a considerable amount of material was printed to feed that appetite.¹⁴

Cook’s notes on the French court were published in England and may have been used in preparation of the grandest embassy that Elizabeth had yet sent to France: the presentation to Henri III of the Order of the Garter in February 1585.¹⁵ Here Elizabeth tapped very directly into the chivalric tradition of her father’s time, Henry VIII being the first sovereign to admit his French counterpart into the Order.¹⁶ The only study of Elizabeth’s attitude to the Garter has found that she was distinctly ambivalent about it. As a woman she could not be a member of the Order but as queen she was its sovereign. It has been suggested that her response was, in effect, to make a martial order into a courtly one, focused on herself.¹⁷ In her relations with the French kings, Elizabeth deployed membership of the Garter much as Henry VIII had done: as a culturally significant way of binding them to her beyond the terms of formal treaties. Led by the earl of Derby, the embassy was sent to reassure Henri of Elizabeth’s continuing regard and support after the death of his brother and the assassination of William of Orange in 1584.¹⁸

III

Elizabeth was powerless to influence French policy in the face of Henri III’s increasingly erratic rule and isolation. Attention increasingly turned

toward Henri de Navarre, acknowledged by the French king as his successor after the death of Anjou. After Henri III's assassination in August 1589, Henri de Navarre attempted to make good his claim to the French throne against the Catholic League's refusal to recognize him. He requested help from Elizabeth who responded quickly. In September she provided 3,600 troops under Lord Willoughby, together with a loan of £15,000.¹⁹ This rapidly deployed support established the basis for what should have been a good working relationship between two very different personalities. Yet, almost from the outset, there were strong tensions and points of conflict over priorities. No sooner had English troops arrived than Henri led them, as part of a larger royal army, away from the coast and toward Paris and beyond. By November 1589 the English (under Willoughby) were suffering from inadequate shelter and provisions. The majority of losses among them were due to disease and hunger.²⁰ All of this left Elizabeth and her council shocked and angered. Nevertheless, Henri renewed his calls for assistance in 1591 and once more Elizabeth responded. This time, troops under the earl of Essex were sent to Normandy to capture Rouen for Henri and to Brittany under Sir John Norris to assist in the fight against the Spanish who had landed there.

As noted at the outset, in July 1593 Henri abjured the Protestant faith in order, famously, to obtain control of Paris and with it the beginnings of effective power over France.²¹ Cosy references to religious unity and the future benefits to the faith of working together were hastily dropped from Elizabeth's correspondence and Sir Thomas Wilkes, a committed Protestant, was sent to France to seek protection for Huguenots under the law and a new alliance with England on the basis of mutual royal dependence in the face of a common foe. As Wilkes' instructions put it, the queen "would think it against reason to continue friendship and aid to the king of France without a correspondency on his part to join in offence against the king of Spain."²² To which Henri responded that his capacity to fight Spain amidst a myriad of other problems he now encountered as king depended upon further help from Elizabeth.

The queen complained bitterly about Henri's requests for further aid before he had repaid his debts to her. In response to a visit by the French envoy De Mouy, Elizabeth wrote to Henri on August 23, 1593 that she was astonished that he

did not think reparation for his infinite broken promises was called for rather than new demands. Why should she trust him more now than when he had much larger forces in the field, all to no purpose.²³

Despite the tone of this letter, Elizabeth had to be careful not to alienate Henri while ensuring, so far as she could, that he did not waste the support she offered him. In the late summer of 1594 more troops were sent to Brittany on the understanding that a much larger French force would be assembled and that this joint army would expel the Spanish from the

province and move on—but no further into France than Normandy.²⁴ In fact, fewer French troops than Henri promised eventually arrived and Sir John Norris had to act virtually in defiance of his French counterpart, the Marshall d'Aumont, to clear the Spanish from the Crozon peninsula in order to secure the port of Brest. English troops were then withdrawn from Brittany in February 1595 in order to fight in Ireland just after Henri had declared open war against Spain in January.²⁵

The withdrawal of Elizabeth's troops at such a crucial moment was deeply resented by Henri but it was precipitated by the Irish emergency. It was also, in its way, simply a variant of the traditional Tudor monarchs' response to French kings indifferent to their demands. Whereas Henry VII and Henry VIII had threatened or actually sent troops to France in order to compel French attention, Elizabeth withdrew hers to similar effect. She explained her present needs and assured Henri of her continuing goodwill but insisted that future assistance would be on her own strategic terms such that "if the enemy shall seek to devour any place of his (Henri's) where we may have access by sea, he shall find both help and present assistance and neither charge nor danger shall plead for our excuse."²⁶

Elizabeth's action does seem to have jolted Henri out of his hitherto benign but rather patronizing attitude toward her. In December 1595, she sent Sir Henry Unton as resident ambassador and with his appointment the rhetoric and ritual of Anglo-French dealings changed register once again to reinforce the message that Elizabeth had to be taken seriously. His instructions emphasized his status as a knight, a gentleman, and a resident ambassador.²⁷ In his background and demeanor Unton, an adherent of the earl of Essex, recalled the soldier-ambassadors of an earlier generation, a fact Henri himself acknowledged—"reputing me," as Unton reported, "one of his soldiers of the old sort." Unton was greeted effusively by the king at Coucy-le-Château on February 13, 1596. He reported that Henri was "much conceited of the cause of my coming and very inquisitive of the time of my stay."²⁸ Unton's formal discussions with the French royal council about a new alliance went nowhere but Henri himself showed the ambassador every courtesy, walking with him in the royal gardens and hunting with him. This kind of politically significant personal interaction would have been familiar to Unton's predecessors in the 1520s and 1530s and, incidentally, to his French contemporaries in England entertained by Elizabeth. Such treatment allowed Henri to express esteem for his "well-loved sister," to assert his own honor and reliability as a prince while simultaneously distancing himself from the intransigence of his councilors who were defending his interests.

Despite his bluff, soldierly persona, Unton was well aware that there was a "courtierly" aspect of his role and that, on occasions, it demanded involvement in the kind of royal "person-to-person" representation familiar to an earlier generation of ambassadors.²⁹ In February 1596 he reported to Elizabeth that during one of his long audiences with Henri, the king suddenly summoned his mistress Gabrielle d'Estrées and introduced her to the ambassador. Unton dispraised her to Elizabeth as being not very

fair at all and reputedly rather stupid. Henri had insisted that Unton kiss her, which the ambassador did—more from gallantry than inclination, he tactfully informed Elizabeth.³⁰ Later, when Henri had invited him to the royal bedchamber, Henri asked Unton how he liked Gabrielle. Unton said he would prefer to praise his own far more beautiful mistress and intimated that he had on him a picture of her. From other references in his correspondence, it is clear that this was a cameo portrait of Elizabeth apparently intended for the king's sister. Henri immediately demanded to see it and Unton complied. Gazing intently on the portrait, the king admitted that Unton indeed had the fairer mistress. The king then kissed the portrait two or three times as Unton held it. "Then," reported Unton, "he snatched at it, to wring it out of my hand. In the end with some kind of contention, he took it from me."³¹ Henri later wrote asking Elizabeth's forgiveness for taking the picture, assuring her that his esteem for her had prompted him.³²

This coup de théâtre was intended to persuade the ambassador, and the queen to whom he knew his gesture would be reported, of his own chivalrous and honorable regard for her. More interesting perhaps is Unton's self-conscious decision to communicate this curious episode to Elizabeth. He excused himself for mixing "toyes" with serious matters and said nothing whatsoever about it in a letter written to Burghley the same day. Unton evidently appreciated the importance of personal interactions between sovereigns and saw how they might be used to evade, subvert, or reinforce the conduct of formal relations between their governments. Unton may also have been trying to flatter Elizabeth into a more sympathetic attitude toward Henri. Paul Hammer has suggested that like Essex, his patron, Unton favored greater action on Henri's behalf in the face of Burghley's opposition. His description of this encounter is certainly framed by dire warnings of what Henri might do if Elizabeth refused further assistance.³³ The episode was essentially a courtly game in which Elizabeth's active power was recognized through her being cast as the idealized love-object of a warrior prince and so, in a highly romanticized and gender-adjusted way, the episode looks back to an earlier tradition of Anglo-French chivalric interchanges intended to affirm personal alliance and interdependence.

Sir Henry Unton died in France on March 23, 1596 after suffering a short but violent fever, and Calais was suddenly besieged by a Spanish army under the Cardinal-Archduke Albert, provoking exactly those circumstances in which Elizabeth had recently declared that she would assist Henri. She did begin preparations, committed to the earl of Essex, but then she tried to bargain or bully Henri into accepting English control of Calais as the price of her assistance. Faced with a point-blank refusal of this suggestion, Elizabeth then hesitated in a way that drove even the experienced Burghley to distraction and Calais fell to the Spanish on April 17. Henri, of course, blamed Elizabeth for the loss of the city and indeed it was not her finest hour as military commander.³⁴

In the aftermath of the Calais debacle Elizabeth moved to patch up relations, responding favorably to new French overtures for an alliance,

once again using a personal, chivalrous gesture. In May a mutual defensive league was agreed at Greenwich with a secret subsidiary agreement that limited English assistance to 2,000 men to garrison Boulogne and Montreuil or to serve Henri only when he was in Picardy.³⁵ Elizabeth formally promised more troops but, with the Irish rebellion in progress, knew she could spare none. The new alliance was ratified by Elizabeth in August and formally sworn on September 8 at Greenwich. It was sealed by the conferral upon Henri of the Order of the Garter, to which he had been nominated as early as April 1590. At Rouen on October 10, 1596, the earl of Shrewsbury invested Henri with the insignia of the order and with it a statement from Elizabeth about the ancient standing of the Garter and how she, like her predecessors, bestowed it only upon persons dearest to her and of the highest estate.³⁶ Had Elizabeth been a male sovereign there might well have been a mutual exchange of orders as there had been in 1527 when Henry and François sealed their alliance. The documents of 1596 certainly recalled those of 1527 in their splendor.³⁷ The conferral of the Garter and with it news of Essex's successful attack on Cadiz that summer were designed primarily to reassert Elizabeth's reputation as a willing and worthwhile ally.

Shortly afterward, 2,000 troops were dispatched to France under Sir Thomas Baskerville. They were used in the fight to regain Amiens, suddenly lost to the Spanish in March 1597, but Henri considered the contribution of such a small number of troops indicative of no serious intent in the war against Spain. He, therefore, began overtures for a peace with Philip. Of this development he informed Elizabeth personally by poetic allusion in a letter brought by his new ambassador to England, André Hurault, seigneur de Maisse:

For myself I shall never tire of fighting for so just a cause as ours, I was born and nurtured in the travails and perils of war; whence also is culled glory, the true food of every truly loyal soul, even as the rose is in the thorns. But I can well tire of the calamities and miseries which my people endure because of this war.³⁸

What Henri really wanted was a clear indication from the English monarch and her council as to whether or not they were for war against Spain. While he waited for Elizabeth's elusive answer, André Hurault penned several vivid descriptions of the queen's appearance and her preoccupations at this time. Elizabeth could behave every bit as disconcertingly with French ambassadors as Henri IV occasionally did with English ones. Hurault noted her frequent habit of drawing attention to herself—of denying that she was beautiful while fishing for compliments, using the jewels that she always wore in her hair and about her ears to draw praise. He also noted that on two occasions she received him for audiences in her privy chamber, dressed in what he called night gowns.³⁹

There has been some skepticism about Hurault's capacity to describe Elizabeth's clothing accurately at these meetings, but it was not the form

of the gowns so much as Elizabeth's own actions in wearing them that provoked his comment. As he reported, "When she raises her head, she has a trick of putting both hands on her gown and opening it insomuch that all her belly can be seen."⁴⁰ Elizabeth's words and actions in these interviews suggest her familiarity with a mode of diplomacy in which the personal attributes, personality, and even physical appearance of one sovereign might become central and legitimate objects of interest and demonstration in their relations with fellow monarchs. We have already noted Henri IV's reaction to her portrait.

One has only to recall Henry VIII showing his legs to the Venetian ambassadors or jousting vigorously in front of them in May 1515 in order to ensure a good report of himself in France, to appreciate the physicality with which Tudor monarchs could sometimes take to diplomacy.⁴¹ If it was Elizabeth's similar intention to use her body to make statements about her power to her French counterpart, then she succeeded almost as well with Hurault as Henry did with the Venetians. Just as the youthful Henry was proud of his legs, so the aging Elizabeth allowed the ambassador to see those parts of her body about which she may still have been most confident. In contrast to his remarks about her face and teeth, Hurault's description of Elizabeth's "revealed" body was certainly in very favorable terms. Overall, his comments about her appearance and demeanor are realistic but positive. His consistent theme in describing her is that the queen is now aging but "so far as may be she keeps her dignity" and does it rather well.⁴² The Swiss traveler Thomas Platter, in England in the autumn of 1599, formed a similarly favorable impression of the queen.⁴³ Conscious of her own increasing years as she was, Elizabeth would surely not have been displeased by such reports of her in France and elsewhere.

When talking with Elizabeth, and with her council, Hurault spent much of his time playing down the significance of the Franco-Spanish negotiations that began during the early part of 1598 and culminated in the Peace of Vervins of May. Elizabeth reacted with predictable but impotent fury.⁴⁴ As she well recognized, peace with Spain meant that Henri had less need of her assistance than ever before. She posed no threat to him and he could capitalize upon the fact that she had effectively isolated herself and yet still needed at least his cooperation in her efforts to keep the Spanish at bay while she fought in Ireland. Henri would genuinely rather have had alliance with her than not, as he frequently and effusively reminded her.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, the shoe was now firmly on the other foot from the situation in the early 1590s and Henri found Elizabeth to be just as ungrateful and as vexing an ally as he himself had been.

For the remaining years of her reign Elizabeth viewed Henri with a mixture of frustration, resigned disappointment, and grudging admiration. He was a monarch who had fought as hard to obtain his kingdom as Elizabeth, she no doubt felt, had fought to retain hers. The feelings were reciprocated and Jean-Pierre Babelon has observed that Henri worked in concert with Elizabeth as he did with no other head of state.⁴⁶ For her part, Elizabeth sent more personal letters to Henri IV than to any of his

predecessors and the only sovereign to receive more letters from her was James VI of Scotland. She usually wrote to both men using some variant of “my dearest brother” and usually signed herself as “your affectionate (or ‘most affectionate’) sister.” As with those to James, Elizabeth’s letters to Henri often adopted a maternal and a somewhat patronizing tone, at least in the early years of their relationship, but could also be by turns flattering, coquettish, indignant, hectoring, or emollient.⁴⁷ More than once in her later years, Elizabeth thanked a French envoy for visiting such a “poor woman and a foolish” to whom it was good of the king still to send ambassadors. All duly took their cue and assured her of her continuing radiance.

As early as 1597 the issue of free trade had been identified by Burghley in a memorandum to de Maise as one of the advantages to all sides of ending the war. After the peace of Vervins, French merchants were entitled to trade with Spain and all its dependencies. England, of course, remained at war and French ships were rapidly caught up in Anglo-Spanish hostilities in the Narrow Sea; something that had concerned Thomas Platter as he crossed to France from England in October 1599.⁴⁸ Consequently, Elizabeth and Henri were soon engaged in a series of maritime trade and piracy disputes. Henri wrote dozens of letters to Elizabeth demanding the release of ships, cargoes, and crews seized by English mariners. One of the first, dated October 6, 1598, was robust in style and content, demanding that Elizabeth show her authority by restraining her subjects who attacked French traders along the length of the Atlantic coast, “a thing contrary to the good friendship and understanding between us, our realms and subjects.”⁴⁹

Elizabeth’s complicated reaction was simultaneously to assert her authority and virtue as a just prince in her dealings with the subjects of the king of France and to confront him with his outstanding debts to her, which now totaled £401,734 16s. 6d.⁵⁰ This was personal debt, much of it incurred before Henri became king, and, as Elizabeth and her council well knew, apt to be denied by the French royal council as chargeable on the state but only on the king’s person. Elizabeth, therefore, tried to bargain the settlement of privateering cases in return for the money she was owed.

Here is another striking parallel with her father’s actions. During the 1540s, Henry had authorized privateering against French shipping and then used maritime cases and questions of jurisdiction over disputes to assert his honor as royal justiciar in an attempt to get François Ier to pay the arrears of the pension he owed to Henry by the 1527 Treaty of Amiens.⁵¹ From late 1598 the French threatened an embargo on the English cloth trade if Elizabeth did not act. Whether she saw this as an obvious counter-ploy to her own demands or not, the threat only added new grist to Elizabeth’s mill and she complained bitterly of it to Henri throughout 1599. Given their history, however, an embargo was not something that Henri could finally sanction.⁵²

Elizabeth was so insistent upon Henri paying his debts as, in effect, the *quid pro quo* for her taking action against English privateers because she

was financially hard-pressed as never before. The army of 16,000 raised for Ireland in 1599 was the biggest yet assembled by the Elizabethan regime. The queen pleaded the urgency of the war in Ireland to Henri. Her need to mount an expensive campaign in order to secure the obedience of part of her kingdom was surely something Henri ought to have understood. Yet the same need allowed him to put her off, focused as she now was on what was essentially a "domestic" conflict, Spain's support for rebels notwithstanding. This was, it should be recalled, exactly the same argument that Elizabeth had frequently used in response to Henri's demands for greater assistance after his conversion in 1593.

An unsuccessful attempt to resolve the Anglo-French maritime disputes was made at a conference at Boulogne in 1600 but, by then, Elizabeth also had other, more pressing problems to deal with. As Paul Hammer has noted, Essex's abandonment of the Irish campaign in 1600 as well as his return to court and subsequent rebellion and execution in 1601 brought a disappointing end to the spirit of warlike "derring-do" that the regime had mustered from the early 1580s and from which Henri IV had clearly profited.⁵³ Of her various soldier-favorites, only Mountjoy was still active and was at least able to give the queen a last victory at Kinsale in December 1601. By the time the war in Ireland was finally concluded by treaty in March 1603, Elizabeth was dead. Henri IV's debts to her were still unpaid.⁵⁴

IV

The foregoing brief observations on the character of Anglo-French relations in Elizabeth I's reign have suggested that they had something more in common with relations of an earlier age than might first appear. Elizabeth's representatives abroad were undoubtedly more attuned to notions of themselves as orators and "diplomats" familiar to a later age and her councilors saw England's international interests as clearly as, or perhaps even more clearly than, they did the queen's personal interests, especially in her later years. Nevertheless, the issue of Elizabeth's reputation, her honor as a prince in peace and war, and the condition of her personal relations with her French counterparts were still major elements of the conduct of England's international relations during her reign. It was not for the first, or last, time in the history of English (and later British) diplomacy that relations with France in the 1580s and 1590s were multifaceted and at times highly personalized. They were used by the English monarch to assert a status and a potential beyond the comparatively meager resources at her command. One way of doing this was the adoption and adaptation of a "chivalric" mode of personal interaction between the ruler of England and her French counterparts first essayed during the reign of Henry VIII.

When Elizabeth was younger it was natural that this chivalric mode should focus on her marriageability, as it did in dealings with the Valois princes after 1565. Yet, significant though these were in casting Elizabeth as the love-object of great princes, she was never defined by her marriage

potential alone. That is what her regime told itself, told her, and told the French at the Whitsun tournament in 1581—the first occasion, it should be remembered, on which Elizabeth was publicly presented as a “Virgin Queen.” As is well known, from at least the mid-1580s, Elizabeth became deeply conscious of her advancing age and its potential to undermine her international reputation as a vigorous sovereign. In assisting Henri IV, the queen acted not only in accordance with what she and her council determined was in the nation’s interests, but also in a way that kept her at the forefront of international affairs. Even remonstrating with Henri in the later 1590s over debts and maritime disputes was a way of trying to both meet actual material needs in her nation’s defense and assert her power and honorability as a female prince.

On hearing news of Elizabeth’s death Henri IV wrote to his minister Sully words that show a perhaps surprising regard for Elizabeth given their often cantankerous relationship. Sully was due to go to England and the words may have been intended primarily to promote Elizabeth’s reputation as a friend of France to her successor in the expectation of continuing amity. Nevertheless, they evoke the most positive of Henri’s wide range of feelings for Elizabeth. Henri’s tribute to her supports the notion that the “chivalric” mode of interaction adopted in Anglo-French relations in the face of the Habsburg enemy, familiar from the reign of Henry VIII, was still useful at times in maintaining those relations during Elizabeth’s reign. This chivalric and personal mode was adopted, not despite Elizabeth’s female monarchy, but because of it. Henri wrote,

My friend, I have been advised of the death of my good sister the Queen of England, who loved me so cordially; to whom I am truly obligated. For just as her virtues were great and admirable, so great, also, is the inestimable loss that I, and all the good French have by this; for she was the irreconcilable enemy of our irreconcilable enemies and so generous and judicious, so that in respect of reducing their excessive power, she was to me a second self.⁵⁵

Notes

1. B[ibliothèque] N[ationale de] F[rance] MS français 17,830 fol. 86, Elizabeth I to Henri IV, July 1593. An English translation from a copy of the letter in the Cecil Papers has been published in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, ed. L. Marcus, J. Meuller and M. B. Rose (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 370–1.
2. For further discussion of Elizabeth as a warrior queen, see Anna Whitelock, “Woman, Warrior, Queen?” in this volume.
3. J. Richards, *Mary Tudor* (London: Routledge, 2008), 203–22; R. Titler, *The Reign of Mary I* (Harlow: Longman, 1991), 58–68; G. Redworth, “Matters Impertinent to Women: Male and Female Monarchy under Philip and Mary,” *EHR* 112 (1997): 597–613.
4. B. J. Harris, “Women and Politics in Early Tudor England,” *HJ* 33 (1990): 259–81; J. Richards, “‘To Promote a Woman to Beare Rule’: Talking of Queens in Mid-Tudor England,” *SCJ* 28 (1997): 101–21; A. McLaren,

- Political Culture in the Reign of Elizabeth I: Queen and Commonwealth, 1558–1585* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); N. Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) on the language and means of women's formal and informal power in the period.
5. G. Richardson, "Eternal Peace, Occasional War: Anglo-French Relations under Henry VIII" in *Tudor England and its Neighbours*, ed. S. Doran and G. Richardson (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 44–73.
6. M. Leimon and G. Parker, "Treasure and Plot in Elizabethan Diplomacy: The 'fame of Sir Edward Stafford' Reconsidered," *EHR* 111 (1996): 1134–58.
7. P. Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars: War, Government and Society in Tudor England, 1544–1604* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 62–70.
8. S. Doran, "Elizabeth I and Catherine de Medici" in *"The Contending Kingdoms," France and England 1420–1700*, ed. G. Richardson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 117–32.
9. On the wider debate about relations with France and the Huguenots, see D. J. B. Trim, "Seeking a Protestant Alliance and Liberty of Conscience on the Continent, 1558–85" in *Tudor England and its Neighbours*, ed. Doran and Richardson, 139–77.
10. S. Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony: The Courtships of Elizabeth I* (London: Routledge, 1996), 99–129.
11. Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony*, 181.
12. Leimon and Parker, 1139. See also G. M. Bell, "Elizabethan Diplomatic Compensation: Its Nature and Variety," *The Journal of British Studies* 20 (1981): 1–25.
13. *Foreign Intelligence and Information in Elizabethan England: Two English Treatises on the State of France, 1580–1584*, ed. D. Potter, Camden Fifth Series, 25 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1–21.
14. L. F. Parmelee, *Good News from Fraunce: French Anti-League Propaganda in Late Elizabethan England* (Rochester and Woodbridge: Rochester University Press, 1996), 27–51; C. Giry-DeLoison, "France and Elizabethan England," *TRHS*, 14 (2004): 223–42.
15. D. Potter and P. Roberts, "An Englishman's View of the Court of Henri III, 1584–1585: Richard Cook's 'Description of the Court of France,'" *French History* 2 (1988): 312–44.
16. *The Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, ed. John Anstis, 2 vols. (London, 1724), I: 383.
17. R. B. Waddington, "Elizabeth I and the Order of the Garter," *SCJ* 24 (1993): 97–113.
18. R. Strong, "Festivals for the Garter Embassy at the Court of Henry III," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 22 (1959): 60–70. See also P. Begent and H. Chessyre, *The Most Noble Order of the Garter, 650 Years* (London: SPINK, 1999), 234. Henri was first nominated to the Order on April 23, 1575.
19. *List and Analysis of State Papers, Foreign Series, Elizabeth I*, I: 320–1. Commission for Willoughby. Dated Oatlands, September 20, 1589.
20. *List and Analysis of State Papers, Foreign Series, Elizabeth I*, I: 13, 322. Willoughby to Walsingham and Burghley, Tours, November 14, 1589.
21. See note 1 above.
22. *List and Analysis of State Papers, Foreign Series, Elizabeth I*, V: 359.

23. *List and Analysis of State Papers, Foreign Series, Elizabeth I*, V: 362.
24. *The Edmondes Papers, A Selection from the Correspondence of Sir Thomas Edmondes*, ed. G. Butler (London: Roxburghe Club, 1913), 185–7: Sir John Norris to Edmondes at the French court, November 12, 1594; J. B. Black, *Elizabeth and Henry IV* (Blackwell: Oxford, 1914), 50–80.
25. *The Edmondes Papers*, 207–11: Burghley to Edmondes, January 23, 1595; Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars*, 175–83; D. Buisseret, *Henry IV King of France* (London: Routledge, 1992). See also D. Womersley, "France in Shakespeare's Henry V," *Renaissance Studies* 9 (1995): 442–59 for an interesting account of the play's implicit critique of Henri IV of France.
26. *List and Analysis of State Papers, Foreign Series, Elizabeth I*, VI: 174: Elizabeth to Henri IV, October 1595.
27. *List and Analysis of State Papers, Foreign Series, Elizabeth I*, VI: 179: Sir Henry Unton's instructions, December 1595.
28. *List and Analysis of State Papers, Foreign Series, Elizabeth I*, VII: 157.
29. "Unton, Sir Henry," ODNB.
30. *List and Analysis of State Papers, Foreign Series, Elizabeth I*, VII: 170.
31. *List and Analysis of State Papers, Foreign Series, Elizabeth I*, VII: 171.
32. L. Montrose, *The Subject of Elizabeth: Authority, Gender and Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 237–8.
33. P. Hammer, "The Crucible of War: English Foreign Policy, 1589–1603" in *Tudor England and its Neighbours*, ed. Doran and Richardson, 252.
34. Black, *Elizabeth and Henry IV*, 92–102.
35. *List and Analysis of State Papers, Foreign Series, Elizabeth I*, VII: 188–9.
36. BNF MS français 4740 fol. 40^v: "L'Ordre tenu et observé a Rouen le XXe Octobre 1596 lors que la roine d'Angleterre Elizabet envoia l'ordre de la Jartiere au Roy Henry iiiie." See also *List and Analysis of State Papers, Foreign Series, Elizabeth I*, VII: 197–205.
37. E. Ashmole, *The Institution, Laws and Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* (London, 1672; repr. 1971), 395. Ashmole contrasts favourably the documents sent to Henri IV with those sent to his predecessor.
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39. *A Journal*, ed. Harrison and Jones, 36–7. See also 25–6.
40. *A Journal*, ed. Harrison and Jones, 37.
41. *Four Years at the court of Henry VIII. Selection of despatches written by the Venetian ambassador, Sebastian Giustinian and addressed to the Signory of Venice, 1515 to 1519*, trans. Rawdon Brown, 2 vols. (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1854), I: 81.
42. Montrose, *The Subject of Elizabeth*, 232–3.
43. *The Journals of Two Travellers in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England, Thomas Platter and Horatio Busino*, ed. P. Razzell (London: Caliban, 1995), 58–9. Hereafter cited as Platter.
44. Black, *Elizabeth I and Henry IV*, 120–37.
45. *L'Ambassade de France en Angleterre sous Henri IV: Mission de Jean de Thumery, sieur de Boissise 1598–1602*, ed. P. Laffleur de Kermaingant, 2 vols. (Paris, 1886), II: 4–5: Henri IV to Elizabeth I, from Ansennis, April 22, 1598; and 8–9: unspecified location but from context Monceaux, September 30, 1598.

46. J-P. Babelon, *Henri IV* (Paris: Fayard, 1982), 929.
47. *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, ed. Marcus et al., 384–6: Elizabeth to Henry, c. September 4 and September 13, 1596. On Elizabeth's correspondence with James, see S. Doran, "Loving and Affectionate Cousins? The Relationship between Elizabeth I and James VI of Scotland, 1586–1603" in *Tudor England and its Neighbours*, ed. Doran and Richardson, 203–34.
48. Platter, 104–5.
49. *Boissise*, ed. Laffleur de Kermaingant, II: 11: Henri IV to Elizabeth I, Monceau, October 6, 1598: "chose contraire à la bonne amitié et intelligence d'entre nous, noz royumes et subjectz."
50. Black, *Elizabeth and Henry IV*, 140ff.
51. Richardson, "Eternal Peace," 60–9.
52. *The Edmondes Papers*, 400–403: Elizabeth I to Edmondes, Westminster, January 20, 1599.
53. "Devereux, Robert, second earl of Essex," *ODNB*.
54. *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, ed. Marcus et al., 404–8 for Elizabeth's last letters to Mountjoy in February 1603.
55. Babelon, *Henri IV*, 929: "Mon ami, j'ai eu avis de la mort de ma bonne soeur la reine d'Angleterre, qui m'aimait si cordialement, à laquelle j'avais tant d'obligation. Or comme ses vertus étaient grandes et admirables, aussi est inestimable la perte que moi et tous les bons Français y avons faite, car elle était ennemie irréconciliable de nos irréconciliables ennemis, et tant généreuse et judicieuse qu'elle m'était un second moi-même en ce qui regardait la diminution de leur excessive puissance...."

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V

LOYALTY AND SERVICE

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CHAPTER 13

WHAT HAPPENED TO MARY'S COUNCILORS?

Ralph Houlbrooke

I

England experienced between 1547 and 1559 an exceptional series of changes of regime and religious policy. Each reign saw the dismantling of an existing religious settlement, the removal of senior clergy who could not accept the new order, and extensive changes to privy council personnel. No-one at the time could have predicted that Elizabeth's settlement would endure (albeit with one major interruption and subsequent major modifications) until the twenty-first century. English Catholics continued to hope, not unreasonably, for further changes following Elizabeth's marriage or the accession of a new monarch.

The refusal of all save one of Mary's surviving bishops to accept the restored royal supremacy in 1559 and the exile of many higher clergy and academics following the Elizabethan settlement are well known.¹ This essay will focus on Catholic beliefs and practices among Mary's former privy councilors. Some two-thirds of them were not reappointed by Elizabeth. This majority included Mary's personal followers and others who had rallied to her cause in July 1553. The core of Mary's support during the 1553 succession crisis came from religious conservatives for whom her accession represented the best hope of a restoration of Catholicism.² It is hardly surprising to find that some survivors from the ranks of Mary's 1553 supporters were also among the earliest Catholic lay nonconformists after 1559. The continuity of Catholic loyalty and the extent of early recusancy among Mary's ex-councilors have been insufficiently recognized or emphasized. Circumstances were, of course, very different after 1559. Above all, religious conservatives lacked the focus for their hopes and loyalties provided by the Lady Mary during Edward's reign.

None of the Marian privy councilors whom Elizabeth reappointed had been closely associated with Mary before her accession. They were men with long experience of service under different monarchs. However, most of them were conservatives in religion. Their participation in government is an important part of the context of early Elizabethan Catholic survival. The Catholic sympathies of some magnates appointed to Elizabeth's council largely because of their local importance helped to prevent any

concerted early attempt to root out Catholic practices. Facing a predominantly conservative nation, Elizabeth followed a far more gradual approach than had Mary and her leading ecclesiastical advisers, with their hopes of vigorous Catholic revival and a speedy extinction of “erroneous” religious opinions.³ Her advisers aimed to remove Catholics from the local commissions of the peace, but in practice this objective was implemented in a very uneven fashion, and several conservatives survived in place.⁴ Its treatment of Catholic ex-councilors depended on the circumstances of particular acts of recusancy and the threat they were believed to pose. The Northern Rising of 1569 and Elizabeth’s excommunication by Pius V in 1570 led to the passage of harsher anti-Catholic legislation.

When Elizabeth I came to the throne in November 1558, she sharply reduced the overall size of her privy council. She immediately dropped twenty-two of Mary’s councilors, and another, Nicholas Heath, by the end of 1558. The importance of these actions has long been appreciated. Wallace MacCaffrey described Elizabeth as “ruthless in her excisions from the Council list.” Mary’s cull of Edwardian councilors had, in fact, been almost as heavy as Elizabeth’s of Mary’s. Mary “dropped” twenty-two members of Edward’s council, of whom she restored only two. The chief difference between Mary’s appointments and Elizabeth’s lay in Mary’s inclusion of several men whose prime qualification was the support they had given to her bid for the crown in 1553. This resulted in a privy council far larger than Elizabeth’s.⁵

Of the twenty Edwardian councilors whom Mary never reappointed, fourteen were dead by November 1558. By contrast over half of the Marian councilors dropped were still alive at the end of 1570, a dozen years after Elizabeth’s accession. Two-thirds of them were dead by the end of 1572, but the last survivor, Sir Thomas Cornwallis, did not die until 1604.⁶

When Elizabeth addressed Mary’s councilors shortly after her sister’s death, she told them, “I do consider a multitude doth make rather discord and confusion than good counsel.” She divided the councilors into three categories: first, ancient nobility, deriving their origins from her progenitors; second, those of long experience in governance; and third, “the rest,” “being upon special trust lately called to [Mary’s] service only.”⁷ None of the men in this last category who had outlived their mistress were reappointed by Elizabeth. However, even after her drastic excisions, ten of Elizabeth’s councilors in 1559, half the total, were survivors from Mary’s council—or “hold-overs,” as Wallace MacCaffrey dubbed them.

II

Seven of the councilors whom Elizabeth retained were members of the nobility, including the earls of Shrewsbury, Derby, Pembroke, and Arundel, who were all substantial regional magnates. Shrewsbury dissented from the bill for religious uniformity on March 18, 1559 and was absent when a revised bill was read four days later. Before he died in 1560 he requested that a communion service be celebrated for him in lieu of a requiem mass. Derby had

dissented from nearly all the important Edwardian measures but in March 1559 left parliament early. He survived until 1572, holding various important local offices, but nevertheless sheltered a papal agent in 1569. Pembroke, though near the heart of the regime during the early 1550s, readily gave his support to each succeeding government as the best means of safeguarding his own interests. The earl of Arundel was widely believed to have accepted the religious measures of 1559 in the hope of marrying Elizabeth. Foreign observers regarded him as a political lightweight, and his inept political maneuvers, including his involvement in the duke of Norfolk's plan to marry Mary Stuart, repeatedly got him into trouble. Historians have tended to regard him as a religious conservative, albeit a far from consistent one; the Spanish ambassador de Spes thought him "Not entirely Catholic."⁸

Most of the other hold-overs were chosen primarily for their military, administrative, or diplomatic skills or experience. Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord Admiral under Mary, conservative in his religious inclinations, probably owed his reappointment above all to his staunch support for Elizabeth's right of succession during her sister's reign. In February 1558 he had been replaced as admiral by his more competent predecessor, Lord Clinton, the only Marian hold-over whom it seems fair to describe as a convinced Protestant.⁹ Clinton's advocacy of a stern line toward English Catholics reportedly led in 1560 to an altercation with Arundel in the royal presence chamber so vehement that the two noblemen ended up pulling each other's beards.¹⁰ William Paulet, marquess of Winchester, already over eighty on Elizabeth's accession, had an exceptional appetite for administrative work and a mastery of detail that seemed to make him indispensable. His political caution enabled him to survive unscathed every change of regime during his long life.¹¹

Of the four commoners, Sir William Petre had had long and varied administrative and diplomatic experience. His boldest move had been to resign from his post as principal secretary in March 1557, on the eve of Mary's war with France. His religious preferences were undoubtedly conservative. His heir married in 1570 the daughter of the Catholic Sir Edward Waldegrave, an old friend of Petre's, and his widow was listed as a recusant in 1577.¹² Both Nicholas Wotton and Sir John Mason were experienced diplomats and cautious men of conservative outlook who carefully complied with successive religious changes.¹³ Sir Thomas Cheyne, already over seventy on Elizabeth's accession, died in December 1558, having made abundant provision for intercessory masses in his will.¹⁴

Not surprisingly, few of the "hold-overs" helped to promote any of the most distinctive initiatives of the new reign: the religious settlement or the interventions in Scotland or France. Although the men with military experience, particularly Clinton, favored open intervention in Scotland, Winchester, Petre, Mason, and Wotton were reportedly doubtful about the wisdom of this policy. Arundel opposed it.¹⁵

Of all the Marian councilors retained by Elizabeth, Winchester as Lord Treasurer occupied the most important office. On December 29, 1558 the Spanish ambassador Feria reported to Philip II his belief that "this old

man is a good servant of your Majesty." Winchester, or sources close to him, ensured that opinions of a sort likely to be welcome to Philip were relayed to his ambassadors. During Elizabeth's attack of smallpox in October 1562 he was allegedly in favor of settling the succession by consulting senior lawyers, which the majority understood to be "a move in favour of the Catholic religion." In December he was said to be about to resign both his treasurership and his office as councilor, "as he says that on two subjects of grave importance they have rejected his advice, and he is not willing that they should reject it a third time." He and others were deeply dissatisfied. Ambassador de Quadra believed that "these Catholic gentlemen" were planning to defeat certain proposals to be made in parliament. In January 1564, Winchester, who disapproved of England's intervention in France, allegedly spoke to his secretary, "a good Catholic," and told him that "these people were in great trouble and that public affairs are in such a state that he . . . can see no way out of it." The war would now certainly develop into a civil war because of intestinal rancor in England. If Philip were in Flanders at that juncture he could do whatever he liked and redeem Christendom.¹⁶ Reporting on Hampshire the same year Bishop Horne of Winchester described three members of the Paulet family, headed by Winchester's heir Lord St John as "Mislikers or not favorers" of the established religion among the county's justices. In this notoriously conservative county, some members of the Paulet faction presented an obstacle to Horne's vigorous efforts for Protestant reform.¹⁷

III

Of the twenty-three Marian privy councilors whom Elizabeth chose not to retain, men experienced in governance before Mary's accession were, most obviously, Lords Paget and Rich, Sir John Baker, Sir Richard Southwell, Sir Edmund Peckham, and the churchmen Cuthbert Tunstall and Thomas Thirlby. All of them had been privy councilors to Henry VIII or Edward VI, most of them to both kings, though all save Rich and Baker had been removed by 1552.¹⁸ The rest of Mary's privy councilors had been "lately called to her service only and trust." They included John Bouchier, earl of Bath, a peer whose title antedated 1547, and Sir Thomas Wharton, the heir to such a title, but neither of these men was a great magnate, and they owed their places in Mary's privy council to the fact that they had been among her early supporters in July 1553, as had Sir Henry Jerningham, Sir Edward Waldegrave, John Bourne, Sir Robert Peckham, Sir Henry Bedingfield, Sir John Mordaunt, Sir Clement Heigham, Sir Thomas Cornwallis, Sir Edward Hastings, and the more experienced Rich, Southwell, and Peckham. According to Robert Wingfield's account of Mary's bid for the throne, Sir Francis Englefield and the young Sir Anthony Browne, soon to be viscount Montague, had been imprisoned beforehand on account of their loyalty to her. The other three councilors new to government under Mary were Nicholas Heath, lord chancellor in succession to Stephen Gardiner, Dr John Boxall, secretary of state from March 1557 in succession to Sir William Petre, and William Cordell, master of the rolls.¹⁹

The flexible and *politique* William Paget had an exceptionally long and varied experience at the heart of government. He had been neither one of Mary's earliest supporters nor a strong Catholic. He had some reason for disappointment at being left out of Elizabeth's council. He was, however, in poor health; the Spanish envoy Feria reported with characteristic sardonic humor on December 14, 1558 that he was dying as fast as he could. More importantly, he was more closely associated than any other councilor with the disastrous war from which England was now trying to extricate herself. Paget had also been a busy and proactive adviser with a reputation for scheming. Cecil would have found him a difficult colleague.²⁰

Non-appointment to the new council did not entail exclusion from a role as occasional counselor: Elizabeth, as Natalie Mears has demonstrated, never accepted that she was bound to take advice from privy councilors alone. Paget was keen to offer it. His counsel nevertheless caused some resentment both outside and within the privy council. In April 1560 Lord Grey of Pirgo wrote to Cecil vehemently condemning "all pagetyans deuyses with masun and all his fellowes" and their desire to bring in a foreign prince. This probably referred to Paget's and Mason's advocacy of Elizabeth's marriage with the archduke Charles.²¹ Councilors were allegedly annoyed by the fact that Paget had advised Elizabeth against the devaluation of the coinage in 1562 and told her that it was "but a folly, for them to debate thinges yf she followed others counsel." Rich too offered to give advice, requesting an audience in February 1563, though privy councilors do not seem to have regarded him as either influential or dangerous.²²

Apart from Paget, all the ex-councilors considered here left evidence of their Catholic outlook or practice. Elizabeth employed some of them. Anthony Browne Viscount Montague voted, along with the bishops, against the supremacy and uniformity bills in 1559, seeking in particularly trenchant fashion to dissuade his fellow peers from changing their religion. He was the only temporal peer to oppose the final version of the supremacy bill. Montague ultimately became the leading Catholic peer in England and though he occasionally attended church services, his Sussex house, Cowdray, became a center of Catholic worship. Despite his opposition in 1559, Montague was named special ambassador to Spain in 1560 and included in a delegation sent to the Netherlands in 1565–66. The trust shown in him is remarkable given his stalwart opposition to the religious settlement.²³ "I cannot understand these people," he reportedly told the Spanish ambassador Guzman de Silva in March 1565, "they cannot endure me and yet they send me to do their business for them." Philip II's ambassador de Spes reported in December 1569 that Montague had attempted to flee to the Netherlands, but that he was thwarted by contrary winds. Yet only the previous month he had been appointed joint lieutenant in Sussex.²⁴

William Cordell remained master of the rolls until his death in 1581. An outward conformist, Cordell reputedly remained at heart a Catholic who had strong social connections with his co-religionists. Sir Edmund Peckham kept his office as treasurer of the mints until his death in 1564.²⁵

Wills or benefactions provide good evidence of Catholic outlook or preferences in the case of some of the former councilors. Sir John Baker died in December 1558, after participating zealously in the Marian persecution, leaving a thoroughly Catholic testament.²⁶ Sir Clement Heigham of Barrow in Suffolk, another persecutor of heretics under Mary, remained a justice of the peace and *custos rotulorum* until his death in 1571. In 1564, Bishop Parkhurst of Norwich cautiously judged him one of those “not so well bent vnto the aduancement of the godlie proceedings of this Realme in cawses ecclesiasticall as other the Justices of that Shire be.” In 1570 Heigham prayed in his will for grace to make a full confession of his sins before he died and to express full repentance, and his worthy reception of Christ’s body and blood in the form of bread, which (he explained) he steadfastly believed to be the body and blood of Jesus Christ after its consecration. His careful stipulations concerning payments to poor people, priests, and clerks present at his funeral and to poor householders in five villages for four years on the anniversary of his death closely resemble the traditional Catholic pattern, lacking only explicit provision for intercessory prayers.²⁷ Sir Richard Rich had made provision for the endowment of a chantry in April 1554, remarkably early in Mary’s reign, even though it was not designed to be activated until after his death. He did not convert it to a school foundation till 1564. He had been a vigorous enforcer of the laws against heresy and voted against the Act of Uniformity in 1559.²⁸ Sir Richard Southwell asked to be buried on the site of the Easter sepulcher in Wood Rising church and left the considerable sum of £100 for distribution to the poor within a ten-mile radius, probably expecting that the beneficiaries would pray for his soul.²⁹

Clandestine occasional attendance at mass was probably widespread but was most likely to attract government attention when important people were involved, or when such activity was perceived to have political significance. In the spring of 1561, William Cecil was determined to prevent the admission to England of a papal nuncio bearing an invitation to Elizabeth to participate in the council of Trent. He was also concerned about plots concerning the succession. In January, Henry Sidney, speaking on behalf of Robert Dudley, had sought through the Spanish ambassador de Quadra public support for the marriage of Elizabeth and Dudley in return for participation in a church council. De Quadra told the imprisoned Catholic bishops that Dudley and the queen had promised that such support would lead to the restoration of Catholicism.³⁰

The discovery in April of clusters of participants in clandestine masses enabled Cecil to argue that the prospect of the nuncio’s arrival was threatening to divide the realm. No fewer than four former councilors, Sir Thomas Wharton, Sir Edward Waldegrave, Lord Hastings of Loughborough, and Sir John Mordaunt, had been involved, along with several other less important people, and were taken into custody. The main centers were Wharton’s and Waldegrave’s houses in Essex. A chamber in Wharton’s house at New Hall had been fitted out with an altar,

a cross, images, and pictures. Wharton and Waldegrave were convicted and required to pay fines. Waldegrave died in the Tower on September 1. Wharton and Hastings took the oath tendered to them and entered bonds of good behavior, though Hastings regarded this latter requirement as a grave dishonor. He was allowed to keep his stewardship of the duchy of Cornwall and wardenship of the stannaries. Mordaunt's detention seems to have been briefer. Wharton, whom Bishop Best of Carlisle reported in 1564 to be still "evil of religion," was to be saved by a fall from his horse from involvement in actively promoting or resisting the Northern Rebellion of 1569.³¹

Meanwhile in Worcestershire Sir John Bourne and the bishop of Worcester, Edwin Sandys, were locked in a bitter feud. After Sandys's arrival in Worcester late in 1559, according to the bishop's account, Bourne, who notoriously had mass celebrated in his house, had defended transubstantiation in argument with Sandys. He had prevented the destruction of an altar stone in his parish church, challenged the doctrine that Sandys had preached in a marriage sermon, and prevented the detection of faults in his parish in Sandys's visitation. Clerical marriage disgusted Bourne. The abusive behavior of Bourne's son and a servant of his toward some prebendaries' wives resulted in violence between Sandys's men and Bourne's, followed by investigations by the bailiffs of Worcester, the council in Wales and the Marches, and finally, in 1563, the privy council. Bourne for his part denied most of Sandys's accusations and charged him with wasting the property of the bishopric. After a spell of confinement, Bourne wrote an apology and submission but remained "an adversary of true religion." His continued failure to attend church and his use of prohibited rites and ceremonies led to his expulsion from Lincoln's Inn in 1570.³²

Elizabeth's discovery of the duke of Norfolk's plan to marry Mary Stuart led to the arrest of Norfolk and some of his followers in October 1569. The privy council examined Sir Thomas Cornwallis, formerly comptroller of Queen Mary's household, along with two other clients of the duke's. Nine councilors shortly afterward pointed out to the bishop of Norwich, the mild John Parkhurst, that two of these gentlemen had not been to church for four or five years, while the third had not come for two years and had not received communion for ten or eleven.³³ The letter graphically illustrates the inefficiency of supervision in one of England's largest dioceses. It suggests that lack of evidence may have led some historians to underestimate the extent of unobtrusive recusancy before 1569. The imprisoned Cornwallis reportedly disliked many things in the church of Rome, especially the primacy claimed by the pope over princes in matters temporal, and approved of some of the changes made in the church of England. In his own letter of June 20, 1570 signifying his humble submission to the queen, he reminded Cecil that the danger of offending God outweighed even the peril of the prince's indignation. However, he craved pardon for offending her and promised to try to obey her laws for religion as God should give him grace to be further persuaded. He returned to recusancy by 1578.³⁴

Soon after Cornwallis's 1569 arrest, the council required subscription to pledges of religious conformity from present and former justices of the peace. The great majority complied. One of only two in Suffolk who did not was Sir Henry Bedingfeld, custodian of Princess Elizabeth during Mary's reign, and subsequently captain of Mary's guard and her vice chamberlain. He had to enter bond for his good behavior: Sir William Cordell and Sir Clement Heigham were second and third on the list of Suffolk justices who witnessed the bond! Together with his wife, he made his house at Oxborough a Catholic center during the 1570s and in 1577 was listed as a recusant, together with his wife.³⁵ Sir Henry Jerningham, former master of the horse to Queen Mary, one of her earliest supporters in 1553, a friend of both Bedingfield and Cornwallis, avoided drawing attention to himself despite being earlier described on a list of King Philip's English pensioners as a good man, a Christian, and a servant of the king. In 1577 his heir was listed as a recusant.³⁶

Mary's privy council had included four churchmen at the end of her reign. Elizabeth hoped for the cooperation of Nicholas Heath, Mary's lord chancellor and Archbishop of York, but in vain, and soon dropped him from her council. Heath probably delivered an uncompromising speech during debate on the royal supremacy in the Lords in which he upheld papal authority and cited St Paul in order to demonstrate that a woman could not be head of the Church.³⁷ Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of Ely, was another steadfast opponent of the religious settlement. The eighty-four-year-old Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, one of England's most respected prelates, was excused attendance at the parliament of 1559, but in August, after coming south, he told Cecil that he could allow only Catholic doctrine in his diocese.³⁸ Along with all but one of the other Marian bishops, these three were deprived of their sees for refusing to recognize the royal supremacy. John Boxall, another churchman, Mary's last secretary of state, also refused the required oath. Tunstall died in November 1559. The government was anxious to prevent the three remaining churchmen from stiffening the resistance of other Catholics. They all spent some time in the Tower. Heath was released in 1561 and allowed to reside in his houses in Chobham and Southwark, where the celebration of mass continued. Boxall and Thirlby were transferred into Archbishop Parker's custody in 1563. All three lived into the 1570s.³⁹

IV

Apart from the Catholic clergy who were imprisoned or put under house arrest in England, a substantial number, especially from the universities, went into exile. Few of the laity did so during the early years of the reign, and only two ex-councilors. Sir Robert Peckham, a Buckinghamshire gentleman, was the son of Sir Edmund, treasurer of the mints, a leader of the Thames valley rising for Mary in July 1553. The Peckhams had been the only father and son to be members of Mary's council at the same time. Edmund's will, made in May 1563, contained a bequest to his poor

neighbors in Denham to pray for his soul, a bequest that indicated his continuing Catholic belief.⁴⁰ In 1564 Bishop Bullingham of Lincoln thought Sir Robert a “hinderer of religion.” His epitaph in Denham church describes him as a man “specially addicted to the study of divinity.” He left for the continent shortly after his father’s death that year and made his will in the English hospice in Rome in September 1569. He was buried in the church of San Gregorio Magno. Peckham bequeathed to his kinsman Thomas Dayrell the books and cosmographical charts he had left in Paris and an annuity to support his studies overseas. This was probably the Thomas Darrell who in 1568 helped William Allen found the English seminary at Douai. Peckham gave the residue of his goods overseas to the poor, the recipients to be chosen by Thomas Goldwell, the exiled Marian Bishop of St Asaph, and another English priest. But Peckham asked that his heart be cased in lead and sent home to his brother to be buried in the ancestral tomb.⁴¹

The Berkshire gentleman Sir Francis Englefield, a steadfast Catholic and master of the court of wards under Mary, was exceptional in his early reaction to the Elizabethan settlement and the penalties he subsequently suffered. Englefield obtained in April 1559 a two-year license to go abroad for his health. In 1561 contacts between him and the Essex Catholic gentry came to light, and in July 1562 the keeper of his house in London was reported to be looking forward to his master’s imminent return to England, together with the restoration of the old law and the imprisoned Catholic prelates. Englefield did not, however, return home when summoned. In 1563 his lands were surveyed and sequestered on the grounds that he had fled overseas and joined the queen’s enemies and rebels.⁴² In letters written to Cecil and the privy council from Antwerp in April 1564, Englefield eloquently set out the conflicting claims of conscience and his duty to the queen.

My faulte ys that I came not, her majestie calling me, whyles I remayne tyed wyth chaynes of greatyste force. For what string (my lordes) can be so stronge as conscyens in a chrystyan man? And vnto a subiecte faythfull, & fearefull to offende (wherein I wyll gyve place to none) what lynke ys more vyolent then the inevytable choyse eyther of the often and open offence of hys prynce, and contempte of her lawes, or elles, of a perpetuall torment, by that vnplacable tyrant, the troubled conscyens that gnaweth for ever?⁴³

Englefield’s solution to his dilemma was that he should enjoy the revenues of his property in exile. He would thus avoid flouting the queen’s laws in England. He utterly denied that he had adhered to his sovereign’s enemies and rebels. He also rejected a list of more specific accusations that he believed to have been made against him; these included being privy to the practices of foreign powers to trouble the queen, raising rumors of her death, and supporting “raylers and rymers” against her. He believed that the investigation of such charges would show them to be as baseless as ones previously made but “nowe buried in sylens,” such as his supposed correspondence with the imprisoned clergy in matters dangerous to the

realm; heinous conspiracies with foreign powers contrived by Englefield abroad, and by Waldegrave and others within the realm, to trouble and turn the whole state; his procuring a friar in Antwerp to preach against the queen almost five years back, at a time when he had really been in Italy or on his way there; and his declaiming against the queen and his country before the pope and the college of cardinals. Eventually Philip II himself interceded with Elizabeth on Englefield's behalf, but she refused to relent. In 1568 Englefield became Philip's pensioner and developed over the following decades into one of the Elizabethan government's bitterest enemies.⁴⁴

V

On Mary's death the bond of service that had previously united her privy councilors was severed. However, the surviving letters of Francis Yaxley throw light on social contacts between some ex-councilors during the early 1560s. Member of a well-established Suffolk family, Yaxley had been a protégé of William Cecil's in Edward's reign, when he had served as a junior member of diplomatic missions. He had been elected a member of three parliaments and had become clerk of the signet under Mary. He seems to have remained at or close to the court after Elizabeth's accession. He was twice imprisoned, briefly in January 1561 for gossiping about Elizabeth's relationship with Dudley, and then for a longer stretch from February 1562 for his involvement in the countess of Lennox's plans to marry her son Lord Darnley to Mary Stuart. Several letters written to Yaxley, mainly by religious conservatives, including former Marian councilors, between February 1560 and September 1561 survive among the State Papers. It was presumably on his second arrest that his correspondence fell into the government's hands.⁴⁵

Thomas Cornwallis, writing in February 1560, understood that Yaxley, though still at court, did not forget his old friends in the country. He believed Yaxley to be "moch attendant vpon my L. Robert, who[,] being a gentleman of verie good nature, and in place to doo them good that honor and serve hym," would, Cornwallis assured himself, willingly prefer any convenient suit that Yaxley should attempt. Passages of this sort led Wallace MacCaffrey to conclude that Yaxley was the prime intermediary between Dudley and the English Catholics.⁴⁶ The precise significance of the letters is hard to assess. Some of Yaxley's correspondents, such as Cornwallis, had favors to seek or suits to press. In other cases, Yaxley seems to have written without much encouragement, possibly in hope of news. Viscount Montague, for example, wrote to him on February 6, 1561 in somewhat apologetic vein that "My longe sylence good Mr Yaxlee hathe nothinge deservyd your gentill & frequent advertisment & remembrance." He went on to explain that it was due to the want of matter worthy to requite Yaxley for the news he had sent.⁴⁷

When the former secretary of state John Bourne wrote to Yaxley from what he described as the "dead world" of Worcestershire in February 1560

he specifically asked to be remembered to several friends, including the ex-privy councilors John Boxall, Sir Thomas Cornwallis, Sir Thomas Wharton, and Sir William Cordell, whose recent favor he mentioned particularly warmly.⁴⁸ Cordell reported on July 31 that the countess of Bath and Lord Windsor, another early supporter of Mary's, though not a councilor, together with his wife, had been with him hunting and making merry. Cornwallis had joined them when sent for by the countess.⁴⁹ In February 1561 Sir Thomas Wharton asked Yaxley to further his efforts to secure through Robert Dudley's good offices the Whartons' occupancy of New Hall, their Essex residence, on which his wife had set her heart.⁵⁰ Later the same month, Sir Richard Southwell, ex-councilor and Mary's master of the ordnance, let Yaxley know that a letter delivered at any time to his good neighbor and friend John Appleyard would reach him swiftly. (Appleyard was to be the ringleader of an attempted conservative rising in Norfolk in 1570.) If his cousin Sir William Petre were in the court, Southwell prayed Yaxley to deliver his commendations to him, as to such other of his old acquaintance as should seem pleased to hear of him. (As we have seen, Elizabeth had retained Petre, another former councilor of Mary's.)⁵¹

Nearly half the former councilors resided for part or most of the time in the three counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex. Wills provide evidence of continuing links between some of these men in the form of bequests or nominations as overseers or executors. Sir Thomas Cornwallis was named by Sir Richard Southwell, Sir Henry Jerningham, and, conditionally, by Sir Edward Waldegrave; Sir Henry Bedingfeld by Southwell and Jerningham. Sir Clement Heigham left a remembrance ring to his fellow lawyer Sir William Cordell, whom Sir Richard Rich made one of his executors. Waldegrave also named Sir Francis Englefield among his reserve executors and trustees.⁵² Waldegrave's widow married Winchester's third son Chidiok, his eldest daughter Petre's son and heir.⁵³

VI

Elizabeth excluded the majority of Mary's councilors, especially her personal followers, from her own privy council. Elizabeth could have kept even fewer Marian councilors. This would have cost her their expertise and experience and made her council less useful as a "point of contact" with the conservative majority of the nation.⁵⁴ As in most royal councils, including Mary's, her key advisers constituted a small inner ring. William Cecil and a few others played a crucial part in the most distinctive early Elizabethan initiatives. The inclusion of several men of conservative inclinations nevertheless contributed to Cecil's intermittent sense of beleaguerment in his efforts to push his cautious mistress toward taking unpalatable decisions. Some of them harbored misgivings about the risky policies espoused by the vigorously Protestant inner ring. Outside her privy council, some other former Marian councilors continued to act as justices of the peace, and a few held more important offices. Men who had

served Mary as privy councilors associated personally with their former colleagues in and outside Elizabeth's council in various ways.

It is clear that the great majority of Mary's councilors were confirmed religious conservatives. "Catholic" is a notoriously slippery term to apply to most individuals at this stage of Elizabeth's reign. There has been no consensus among historians about usage, and practice has tended to oscillate between strictly limited and liberally inclusive applications of the term. By 1559, nearly all the surviving bishops had become convinced that the pope's authority was essential to Catholic unity and orthodoxy. They could not in conscience accept the royal supremacy. The Spanish ambassador could regard the marquess of Winchester, the lord treasurer of England, as a "Catholic," but it is impossible to say precisely what this meant in terms of belief and practice. At that early stage of the reign many gentlemen may have been much less attached to the pope than to the mass. Some tried to avoid attendance at their parish church or participation in communion at it. One of them was Sir Thomas Cornwallis, who was nevertheless prepared to admit that there were many things he disliked in the church of Rome. Sir Clement Heigham, as a Suffolk justice of the peace, could in 1569 promise to participate in all services at his parish church, yet he would show in his will that he retained a Catholic understanding of Holy Communion. By a variety of fudges and mental reservations, most conservative gentlemen achieved some sort of accommodation with the regime. Sir Francis Englefield probably recognized more explicitly than any other layman that he could not reconcile his conscience with obedience to the queen's laws. He nevertheless claimed that he was a faithful subject. All Mary's former councilors would probably have made the same claim. Early in the reign it was still possible to hope for a change in policy, perhaps as a result of the queen's marriage. Englefield had allegedly pressed for the early dispatch of a papal emissary to England, attributing the religious changes to certain ministers rather than the queen herself.⁵⁵ Others—Winchester and Montague—although not explicitly resorting to the time-honored strategy of blaming the crown's policies on evil advisers, wrote darkly of certain privy councilors as "these people."

Mary's former councilors were never an alternative government in waiting. Few of them even plotted against the regime, and there is no evidence that Elizabeth's advisers imagined that they posed a collective threat to the status quo. Their connections and associations were nevertheless of sufficient interest to ensure the preservation of the letters that several of them sent to Francis Yaxley, trivial though the contents of those letters were. All religious nonconformity was in principle unacceptable, but in practice some "Catholics" were regarded as much more dangerous than others, and there were times when Catholic practices were particularly risky. The main participants in the Essex masses of 1561 suffered imprisonment and close interrogation partly because so many individuals were involved, partly because they were setting a potentially dangerous example, and partly because of the perceived need to crush the hopes raised by

the prospect of the nuncio's reception in England. Sir Francis Englefield was treated with what he felt to be unjust severity because of his outright disobedience in refusing to return from exile, his known hopes for a change of religious policy, and his suspected dealings with Rome. It was Sir Thomas Cornwallis's misfortune in being in the wrong place at the wrong time that led to the discovery of his recusancy and provoked sustained efforts to gain his conformity. However, the privy council was slow to deal with John Bourne, despite his outrageous behavior, perhaps because he was seen as an isolated nuisance. The benefits of using the services of Lord Montague, the most important Catholic nobleman in southern England, evidently seemed to outweigh any benefits to be gained by trying to enforce his strict conformity. Robert Peckham appears not to have aroused suspicion and to have spent his exile unmolested. If at times the Elizabethan government was possibly somewhat heavy-handed in its treatment of individual Catholics among the Marian councilors, on the whole it seems to have behaved toward them with good sense and well-judged pragmatism.

Notes

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3. Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, 15–17.
4. Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Suffolk and the Tudors: Politics and Religion in an English County 1500–1600* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 84–7; Alison Wall, *Power and Protest in England, 1525–1640* (London: Arnold, 2000), 49–50.
5. Wallace MacCaffrey, *The Shaping of the Elizabethan Regime* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1969), 30, 33; David Starkey, *Elizabeth: Apprenticeship* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2000), 240, 246–7; 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*, ed. Christopher Coleman and David Starkey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 114–15; Dale Hoak, *The King's Council in the Reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 78–9.
6. For details, see Appendix B.
7. TNA, SP 12/1, fol. 12; MacCaffrey, *Shaping of the Regime*, 29.
8. MacCaffrey, *Shaping of the Regime*, 30–32; G. W. Bernard, “Talbot, Francis, fifth earl of Shrewsbury (1500–1560), magnate,” *ODNB*; Louis A. Knafla, “Stanley, Edward, third earl of Derby (1509–1572), magnate,” *ODNB*; Narasingha P. Sil, “Herbert, William, first earl of Pembroke (1506/7–1570), soldier and magnate,” *ODNB*; Julian Lock, “Fitzalan, Henry, twelfth earl of Arundel (1512–1580), magnate,” *ODNB*.

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10. *CSPSp Elizabeth*, I: 126.
11. David Loades, *The Life and Career of William Paulet (c. 1475–1572): Lord Treasurer and First Marquis of Winchester* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).
12. F. G. Emmison, *Tudor Secretary: Sir William Petre at Court and Home* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1961); *CP*, X: 506; TNA SP 12/16, fol. 28; *Diocesan Returns of Recusants for England and Wales, 1577*, in *Miscellanea*, XII, *Catholic Record Society Publications*, 22 (1921): 49.
13. Michael Zell, "Wotton, Nicholas (c. 1497–1567), diplomat and dean of Canterbury and York," *ODNB*; P. R. N. Carter, "Mason, Sir John (c. 1503–1566), diplomat and member of parliament," *ODNB*.
14. Stanford Lehmberg, "Cheyne, Sir Thomas (c. 1485–1558), administrator and diplomat," *ODNB*.
15. MacCaffrey, *Shaping of the Regime*, 61.
16. *CSPSp Elizabeth*, I: 18, 38, 263, 275–6, 354.
17. *A Collection of Original Letters from the Bishops to the Privy Council, 1564*, ed. M. Bateson, *Camden new series*, 53 (1895): 56; R. H. Fritze, "The Role of Family and Religion in the Local Politics of Early Elizabethan England: The case of Hampshire in the 1560s," *HJ*, 25 (1982): 267–87.
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19. *CP*, II: 16, XII.ii: 594–9; "Vita Mariae," 252–69; Hoak, "Two Revolutions," 114–15.
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21. Natalie Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), esp. 40–50; TNA, SP 12/12, fol. 1; MacCaffrey, *Shaping of the Regime*, 63.
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28. Carter, "Rich."

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CHAPTER 14

TO SERVE THE QUEEN

Robert C. Braddock

I

Many scholars have stressed that Mary and Elizabeth faced similar problems at their accessions: empty treasuries, hostile neighbors, religious conflict at home and abroad, not to mention a disputed claim to the throne itself. This essay adds one more topic to this list: court establishments inherited from their predecessors, whose members had loyalties and beliefs different from their own. It addresses the important but frequently overlooked aspect of the transition from the reign of each of Henry VIII's children to the next. It shows that Mary and Elizabeth were driven by different motives when making appointments to their household establishments. For Mary past loyalty and religion were paramount, while for Elizabeth bureaucratic routine took precedence, so much so that by the end of her reign, her servants came to view their posts as a kind of property that if they could not legally sell, they could not be deprived of it without compensation.

There have been several important studies of the establishments of Mary and Elizabeth as princess and queen.¹ These have clearly shown that both queens took care in making appointments because, having used their personal affinities to support them in opposition, they realized the strategic and political importance of their personal servants once they gained the throne. These studies have rightly focused on those immediately around them as princess and queen, for in personal monarchy, everyone around the monarch was important regardless of the post they held. This essay expands the field of study to include those below stairs to measure how far Mary and Elizabeth's interest in appointments went. In doing so it attempts to respond to Sir Geoffrey Elton's call for "painful studies of [the] Acatry and Pantry, rather than more pretty pictures of gallants and galliards."²

The death of a monarch meant that all appointments in the royal household ceased, a fact symbolized by the ceremonial breaking of their staffs of office by the senior officials who then threw them into the grave of their deceased masters. And what was true at the top, was true for all, because each member had sworn an oath to serve the king or queen personally. Although most who served in non-sensitive positions could expect to be retained, it was not guaranteed because the new monarchs brought with them their own servants whose claims would have to be considered

alongside those of the previous incumbents. While we do not know the precise procedures that were used to balance the competing claims, by comparing establishment lists, we can identify the newcomers and thus gain a better understanding of Mary's and Elizabeth's attitudes toward those who served them.³

There can be little doubt that the newly crowned queens gave serious consideration to the claims of those seeking reappointment but that they did not automatically grant them. Understandably the soldiers who had obeyed the duke of Northumberland's order to take up arms to support Mary's coup were the most vulnerable. They had to undergo two special inquiries before they were reappointed. The fact that most were reappointed should not obscure how uncertain it was.⁴ At a lower level a senior official attempted to block the reappointment of the self-described "hot-gospeller" Edward Underhill as gentleman-at-arms. Fortunately for Underhill, the man had neither the power to do so nor the determination to pursue the matter with those who did, and by keeping an uncharacteristically low profile Underhill stayed on.⁵ Unfortunately there are no records of similar examinations, but there can be little doubt that they took place and that the results reflect Mary's and Elizabeth's wishes.

II

The Counting House, or Board of Greencloth, ruled over the sprawling bureaucracy of cooks, caterers, and provisioners in the household below stairs. Since the reforms of Thomas Cromwell, the entire household had been ruled by the lord great master. Given the fact that Northumberland had used the post to consolidate his power, Mary, understandably, chose to demote it to its former title of lord steward and reduce its scope to supervising below stairs only. The steward was joined by a treasurer and controller (or comptroller) who, like him, carried a white staff of office and below them the officers of the Board of Greencloth, who supervised the daily workings and expenditures of the particular departments. The "white staves" had long been political appointees, so there was no surprise when Mary appointed Sir Robert Rochester as controller in 1553 and Elizabeth, Sir Thomas Cornwallis in 1558 along with Sir Thomas Parry as treasurer. These men had long served the princesses and although they took certain aspects of their jobs to heart, especially the perquisites and patronage opportunities, they probably took little part in day-to-day operations. Below them was another matter, however. The business of the household was supervised by the cofferer, the highest position open to promotion from the ranks, but curiously it was a position that shared the fate of politicians: each was replaced by the new regime.

When Henry VIII died the post was held by Sir Edmund Peckham, who had held the job for twenty years. Peckham's years of service did not ensure his retention, however, for at Henry's death he was removed in favor of John Ryther. Since Sir Edmund also held the post of treasurer of the mint and was given an annuity worth one-third more than his cofferer's salary

as a sweetener,⁶ he could hardly have felt deprived. Moreover, Ryther's appointment may have brought administrative efficiency. Although there were no recorded rules specifying the seniority procedures to be observed, there were strict precedents, and Ryther was technically a newcomer to the royal household. He did have a claim to the new king's largesse, however: he had served Prince Edward. Like his father before him, Ryther had been brought up in the service of the earls of Oxford, but he had been pressed into royal service in the 1540s to straighten out Prince Edward's finances.⁷ Despite his experience, however, Ryther must surely have faced the professional jealousy of career officials who found the choicest plum beyond their reach. When Ryther died in 1552, the seniority system of promotion from below was reinstated, and Thomas Weldon, member of a dynasty of royal clerks, got the job.⁸ His tenure was short lived, however, for when Mary succeeded her brother she replaced him with Richard Freston. Weldon's replacement by Freston marks a noteworthy change in royal policy, for Freston had no discernible previous administrative experience. Indeed his only prior connection with the court was a brief stint as one of the gentlemen pensioners, a post he had surrendered fifteen years previously.⁹ But if Freston lacked the requisite administrative skills for the job, he had the essentials for appointment in Mary's eyes: loyalty and orthodoxy. David Loades has identified him as having served in Princess Mary's establishment, although it is difficult to ascertain exactly what his responsibilities had been.¹⁰ Whatever they were, he was certainly part of the affinity of East Anglian supporters that Jeri McIntosh, Anna Whitelock, and Diarmaid MacCulloch have identified as being crucial in Mary's surprisingly easy path to the throne.¹¹ His appointment marked another shift for he was also given a seat on the privy council and a knighthood. For the first time the post of cofferer was given to one who might be called a politician rather than a civil servant.

Mary's chief motive for appointing Freston was undoubtedly to surround herself with loyal supporters, but she had an equally valid reason for dismissing Weldon: he had been appointed by Northumberland, a reason that made him immediately suspect in her eyes; but the key factor was his strong Protestant opinions. In 1543 he had spent time in the Fleet for having sheltered one Anthony Person, an offender against the Six Articles, although later on he was described as a "furtherer" of religion.¹² Whitelock and MacCulloch have shown that although Mary did not stress the religious theme during her coup, she had already demonstrated that she desired to have "an unmistakably Catholic household," concluding that "to be in Mary's service was to live as a Catholic."¹³ Edward Underhill's claim that he survived at court because it was the best place to "shift the Easter time" (avoid taking communion) may have applied to those behind the scenes, but it did not apply to the most senior post in the catering departments.¹⁴ Weldon clearly had to go. However, if Mary had merely wanted to be rid of Weldon and replace him with a Catholic she could have promoted James Gage, one of her senior clerks, a man of impeccable orthodoxy as well as experience, whose father, Sir John Gage, was her vice chamberlain and captain of the guard.

Freston's death during the influenza epidemic of 1557 presented another opportunity for appointment. This time Mary returned to the traditional order by selecting Michael Wentworth, the senior clerk. But when Wentworth died after less than a year in his new post, she broke tradition and appointed Richard Warde.¹⁵ Unlike Freston, Warde was one of the clerks, but he was a comparative newcomer and his appointment signifies another change to customary procedure.

Warde's educational qualifications made him stand out from all the other clerks; he had been educated at Eton, King's College Cambridge, and Middle Temple, but it was his family's connections with other household officials that secured his appointment.¹⁶ Warde's tenure was short-lived, however. Mary's death brought further changes, and, as in so many aspects of her rule, Elizabeth's answer was different from Mary's. Like Mary, she replaced the politicians, the steward, treasurer, and controller, but instead of replacing Warde with her own man, she reinstated Thomas Weldon. She made another change from Mary's practice, for rather than dismiss Warde, she allowed him to share the office with Weldon.¹⁷ The records suggest that Weldon actually performed the cofferer's duties, but it was clear that Warde too had a claim to the post. The unprecedented dual coffershship continued for eight years until Weldon died and Warde was once again appointed the sole cofferer; by this time Warde had outlived those he had previously leapfrogged and was now the senior clerk.¹⁸ It might seem that bureaucratic routine had finally triumphed over Mary's attempt to inject politics below stairs. However, at the end of her reign Elizabeth reverted to Mary's example when she reached outside the ranks of household clerks to appoint Sir Henry Cocke, a man with no court office or ascertainable administrative experience but who had been a political ally of his neighbor Lord Burghley in Elizabeth's later parliaments. An astute politician, Cocke entertained King James lavishly as he made his way South to receive his crown and was rewarded by being the first cofferer to retain his post with the change of monarch in over one hundred years.¹⁹ With politicians in charge of the finances rather than accountants, it is not surprising that there were increased cries against corruption.

Of course, Cocke can hardly be the only one blamed for the increased theft and waste so often complained of in Elizabeth's final years. His superiors—the treasurer, Sir Francis Knollys, and controller, Sir James Croft—were certainly guilty of petty graft and lax oversight, to say the least, but the nature of the office had certainly changed.²⁰ The coffershship had become a political plum to be exploited like the others. That change was revealed in 1615 when the young wife of Sir Robert Vernon, the aged cofferer, attempted to sell the office to Sir Arthur Ingram to insure a comfortable retirement. By this arrangement Ingram agreed to pay £2,000 outright to Vernon plus an additional £110 to Lady Vernon for negotiating the deal and to pay the couple £500 a year thereafter, a sum that dropped to £200 if Vernon predeceased his wife.²¹

Although Ingram was not unqualified for the post, having been a very successful businessman and holder of other crown appointments, the

disappointed senior household clerks raised a fuss, claiming that King James had promised to appoint by seniority as they claimed Elizabeth had always done. In consequence the crown was forced to rescind Ingram's appointment claiming that the Ingram-Vernon deal had violated a statute of the reign of Edward VI prohibiting the sale of offices. That should have ended the matter, but the new cofferer, Sir Marmaduke Darrell, the man who had rallied his colleagues to protest Ingram's incursion, was so unsure of his ground that he raised over £3,000 to ease Vernon's disappointment in losing his forbidden pension, in effect stopping the sale by buying out the illegal transaction.²² Darrell's promotion meant that appointment to a major post, traditionally the prerogative of the crown, had been surrendered to bureaucratic routine.

III

The chance survival of a memorandum drawn up shortly after Henry VIII's death shows that a serious effort was made to find places for all those who had served Edward as prince, either integrating them into the establishment he inherited, or in the service of someone of suitably high rank.²³ Undoubtedly this was also the case for Mary and Elizabeth, but unfortunately no such memoranda exist for them. The example of the chief cooks, "the cooks for the mouth," illustrates how this must have worked.

When Edward succeeded his father, he pensioned off John Brickett, who had been Henry's cook for many years, and replaced him with Richard Curry who had prepared his meals as prince.²⁴ When Curry died he appointed George Webster, a man who had cooked for the duke of Richmond and was subsequently transferred to Prince Edward's kitchens at Richmond's death.²⁵ Mary and Elizabeth followed their brother's example. Mary dismissed Webster and appointed Thomas Burrage, a man who had served in their father's kitchen since the 1530s but who had been transferred to her service in 1547 to make room for Edward's man.²⁶

Elizabeth's accession brought a new royal cook, but one equally experienced, for Francis Piggott had literally been raised in the royal kitchens. His father, Hugh, was a yeoman cook to Princess Mary in the 1520s, rising to master cook by 1534. When Prince Edward was given his own household, Piggott was able to arrange a transfer and to obtain a groom's position for his son. Henry's death brought a change in their fortunes for there was no room for either father or son in King Edward's kitchen. Past services did not go unrewarded, however. Hugh was given a pension and Edward a place in Princess Elizabeth's service. Fittingly Elizabeth appointed him her master cook when she took the throne.²⁷

The tenures of the royal cooks demonstrates that Henry's children were loyal to their old servants. This loyalty may have been based upon their fondness for the food each prepared, but considering the gargantuan feasts, quantity would seem to have triumphed over quality. The same considerations must have weighed heavily in the Laundry. Both Mary and Elizabeth appointed their former laundresses to wash their personal and

table linen.²⁸ One thing is clear however: this generosity did not extend to the other cooks, laundresses, yeomen, and grooms, who continued as before.

IV

The accessions of Mary and Elizabeth brought one other personnel change, and the different ways they handled it is equally revealing. Below the Greencloth stood the particular departments, staffed with a complement of clerks, sergeants, yeomen, grooms, and other menials, as appropriate. The order of promotion for clerks was to start as the most junior clerk, then switch from department to department on their way to the Board of Greencloth and finally cofferer; sergeants, who came from somewhat lower social backgrounds, started as page or groom and advanced to yeoman and sergeant but seldom left their department.

Although the accession of Henry's children brought no changes beyond natural attrition to most jobs, it did signal a change of sergeants.²⁹ Edward was content to stick with the staff he inherited, but Mary brought in five new sergeants, presumably men who had served her as princess, although their relatively humble backgrounds make it difficult to tell. It is equally hard to tell what happened to the men who were displaced, but one fact is clear: alternate places at court were not found for them. And given the state of her finances, it is not surprising that there is no mention that they were given pensions.

Elizabeth followed Mary's example by bringing in nine new men. But, as with the case of cofferer, she did not dismiss Mary's appointees. Instead she had them serve jointly with the survivor continuing in sole possession.³⁰ As with the joint cofferership, it is impossible to tell how the work and fees were divided, but it must have been reasonably efficient, because the arrangements lasted for over twenty-five years in the Kitchen, and in the Poultry the joint sergeantship was continued after the original men had left the queen's service.³¹

While it is important to examine the cases of servants who were replaced by the new queen, it is just as important to examine the cases of servants who retained their posts but who would have lost them if the rules had been followed. Take the most serious offense, treason, which should have cost a royal servant his job, if not his life. In January 1554, at the height of the Wyatt crisis, Robert Rowbotham, yeoman of the wardrobe of robes, someone who had daily access to the queen, was arrested for "lewde talke that the Kinges Majestie deceassed shuld be yet lyving." However, after a brief stint in the Fleet, he was back at his post where he remained until his death.³² In 1556 William Cockes of the Pantry, in trouble for the same offense, was dismissed from office and ordered to report to the Council weekly, but he too was soon back in his old job.³³

Under Elizabeth it was much the same story. Two of her closest attendants, Katherine Astley and Dorothy Bradbelt, were put under house arrest for meddling in her marital projects, but they were back in office

a month later; and Elizabeth St. Loo spent six months in the Tower for her failure to pass on word of Catherine Grey's treasonous marriage.³⁴ But once released, she too resumed her post. The relatively brief incarceration of Elizabeth's privy chamber attendants can be explained by Elizabeth's momentary anger at being betrayed by her closest servants, but what about Rowbotham and the others? Why did they remain unscathed? The answer to this apparent conundrum is the increasing acceptance of the idea that court office, even for those surrounding the queen, was a form of property to which the holder had title.

V

A tantalizing glimpse of the reality of office-holding can be found in the complaints by and against Sir Francis Knollys and Sir James Croft, respectively treasurer and controller of Elizabeth's household, who had the responsibility of making what can be called entry-level appointments. They were accused of appointing "unhable persons, both ould sickly and impotent." Some, Croft admitted, were so unfit, "weke in brayne" and "smalle in person," that they were incapable of performing their duties. Others were in such poor health that they were not fit "to come to the handeling of anie honest man's meate." But once appointed they were not easily removed or even disciplined by their immediate supervisors because, having appointed them, Croft and Knollys took their side in "their evil and false doings" against the complaints of the career officials.³⁵ The career men, who seemed to be constantly at odds with their courtier supervisors, found ways to circumvent their authority, however, and in doing so revealed the general understanding of office as property: their strategy was to make an appointment before Croft or Knollys heard of the vacancy.

An example of their crafty maneuvering is revealed in a complaint by Knollys to Lord Burghley. Knollys wrote that as soon as he learned of the death of one of the queen's herdsman, he rushed to the Counting House to fill the post. But even though he got there by nine o'clock he found that his subordinates had already filled the post. Furious, he demanded to know whether the culprits understood that he, not they, had the right to make such an appointment. They admitted his claim but brazenly replied that they considered the job to be too important to be left vacant even for a few days and had done what they thought best. The treasurer was in the right, but no matter how much he berated his subordinates, the appointment stood. To make matters worse, the unrepentant officials had the effrontery to repeat the performance as soon as Sir Francis departed. Later the same day Knollys received word that a servant in the Larder had died, and not wanting to be thwarted twice, he returned to court and ordered the cofferer to swear one of his own servants, only to be informed that he was too late once again. Although this time the excuse was different, the cofferer claimed that the post had already been promised by Knolly's predecessor, the effect was the same.³⁶ Once appointments were made, their

number stood. Jealous of his prerogative, Knollys retaliated by appointing purveyors "which is Mr. Cofferer's office."³⁷

Why did the power to appoint not carry with it the power to dismiss? The answer to this dilemma can be found in an attempt to clean up the court in the next reign. James's clerks realized that the household was plagued with a number of servants who had illegally bought their posts and who should have been dismissed, but nevertheless, they felt bound to retain them. Their explanation was that despite the fact that the men had illegally gained admittance to the king's service, they had taken an oath to serve him and no other. If dismissed they were unemployable. The simple solution would have been to dispense with the oath, but they concluded that the oath was the only way to ensure that the men appointed by courtiers after money or gifts had been exchanged actually did their job.³⁸

A tantalizing glimpse of the reality of office-holding can be observed in a series of appointments in the Pantry in the 1590s. In 1592 John Daniel was appointed sergeant with the curious admonition "that any dislike against him for former proceedings may cease."³⁹ Whatever Daniel's past misdeeds may have been, the Pantry had been and continued to be riddled with pilfering by those who worked there. Therefore, after "sundry warnings," the officers of the Greencloth made a surprise inspection of the Pantry's shelves and discovered that the "chippers," whose job it was to remove the crusts that were considered unwholesome, were chipping so generously that each loaf might be "thruste thoroughe with a ffinger." The reason for this was that the chippers had the right to sell the crusts as their fee. In short, they were motivated not by any concern for the health of the court but by the size of their income. Clearly rules had been broken and the miscreants deserved to be punished, and they were: the supervisor was fined, four chippers dismissed on the spot, and the gatekeepers instructed not to let them enter again. Unfortunately for the queen's purse, the culprits had such a strong claim to their posts that after a few days' repentance, their humble suits, and promises to reform, each was reinstated with the loss of only a day's fees and a shilling fine to be given to the poor.⁴⁰

If lowly chippers had come to view the posts as property, it is not surprising that their supervisors did as well, a fact that is confirmed by those higher up. In 1602, for example, John Matthews, a "usuall and comon drunkard," who has already been reprimanded many times and even suffered an unprecedented demotion, was discovered to be so intoxicated that he fell down on the job. This was the last straw; he was dismissed and his post given to William Edlyn. That should have been the end of it, but Matthews claim to the post was such that Edlyn was required to pay Matthews £25 yearly in consideration of his long service.⁴¹

The saga in the Pantry continued when Edlyn too was subsequently thought unfit to serve. His superior reported that Edlyn was infected with "*morbus gallicus*" and sought to have him removed. Not surprisingly, Edlyn resisted and demanded a medical opinion. Subsequent examination by two court surgeons proved to be inconclusive. The doctors declared

that although they had found certain "tokens" of the disease, they were unable to commit to an "absolute opinion." The end of the affair confirms the fact that household offices had become a form of property. Edlyn was dismissed, but Thomas Nelson, his successor, had to pay his salary for the rest of his life as well as continue to pay the pension to Matthews.⁴² With the drunkard Matthews and the pox-ridden Edlyn out of the way, the queen was probably better served, but the price must have been continued corruption, for Nelson would have had to exploit his legitimate fees and other perquisites to make up for paying out more than his salary to his two predecessors.

Understandably the "disorder" so often complained of continued. When the sergeant of the Bakehouse who supervised the servants in the Pantry was later reprimanded for not clamping down on the continued pilfering, he "forgot himself" and used "intemperate speeches" to his superiors, causing them to order his confinement in the Porter's Lodge as a common thief, but once again nothing was done. After admitting his fault, he promised to do better and he kept his post.⁴³

The case of Lewis Joane completes the story. In 1617 his fellow servants took the unusual step of complaining to the Board of Greencloth that he was too "diseased in his bodye" to perform his duties and that his lunacy made it difficult for them to do theirs. The board concurred in their diagnosis and ordered Joane to quit his post, but he too did not leave empty-handed. It was agreed that he should continue to draw his salary of £11 "or thereabouts" and his colleagues agreed to compensate him for his loss of the normal fees.⁴⁴

VI

Lord Burghley's papers contain periodic proposals for reform, but these are mostly concerned with reducing costs rather than issues of appointment and tenure, and this absence indicates that he understood little could be done. On one occasion he perused a list of clerks being considered for promotion. The writer suggested that two senior clerks should be passed over for certain unspecified offenses. However, once again the prerogative of office overrode their transgressions and the would-be reformer concluded, "neverthelesse, consideracion to be hadde by discession."⁴⁵ It is worth noting that one of the clerks, Andrew Smith, was subsequently marked "unfytt for preferment," having been accused of "offenses" in "several offices." Smith lost neither his post nor chance of promotion.⁴⁶

If the relatively lowly officers of the Pantry looked upon their offices as their property, what of those in the Acatry, the other department Sir Geoffrey called attention to? Here was the opportunity for corruption on a much greater scale than crusts of bread, for the officers of the Acatry were responsible for purchasing the provisions. Once again the historian is hampered by the absence of daily records, but the marginal notation in Burghley's papers suggests that the Acatry was where real exploitation of one's post was possible. When considering promotion of household clerks

Burghley noted, "It is to be remembrance that Mr Waterhouse, being clerke of the Catry [Acatry] (an office to his lykyng) will not willinglle be drawn from the same."⁴⁷ Waterhouse's wish to remain at the Acatry merely confirms what had been going on for some time. The prescribed order of promotion for clerks was as follows: Pastry, Larder, Scullery, Woodyard, Bakehouse, Poultry, and Acatry, and then to next vacancy of Stable, Spicery, or Kitchen, and finally the Board of Greencloth. This pattern was seldom observed, however. In 1558, for example, Edward Darrell, a clerk of the Kitchen, sought to be demoted to the lesser post, clerk of the Acatry, held by his uncle, Stephen Darrell, who was dying. The younger Darrell "made sute to be joyned in reverccion with...his uncle, and so did presently leave the clerkshipp of the kitchin."⁴⁸ In so doing he was following the example of his two predecessors. Obviously they had realized that the lesser post was the more profitable despite its having a salary substantially lower. The only remedy the would-be reformers could come up with was to propose the requirement that each clerk take his place successively, "and not by any synister sute or other meanes to refuse the same."⁴⁹

With senior officers flouting the rules to line their pockets, it is no wonder that lowly chippers got away with their excessive chipping, and diseased and incapable servants were tolerated. The most creative solution to the problem was proposed by Sir James Croft, a man with first-hand knowledge of such abuses, if his accusers can be believed. Croft proposed that the queen's servants be permitted to sell their posts. This measure, he argued, would serve as an incentive for the unfit to retire with a comfortable pension at no cost to the Crown. Since offices were already being sold, it would not be much of an innovation, but it would give the Crown a veto of future appointments.⁵⁰

Ironically only two officials seem to have suffered for the way they carried out their duties: Richard Browne and Anthony Crane. Browne, who had no previous experience, was appointed to the junior post at the Board of Greencloth in violation of the rules by the earl of Leicester, who as lord steward, was planning a major reorganization shortly before he died.⁵¹ Whatever reforming zeal Browne might have had, he soon fell in line and accepted things as they were. As a member of parliament he was called upon to explain and defend the procedures for provisioning the court that were expensive to the queen and hated by her subjects. So heated was his defense of the status quo that he collapsed on the floor of the House with a ruptured vein and died.⁵²

Crane's case was less dramatic, but perhaps more revealing of the power of entrenched but outmoded procedures. Crane had entered royal service in the waning months of the reign of Henry VIII as the most junior clerk, clerk of the Pastry. He slowly made his way up the hierarchy and after thirty-two years service he reached the top of what was available for him when he was named cofferer. But if his steady rise was unusual only in its longevity, his sudden fall broke all conventions, for he was the only one of the queen's household officials to lose his post for his conduct in office. What is even more unusual is that he was not dismissed for theft or simply

not doing his job. These violations were frequently overlooked. Crane's offense was that he was overzealous in trying to economize, and in doing so he offended powerful lobbies with a vested interest in doing business as they always had. In a letter pleading for reinstatement he explained what had happened.⁵³

Faced with the daunting task of trying to make ends meet in a time of rising prices, he decided that he could economize in the way the vast quantity of beer consumed was acquired. Rather than purchasing it from London brewers, he decided to brew it himself at a brewery he set up at Sion. Unfortunately, in his haste he failed to run tests, and when courtiers drank his beer, they did not find it to their liking. Ruefully, he admitted that it "did not hold the like relish [as] the London brew did."⁵⁴

Although Crane's dismissal can be credited simply to the poor quality of his beer, in actuality it had more fundamental causes. First, he had offended his colleagues of the Board of Greencloth by ignoring their suggestion of running a test by using water from Sion at an established brewery to ascertain "what the goodness of the drinke wold be."⁵⁵ More importantly, Crane's brewery offended his critics in other ways, suggesting that the poor quality of the beer had merely been a convenient excuse. Unfortunately for Crane, although he did have the authority to set up the brewery, he did not have the authority to pay for it without consulting the entire Board of Greencloth. Since he knew they were not in favor of the scheme, he had chosen to break the rules and pay for the brewery by diverting money that had already been allotted to purchase beer from the London brewers, "whereof he was sunndrie tymes warned." To compound his fault, an inquiry into his conduct in office revealed that he kept the queen's money at his own house rather than at court, a common practice, but one that was a violation of the rules.⁵⁶

Perhaps more serious than Crane's ignoring the "ancient and most necessarie" regulations was the offense he had given to the London brewers whose lucrative contracts he had broken. Although they had long been accused of bribing various officers in the Buttery and Cellar to get their contracts,⁵⁷ they could now portray themselves as the innocent victims of corrupt officers. With the power of entrenched officials and the Guild of London Brewers against him, Crane did not stand a chance.

Lord Burghley made one last attempt to reform operations in the 1590s. Croft now dead, Burghley persuaded Elizabeth to give Knollys's duties to a commission while he retained the title. The new commission attempted to sweep away decades of corruption and mismanagement by dismissing six sergeants and reforming procedures for procurement.⁵⁸ Not surprisingly the sergeants were soon back in their posts.⁵⁹

VII

Although this essay has not provided the intensive analysis of a single department that Sir Geoffrey called for, it has examined the careers of court servants previously neglected. It has shown that Mary's goals in

her initial appointments was to surround herself with Catholics who had served her previously and who had helped her gain the throne. In doing so she dismissed officials with years of experience, but to her, loyalty was more important than expertise. In contrast, Elizabeth was content to add her men without displacing those appointed by her sister, regardless of their beliefs. However, after the claims of their former servants were satisfied, both were content to let their households follow customary rules and procedures, even when the result was added expense and inefficiency. Theft and corruption were tolerated, and the few attempts at reform produced few lasting results. Routine had triumphed and servants had come to treat their office as a kind of property, to which once appointed they enjoyed life tenure. Despite increasing evidence of the need for reform, bureaucratic inertia had triumphed over economy and efficiency.

Notes

1. Jeri L. McIntosh, *From Heads of Households to Heads of State: The Preaccession Households of Mary and Elizabeth Tudor* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008); Charlotte L. Merton, "The Women Who Served Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth: Ladies, Gentlewomen and Maids of the Privy Chamber, 1553–1603" (Cambridge PhD, 1992); Anna Whitelock, "In Opposition and in Government: The Household and Affinities of Mary Tudor, 1516–1558" (Cambridge PhD, 2004).
2. G. R. Elton, "Tudor Government: The Points of Contact, the Court," *TRHS*, 26 (1976): 225.
3. The establishment lists used in this essay are: TNA, LC 2/2 (funeral of Henry VIII); LC 2/3 (coronation of Edward VI); LC 2/4/1 (funeral of Edward VI); LC 2/4/2 (funeral of Mary I); and LC 2/4/3 (coronation of Elizabeth I).
4. See R. C. Braddock, "The Character and Composition of the Duke of Northumberland's Army," *Albion* 6 (1974): 342–56.
5. BL, Harleian MS 425; printed in *Tudor Tracts 1532–1588*, ed. A. F. Pollard (repr. New York: Cooper Square, 1967), 170–98 and *Narratives of the Reformation*, ed. J. G. Nichols (Camden Society, 1st series, 77, 1859), 132–48.
6. TNA, E 361/8, m.36; BL, Add. MS 30,198 fol. 22.
7. H. W. Lever, "The Testament and Last Will... Earl of Oxford," *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, n.s., 20 (1933), 14–16; *LP*, XVI: 1488 (4).
8. TNA, E 351/1795 mm.5^r–5^d.
9. Sheffield Library, Strafford Papers 33; TNA, E 179/69/35.
10. D. M. Loades, *Intrigue and Treason: The Tudor Court, 1547–1558* (London: Pearson-Longman, 2004), 227, 254, 310.
11. Jeri McIntosh, *From Heads of Households*; A. Whitelock and D. MacCulloch, "Princess Mary's Household and the Succession Crisis, July 1553," *HJ*, 50 (2007): 265–87.
12. J. K. McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics Under Henry VIII and Edward VI* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 222; "Collection of Original Letters from the Bishops to the Privy Council, 1564 ...," ed. M. Bateson, *Camden Miscellany* 9 (Camden Society, n.s. 1895), 38, 11–19.
13. Whitelock and MacCulloch, "Princess Mary's Household," 271.
14. *Tudor Tracts*, 79.
15. TNA, E 351/1795, mm.11–12.

16. For Warde and the family connexions of Household clerks, see R. C. Braddock, *The Royal Household, 1540–60* (Northwestern University PhD, 1971), chapter 6.
17. See TNA, LC 2/4/3.
18. TNA, E 101/430/8; E 101/430/10.
19. TNA, E 101/541/2; Allegra Woodworth, *Purveyance for the Royal Household in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1945), 10.
20. For example, BL, Lansdowne MS 46 no. 87; BL, Lansdowne MS 21 no. 63; BL, Lansdowne MS 34, no. 35.
21. G. E. Aylmer, *The King's Servants: The Civil Service of Charles I* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961), 171–2.
22. Aylmer, *King's Servants*, 171–2.
23. BL, Royal MS 7C XVI, fols. 92–7.
24. TNA, E 179/69/58; LC 2/2 fol. 30; E 179/69/319; E 179/69/35.
25. “Inventory of the Wardrobe, Plate &c. of Henry Fitzroy...”, ed. J. G. Nichols, *Camden Miscellany*, 3 (Camden Society, 1855), 77; TNA, E 179/69/35; LC 2/3, 1st series, vol. 61, fol. 103.
26. TNA, SP2A, fol. 131; LC 2/2 fol. 30; E 179/69/35; BL, Add MS 45716A, fol. 24^r.
27. TNA, E 179/69/34; E 179/69/35; E 179/69/58; LC 2/3, fol. 103; LC 2/4/3 fol. 85; BL, Harleian MS 6807, fol. 8.
28. Merton, “The Women who Served,” 34–5.
29. Compare TNA, LC 2/4/1; LC 2/4/2.
30. TNA, LC 2/4/3.
31. See the Exchequer's declared and enrolled accounts, TNA, E 351/1795; E 361/8.
32. APC, IV, 383–4; *HoP Commons 1509–1558*, III: 202.
33. CSPVen VI: 324.
34. Pam Wright, “A Change in Direction: The Ramifications of a Female Household, 1558–1603,” in *English Court, from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, ed. D. Starkey et al. (London and New York: Longman, 1987) 167–
35. BL, Lansdowne MS 34, no. 35; BL Royal MS 18A, xlvI, fol. 5.
36. BL, Royal MS 18A, XLVI, fol. 5.
37. Woodworth, *Purveyance*, 9, 13, 27.
38. TNA, LS 13/280, fol. 306.
39. CSPD, I.iii: 238.
40. TNA, LS 13/168, fol. 34^r.
41. TNA, LS 13/168, fol. 23^r.
42. TNA, LS 13/168, fol. 38^r.
43. TNA, LS 13/168, fol. 211^r.
44. TNA, LS 13/168, fol. 189^r.
45. BL, Lansdowne MS 34, no. 31.
46. BL, Lansdowne MS 62, no. 55.
47. BL, Lansdowne MS 34, no. 31.
48. BL, Lansdowne MS 86, no. 50.
49. BL, Lansdowne MS 34, no. 31.
50. BL, Lansdowne MS 34, no. 35.
51. Simon Adams, *Leicester and the Court: Essays in Elizabethan Politics* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 29.
52. *The House of Commons, 1558–1603*, ed. P. W. Hasler, 3 vols. (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1981), I: 504.

53. BL, Lansdowne MS 34, no. 32, passim; BL Lansdowne MS 56, no. 14. My interpretation differs from Woodworth, *Purveyance*, 10, 14, 57–8.
54. TNA, LS 13/280, fol. 140^r.
55. TNA, LS 13/280, fol. 140^r.
56. TNA, LS 13/168, fol. 35^r.
57. A. R. Myers, *The Household of Edward IV: The Black Book and the Ordinance of 1478* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959), 181.
58. Woodworth, *Purveyance*, 15.
59. See TNA, LC 2/4/4.

CHAPTER 15

WOMEN, FRIENDSHIP, AND MEMORY

Charlotte Merton

Reliue your sorow for your far jorney with joy of your shorte retorne, and thinke this pilgrimage rather a profe of your frendes, than a levinge of your contrye, the lengthe of time, and distance of the place, seperates not the love of frendes, nor deprives not the showe of good will. A olde sainge whan bale is lowest bote is nerest, when your nide shall be most yow shall finde my frendshipp gretest. . . . My power but small my love as great as the whose giftes may tel ther frendships tale. Let will supply al other wantes, and ofte sending take the lieu of often sights, your messagers shal not retorne empty, nor yet your desires unaccomplish. Letthes floude bath hire no course, good memory bath greatest streame, . . . Your loving cousin, and redy frende cor rotto.¹

I

Princess Elizabeth's letter to her first cousin Katherine Carey Lady Knollys dates from 1553.² Later she would write in similarly affectionate terms to women such as Frances Howard Countess of Hertford ("Good ffrancke") and Margery Williams Lady Norris ("Mine owne Crow")—letters intended to set the minds of her correspondents at rest, to reaffirm her royal favor.³ This early letter, however, is an unequivocal promise of favor to come when things must have seemed very bleak indeed: the princess, the terrified focus of opposition to Queen Mary; and Knollys and her husband, like other wealthy Protestants unwilling to conform, hurrying to take their family into exile on the Continent. And once she was queen, Elizabeth's memory of their friendship was indeed to determine Lady Knollys' success, for she became a senior lady of the privy chamber until her death in 1569, the mother of three ladies of the privy chamber, and the woman who put the Knollys family on the political map.

Regardless of the period studied, once the court historian has cleared the initial hurdles of determining who was at court, what they were meant to do while they were there, and what they actually did, much of the work comes down to answering two questions: Who were friends? Who were enemies? Of course, the devil is in the detail, starting with the problem that although

almost everyone in any age can agree on a definition of enemy, its antonym is more puzzling. The issue cannot be avoided, however, given that the question “Who were friends?” leads inexorably on to “What was a friend?”

II

The nature of friendship is something that has much exercised historians in recent years, with greater or lesser success depending on period and scope. The classicists long held the field, and the early modernists in the shape of Alan Bray and Eva Österberg have made important advances, yet in considering friendships between women there is still perhaps too great an emphasis on finding evidence of what Bray calls “the formal and objective character that friendship could possess that could overlap with the character of kinship.”⁴ Herein lies the prime confusion when looking at sixteenth-century women, for friendship is usually defined as excluding not only spouses and lovers, but also relations. This poses a problem when looking at the sixteenth-century English court elite, for whom it is no exaggeration to say that each woman was related to all the others to some degree. Moreover, friendship was quite possible within families, especially prolific ones such as the Howards, and was indeed encouraged, despite the considerable variations in status within immediate families: just because people were closely related did not mean that they were of equal social standing; and reading backward, just because they were friends did not mean that they were not related. In sixteenth-century England, “friend” was a much and carefully used term.

The disparities in social status even within families confront us with what we would describe as patron–client relationships, and that the Tudor elite expressed in the language of friendship—not far, in fact, from what Cicero described as the reciprocal friendship between individuals of different status and class, between *patronus* and *cliens*—while there were the added complexities of a relationship that stretched beyond two individuals. Sallust’s assertion that an association between good men working toward a shared goal is amity but between bad men is faction was as true in the early modern period as it is in the twenty-first century, but “*inter malos factio*”⁵ is all in the eye of the beholder—we are friends, you are cronies, they are a faction. The theory and practice of friendship and its ramifications exercised Erasmus, Montaigne, Bacon, and their ilk, yet the question of the reception of their ideas, and indeed those of the Classical philosophers, in late Tudor England is still open. The fact that Muriel Parry Lady Knyvet, lady of the privy chamber at the end of Elizabeth’s reign, would have been able to read her husband’s copy of Seneca does not mean she was a dyed in the wool Stoic, any more than fifty years earlier Anne Morgan Baroness Hunsdon revealed an abiding interest in the same school of philosophy by agreeing that her daughter be called Philadelphia.⁶ I suspect that at best most women drew interesting parallels with their own experience, but nothing that would encourage them to throw over existing patterns of friendship. Far from it, they were more likely to find encouragement—surely theirs, if anyone’s, were friendships that were of benefit to the state, as most of the Classical philosophers believed amity (*amicitia*) to be? And this is where we

slip into the gray area of *factio*. For whatever else, the fifty years of Mary and Elizabeth's reigns saw the rise not of faction and corruption as such, but of their identification, and subsequent rejection by a vocal and ambitious section of the elite, with devastating results in the next century.

Moreover, apart from the occasional maverick such as John Dee and Walter Raleigh, and no women on record, no one at the Marian and Elizabethan courts is likely to have viewed their friendships solely in the harsh light of the classical philosophers, when they had before them the religion that encased their entire existence. The Bible has a great deal to say about altruistic love, *caritas*, but strikingly little to say on friendship as such, other than the occasional dour observation—"A friend loveth at all times."⁷ St. Augustine, with his disquisition on the influence of bad friends, pear theft, and all, and on the companionship of good friends in his journey to God, was more inspirational in this regard, although the question remains how widely the *Confessiones* were read at this time.⁸ What is more, in Christianity there was even less differentiation between male friendship and female friendship than there was in the classical authors; indeed, neither Ancients nor Fathers of the Church specifically rule out *amicitia*, amity, between women on the same terms as men. Although the question of friendship at the Tudor court is one that may well lend itself to being viewed through the prism of gender, the answers will always revolve around birth, status, and political influence.

Who were the women of the late Tudor court? The Tudor court was a large institution, some two thousand strong, with strong hierarchical divisions between its different sections: the household (with twenty-five departments that supplied food, drink, heating, and light); the chamber (the guard, the chapel royal, the musicians, the physicians, and the staff of the queens' privy lodgings); and free-standing entities such as the council, the stables, the toils (hunting), the wardrobes, the artificers, the works, the posts, and the office of masks and revels. My interest is in the largest single political elite of the period, the women who served in the privy lodgings. These were the gentlewomen and aristocrats, sworn in before the lord chamberlain, who held specific posts in the privy chamber and bedchamber as the queens' body servants. In both Mary's and Elizabeth's reigns they usually numbered twenty: three ladies of the bedchamber, seven ladies and gentlewomen of the privy chamber, four chamberers, and six maids of honor. There were also the women, as a rule aristocrats, who were invited by the queens to attend court yet who did not hold official court posts; at any one time there might be perhaps three or four in residence. The privy chamber staff and attendants together amounted to perhaps 1 percent of the court as a whole. Their importance derived generally from their access to their queen and parity with government officers, personally from their ability to use that access to exert influence. The world in which they operated was a fiercely hierarchical construct of kinship, friendship, and honor, in which formal institutions such as the exchequer existed but were run from officers' private houses, in which merit equated to birth, and in which a profession was a public declaration, not a vocation. Against this background, I will offer a few observations on the nature of friendship and memory.

III

We still speak of given names today, but no longer see them as just that—gifts. Yet in the sixteenth century it was still true that the simplest and most enduring way of honoring an existing connection, whether friendship or clientship, was one that few of us would consider. Who now would want to record a current political affiliation by naming a daughter Barak or, with the Tudor enthusiasm for feminizing surnames, Obamiana? For Tudor families, names were a permanent reminder of family friendships and loyalties, not to mention ambitions, and were quite literally on everyone's lips. Thanks to the traditions of god-parenting, which dictated that the senior godmother was always the "naming" godparent for baby girls—the one who decided what the child would be called, although not necessarily using her own name—it is possible to trace close political ties in names rippling across the English upper classes. Thus there are exponential leaps in the numbers of Marys in the 1550s and Elizabeths in the 1560s onward, as one might expect, but this was not just a matter of families honoring their queen in name; in many cases, the babies were named not only for the queen, but by the queen, as indicated by the sheer number of the queens' christening presents for their goddaughters—and, it must be noted, godsons—recorded in the chamber accounts. To be a royal godchild was to join a usefully exclusive group.

In this period, even in Queen Mary's reign, there is clear evidence of the Reformation taking hold, dislodging older naming practices such as taking the saint's name for the day on which the child was born (with, for boys, the notable exception of Valentine), and the process only accelerated in Elizabeth's reign, while the innovation of double given names was a clear indication of humanist aspirations.⁹ Yet names are more than a record of broad religious or social changes, they are hard proof of friendship or clientship at the individual level. True, in the absence of other evidence it is not easy to match godmothers and goddaughters who had common Christian names such as Margaret or Anne, but it is easier in the case of the newfangled, classically inspired names such as Philadelphia, Theophila, Alatheia, and Lettice, and distinctively old-fashioned names such as Winifrid and Frideswide. Then there is Blanche. The reason there were so many Blanches at the late Tudor court was one of Princess Elizabeth's earliest senior attendants, Blanche Milburn Lady Herbert of Troy, who even after her death in 1558 was the key point of entry for Welsh families to Queen Elizabeth's chamber. Her career as a naming godmother within her extended family coincided, unsurprisingly, with her ascendancy in Princess Elizabeth's household in the 1530s and 1540s, but it had been back in the 1510s that the key christening had taken place—she had named her niece Blanche Parry, and it was *that* Blanche, the most powerful member of Elizabeth's staff, who spread the name to the aristocratic Blanches born during Elizabeth's reign. The name rose up the social scale in the wake of its strongest example.

Other names started at the top and spread downward, as was the case with the longest lived of the feminized boy's names. The first English

Frances was Henry VIII's niece Frances Brandon, born in 1517 and apparently named for the king of France, with Catherine of Aragon and Princess Mary as godmothers. Only a handful followed in the 1520s, all women later connected to Princess Mary's household, thereafter there was a sudden spread when Frances Brandon married the marquess of Dorset in 1533, after which the name appears in a more disparate group of families interested in binding themselves closer to that line of succession. This peaked in Edward VI's reign when the then duchess of Suffolk's fortunes were at their height, and families such as the Howards, with an eye to the main chance, were happy for their daughters' futures to be linked to hers. Following Frances Brandon's death in 1559, and the final collapse of the family's political hopes shortly thereafter, the name lived on courtesy of a goddaughter born in 1554—Frances Howard, later countess of Hertford, the queen's "Good ffrancke" and friend—who was responsible for its spread in the last two decades of the century. Other names were endemic to particular families, as was the case with Douglas, which was first given as a girl's name in the 1530s by Henry VIII's niece Margaret Douglas and would continue to circulate amongst the women of the Howard families for many decades.

That said, even in the presence of proof of godparentage, how to be certain that we do not have a system where families have a child named for one woman, yet their long-term interest lay with others? I have yet to find a single family where all the children have names that link them exclusively to one person or group or reflect one particular friendship. Even in families that explored the wilder shores of Christian—and un-Christian—names, as was more common toward the end of the century, children were named by and for a variety of relatives, friends, and patrons, in what amounted to social spread betting. This was the case for Jane Fromonds Mrs Dee's family, whose eight children included Theodore Trebonianus Dee and Madimia Newton Dee. Even in Madimia Newton's case, although she was named for one of John Dee's angels, the family also sensibly honored one of their more reliable friends at court, the recently promoted lady of the bedchamber, Frances Newton Baroness Cobham.

Friends were thus not something Tudor women had to wait to acquire—they were gifted them by their families when responsible parents made sure their daughters had useful, resonant names. How then to shape their characters to best advantage and, more importantly, line them up for advancement at court and an advantageous match? The answer lay in outplacement, the system whereby girls were placed with a family of their parents' peers, or occasionally their superiors, from the age of about nine or ten until the end of their teens. It was common, played a formative role in the lives of those concerned, and was generally thought to be an excellent institution. As Princess Elizabeth wrote, "Saint Gregorie sayeth that we ar more bounde to the that bringeth us up wel than to our parents, forour parents do that wiche is natural for them, that is bringeth us into this worlde but our brinkers up ar a cause to make us live wel in it."¹⁰ It was also the time when upper-class girls had the opportunity to forge their

own friendships, albeit within the social circle of their “brinkers up,” and primarily with the other girls in the same situation, for it was usual for there to be two or three such outplaced girls in any given household. The example that has been most written about but least recognized is that of Henry VIII’s fifth wife, for the women who were to play a crucial role in Katherine Howard’s fall—Alice Wilkes, Joan Ackworth, Katherine Tilney, and Margaret Morton—had all been outplaced in the old duchess of Norfolk’s household at the same time. Katherine Howard was not unusual in being placed with a senior member of her extended family, in her case her step-grandmother, but rank trumped kinship, and friendship trumped both. Hence Penelope and Dorothy Devereux were sent to the household of a family friend, Katherine Dudley, countess of Huntingdon, where they joined their future sister-in-law Margaret Dakins,¹¹ and not to the Hunsdon household, which although it was the obvious family alternative was led by a baroness rather than a countess, and an absentee baroness at that, given that she was at court much of the time. Similarly the countess of Huntingdon’s niece Mary Sidney was not placed with her, but with the Sidneys’ family friend Mildred Cooke Lady Cecil.¹² Once outplaced in the company of other girls, nearness and shared self-interest might lead to friendship, much like the “two artificial gods” Helena and Hermia, “an union in partition,” but equally there might have been fertile ground for abiding hatred.¹³ It is certainly an area that we would better understand through a more detailed study. And what of the royal court, that aristocratic household writ large? It too had its role in the outplacement system, although it has not often been understood as being part of this wider social phenomenon. The court equivalent of outplaced girls was, of course, the maids of honor.

How to recruit to the coffer chamber, the maid of honors’ dormitory? The lacunae in the official records make a comprehensive list of all the maids of honor tricky. Queen Mary had a certain total of ten, Queen Elizabeth a certain total of fifty-four. Initially they were all recruited from the immediate circle of privy chamber families, and were often girls with whom the queens were already well acquainted or who had shared their recent tribulations. The shortness of Queen Mary’s reign meant that the sense of collective adversity now happily overcome transcended the age gap between her and her maids of honor. Matters were very different for Queen Elizabeth. The memories and friendships she had shared with her maids of honor at the start of her reign were by its close long gone, a circumstance that played its part in her increasing difficulties with the maids of honor in the 1590s.

Even the smallish circle of court families provided more suitable girls than the coffer chamber could ever accommodate. At this point, acquaintance helped, which was why even the very smallest girls were dragged to court at first opportunity, to show them off to best advantage. Newsletters from court were often full of the detail of the queens’ responses, even to the young. Paying one’s respects as the court rumbled past on progress was a good moment, as were the gift exchanges on New Year’s Day, or

the Accession Day celebrations in Elizabeth's reign, as was the case when Elizabeth Talbot, then aged nine, was taken to visit the queen in 1590:

Yf I shuld wryt howe muche her Majestie this daye dyd mayk of the lytle ladye yor doughter, with often kyssinge (whiche her Majestie seldom usethe to any) and then amendinge her dressinge with pynns, and styll carynge her with her Majestie in her own barge, & so into the privye lodgings, & so homward from the ronnyng, ye wold scars beleve me: Her Majestie sayd (as trewe it ys) that she is very lycke my Lady her grandmother: She behaved her self with suche modestye as I pray God she may posses at 20 years old.¹⁴

The crucial element here was the queens' personal affection for previous generations of the family—"she is very lycke my Lady her grandmother"—Elizabeth Hardwick countess of Shrewsbury, one of the queen's friends from the start of the reign. Birth and contacts went only so far in obtaining a place close to the queen; the deciding factor was the queen's liking.

Like their sisters in aristocratic households, all maids of honor left court on marriage, unless they were of sufficient rank to drift in and out as attendants, or a place in the privy chamber happened to fall vacant. It was now when they were in their twenties, as they fanned out across the country, that the age of letter-writing dawned. Friendship, like acquaintance, became something to be maintained by visits—it was not only the queens who went on progress—an endless circuit of dinner parties at their London houses, and correspondence:

i have resevyd your letter mi good ladi to me very wellcom as Frome her i love dearely and most desyr to see. i wolde you had as good caus to com to ley in thes partes as i colde wyshe and thene yow shulde be as grete a stranger in darbi shere as now you ar in London.¹⁵

This between two women who had served at court together at the start of Queen Elizabeth's reign and now, in 1565, found themselves at opposite ends of the country, the one heavily pregnant, the other sorting out her estates after her third husband's death. Letters such as this were supplemented by a stream of presents, large and small, often of food: game was the gift of choice between the aristocracy, live, dead, or, if the weather required it, parboiled "for the better preservation of him,"¹⁶ or carefully shipped as one of the vast pies that crisscrossed the country, the bane of any carrier's life; a more personal touch was achieved with food for which the sender was well-known.¹⁷ Women in court service were not excluded, although without access to a full kitchen of their own they tended to specialize in smaller items they could prepare themselves, such as confectionery.

Life continued in this vein, with friendships and clientships carefully tended and occasionally utilized, right up to the point of death, for it was one duty of the dying to make sure their associations and alliances were passed intact to the next generation. This concern lay behind many of the careful bequests in the women's wills throughout the period, particularly in the arrangements made for "the making of certeyn Ringes," or mourning

rings. In the case of Mary's women who died in service, the mourning rings were "to be bestowyd amongs my felowes" in the privy chamber, and although as evidence of intimate friendship they are somewhat undermined by the fact that all the women in the privy chamber were included, they instead provide a glimpse of the collective from within. Besides, sentiment is not wholly lacking, as in Mary Kempe Mrs Finch's bequest to her friend Frances Neville Lady Waldegrave of "my three ringes whiche hange at a bracelett wherof one is a wedding ryng of the late Ladye Dallawarr another is a ringe whiche the saide Ladye Dallawarr gave me at her death the thirde is a crampe ring."¹⁸ Jewelry passed from hand to hand, carrying with it a lineage of friendship. And not only that, for the cramp ring, blessed by the queen and considered the embodiment of her healing powers, carried the memory of royal friendship with a chosen few.

IV

In terms of political logistics, Mary and Elizabeth had more in common with each other than with their predecessors. If nothing else, they had to have chaperones, something a king had never needed. This brought a necessary but crucial change to the constitution of the court: it had long been customary for the staff of the privy chamber or its equivalent to be completely changed at the accession—it was the departments "below stairs" that generally went unaltered between reigns—but from 1553 the vast proportion of those recruited to the privy chamber were perforce women. Shared memories of adversity were at their most obvious at the start of both reigns, when the queens took their current women into their privy chambers and then cast about for the extra ten or so needed to make up numbers.

Mary brought in relatives of existing women but was otherwise fairly conservative and seems to have been wary of using her privy chamber to reward her more recent supporters from the succession crisis. This almost certainly reflects the impossibility of discreetly removing married women if they later turned out to be a poor choice of servant—unmarried women could be pushed out on their marriage, but married women, unlike the men in the council, for example, could not be promoted sideways and out, as there was nowhere for them to go. To remove them necessarily meant insulting them and their families, so it was better not to appoint them in the first place. Unsurprisingly, all the women who had distinguished themselves for their animosity toward her during Edward's reign, from the duchess of Somerset down, were omitted from the coronation and not welcome at court thereafter, although they were never wholly cut off. Anne Cooke Lady Bacon, for example, was a key point of entry for her particular circle, and her position in the privy chamber guaranteed that even the reformist members of her family, such as William Cecil, were not excluded completely. This was a lesson the next queen should have learned much faster.

Mary's life was made marginally easier by the fact that almost everyone she wanted at court and at her coronation was in England at her accession.

The start of Elizabeth's reign, however, saw a mad dash back from the Continent by the upper-class exiles, although even the most determined took two months to arrive, as they had still to put their affairs in order first. In the event, the duchess of Suffolk did not make it back from Poland in time, Dorothy Stafford Lady Stafford got stuck in Paris thanks to her legal battles with Calvin, and Katherine Carey Lady Knollys only just made it to the coronation of her "loving cousin, and redy frende," arriving in London the day before.

Mary's later recruitment is hard to track as her reign was short, at least relative to her successor's, and problematic in terms of the survival of correspondence. Looking at how Elizabeth's recruitment evolved—or rather failed, since she recruited steadily from the same circle of families and shires—gives an indication of how Mary's recruitment might have progressed. The divergence was in the surnames, not in the approach: in Mary's reign, Morton, ap Rhys, Shirlock, Jerningham, Strelley, and Kempe; in Elizabeth's, Huggins, Marbury, Abington, Harington, Howard, Howard, and, again, Howard. The difference lay elsewhere, not in the queens' friendships but in their kin. Mary, daughter of a foreign queen, was certainly well served by her father's steady eradication of their relatives on the Plantagenet side—the surprising element in the accession crisis of 1553 is not that there were rival claimants to the throne, but that there were so few of them—but she had no group of relatives on her mother's side on which to draw. Meanwhile Elizabeth, a child of the English aristocracy, had a vast pool of relatives, mostly in East Anglia, over and above her aristocratic Howard cousins and the Asteleys to whom she was already closely bound at the start of her reign. True Tudor that she was, Elizabeth thought this extended group a mixed blessing, and most were lucky to get a pension of sorts. As she herself remarked, "do'st thinke I am bound to keepe all my kindred? Why that's the way to make me a beggar."¹⁹ She only really favored the families of those relatives with whom she had been close in her childhood and teens. Friendships made in youth and in times of misfortune were those that mattered.

In both reigns, once the excitement of the coronations was over the only significant influx of women to court service was in the form of maids of honor, although had Mary survived into the sunlit uplands of the 1560s there would have been a considerable shift in her privy chamber as older married women, picked off by the influenza epidemic, would have been replaced by younger counterparts.²⁰ As it was, Elizabeth's privy chamber did not suffer from the same decimation, as most of her women came from a younger generation that did not fall victim to the epidemic to the same extent. Elizabeth, of course, had the huge advantage of being able to learn how to be a female monarch from Mary's example, especially from her mistakes—hence no marriage, no household reform, a tight rein on council numbers, the senior clergy kept away from court, and war avoided at all costs. Mary had only the general lessons to be learned as a Tudor monarch—trust your friends but do not marry them, watch out for

Plantagenets, and beware of accepting an heir if not one's own offspring. Elizabeth did *not* learn, however, from one of Mary's resounding successes: whatever her other policies, Mary ran a reassuringly inclusive court. Even the most belligerent Protestant peers found they had a relative on the inside, the Russell family being a good example, where the elder countess of Bedford held things together by being a welcome attendant at court. At the extreme, even prospective rebels might have relatives who were not only at court but also in the queen's favor, as was the case for Sir Thomas Wyatt, whose sister-in-law Mary Kempe Mrs Finch was a gentlewoman of the privy chamber and indeed had been in Mary's service off and on since the 1530s. All this inclusion evaporated once Elizabeth was queen, at least when it came to her aristocratic attendants. Most strikingly, the Northern earls were without insiders at court from the accession onward, a fact that left the aristocrats and the queen dangerously out of touch with one another. The importance of including or rather not explicitly excluding potential enemies eluded Elizabeth at first, and she never really learned the lesson fully. She made the mistake of recruiting friends, when she should have been recruiting allies.

V

The primary source material for Tudor court history is peppered with references, direct and indirect, to friends and friendship. At a distance of 400 years, we are left with the problem of how to pinpoint the difference between friendship and clientship. One solution is to look for indications of emotional intimacy, of which the prime example was co-sleeping between adults, a custom hallowed by the centuries and without sexual implications. Some of the queens' bedfellows down the years are known, such as Dorothy Bradbelt Mrs Abington, who was "oftentimes" Queen Elizabeth's bedfellow in the 1560s.²¹ All the women in question held posts in the privy chamber and their closeness to their queens is well documented, so under the circumstances it seems reasonable to say that they were the queens' friends. That women swore friendship with each other—shades of Helena and Hermia and their "sisters' vows"—is another tantalizing possibility, but one for which I have yet to find evidence. Oath-taking was not alien to this group; indeed one of the things that made them unique amongst English women was that they held an office into which they had to be sworn. Beyond that lies the intricate mesh of associations and alliances in which friends in need proved themselves friends indeed, but in each specific instance, from exerting influence on behalf of a man facing execution for treason or a woman in disgrace for a secret marriage, down to indicating what the queen might fancy as a new year's gift, it is not that easy to disentangle whether the reciprocity we are witnessing is that of true and equal friends or that of true and unequal patron and client—or indeed the prudent actions of a clear-sighted *politique*.

There was no distinctively female form of friendship. There were distinctly female environs in which it flourished—few upper-class men sat

with heads bowed over their embroidery hoops or spent interminable hours helping each other to dress and undress—but the nature of friendship, whether *amicus-amicus* or *patronus-cliens*, was the same whichever side of the gender divide one looks. Instead, although their friendships were typical of their age and their class, their impact was unusual; thanks to their access to the queens and the machinery of government, they became and remained a public concern.

At the same time it was the queens' memories, in the shape of friendship and trust, that determined how the court was constituted and functioned. Elizabeth had not exaggerated when she wrote to her cousin that "good memory hath greatest streame": that their friendship would not fade, that it would ultimately be amply rewarded, and that part of that reward would be the queen's continued friendship. Yet it is ironic that of all those present at Elizabeth's funeral on April 28, 1603, the only person to have played a similar role at the coronation forty-four years earlier was the friend whom Elizabeth had come to hate above all others: Lettice Knollys countess of Leicester, daughter of that much loved cousin. Much of an age with the queen, Lettice Knollys had served in the privy chamber at the very start of Elizabeth's reign until her first marriage to Walter Devereux, later earl of Essex, and thereafter alternated pregnancies with attendance at court. Despite thus conforming to the usual pattern, she was a very unusual woman precisely because she went on to spend her prime in a political wilderness, banished from the queen's sight for the heinous crime of marrying the earl of Leicester in 1578. The queen never forgot and never forgave, leaving Lettice Knollys as one of the very few members of the upper classes to whom one can point and say, here is a woman who was denied the opportunities of her sex and class; here is the exception that proves the rule. Whether Mary or Elizabeth, it was the queen's friendship that transformed each court woman's influence into power, enabling her to exploit all that birth, status, wealth, and connections had to offer. By the same token, it was the queen's enmity that overthrew it all.

Notes

1. BL Lansdowne MS 94, no. 10, fols. 21^{r-v}, endorsed by Burghley "1553. Copy of a lettre wrytten by the lady Elizabeths Grace to the lady Knolles V xxix." The adage she garbles was indeed very old, being the long-lived Early English saying "When bale is hext, then bote is next," or in modern English "When evil is highest, then remedy is next"; "bote" in this letter has frequently been mistranscribed as "boot" or even "boat."
2. In referring to women I will use their Christian name, maiden name, and current married name or title.
3. TNA SP12/254, no. 54, fols. 118^{r-v}, Elizabeth I to Frances Howard Countess of Hertford, November 5, 1595; Folger Library MS V.b.214 fol. 68, Elizabeth I to Margery Williams Lady Norris, September 22, 1597.
4. Alan Bray, *The Friend* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 11; Eva Österberg, *Friendship and Love, Ethics and Politics: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern History* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2010).

5. "Sed haec inter bonos amicitia, inter malos factio est" (*Bellum Iugurthinum* 31.15), Charles Anton, ed. *Sallust* (New York: Harper & Son, 1851), 22.
6. Huntingdon Library MS 30350 (Lucius Annæus Seneca, *L. Annæi Senecæ Cordubensis tragoediae* [London, 1585]). That the book remained in the family is clear from the fact that it was owned by their grandson Nathaniel Knyvet in the seventeenth century.
7. Proverbs 17:17.
8. St Augustine, *Confessiones* (Strasbourg, c. 1470); also printed as part of the complete works (Basel, 1508). The first English translation to be published came much later, in 1620.
9. The first was Jane Sibella Morrison (c. 1553 to 1615) Baronness Russell and later Baronness Grey of Wilton, who was a daughter of the humanist scholar Sir Richard Morrison and Bridget Hussey Lady Morrison (subsequently countess of Rutland and countess of Bedford).
10. BL Lansdowne MS 1236, no. 23, fol. 35. Princess Elizabeth to the Lord Protector, March 7 probably 1548/9.
11. Malden, *Richard Broughton's Devereux Papers*, September 18, 1576; BL Lansdowne MS 162, fols. 132^r–133^v.
12. HMC *Salisbury*, I: 439. Sir Henry Sidney to Lady Mildred Cecil, 26 October 1569.
13. William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), III.ii. 204, 210.
14. Talbot papers H fol. 473, quoted in Edmund Lodge, *Illustrations of British History* (London, 1791), III, 12–13. Richard Brakenbury to Lord Talbot, November 20, 1590. "Ronnyng" was tilting.
15. Folger Library MS X.d.428 (16), Frances Newton Baronness Cobham to Elizabeth Hardwick Lady St Loe, Cobham Hall, October 21 n.a. but 1565.
16. *Correspondence of Matthew Parker*, ed. John Bruce and Thomas Perowne (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1853), 190.
17. *LP* XII, ii: 325, "I think the ladies liked the partridge pie, though its fashion was marred by the ship which brought it lying almost a tide under water in the Thames"; HMC *Salisbury*, II: 227, presents of food to Burghley's household in November and December 1578. The long list includes "2 cheeses" from Elizabeth Seymour Lady Knightley; Grace Sherrington Lady Mildmay, for example, was known as "one of the most excellent Confectioners in England": John Nichols, *The Progresses of James I in Four volumes* (London: J. B. Nichols, 1828), I, 97.
18. TNA PROB11/28, fol. 198^v, Frances Aylmer, probate March 21, 1540/1; TNA PROB11/40, fols. 23^v–6, Mary Kempe Mrs Finch, probate June 19, 1557. Eleanor Copley Baroness Delaware had died in the summer of 1536.
19. William John Thomas (ed.), *Anecdotes and Traditions* (London: Camden Society, 1839), 16.
20. I estimate that between ten and twenty percent of all older female aristocrats and gentry died between 1557 and 1559, where one might have expected to see something like 3 percent under normal circumstances.
21. *CSP Rome*, I: 105, Newsletter, September 26, 1562. Amongst the better known earlier examples are Katherine Howard and Jane Parker Viscountess Rochford (*The Zurich Letters*, ed. Hastings Robinson (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1846), I: 226); the English merchant Richard Hilles to Henry Bullinger (Strasbourg, May 10, 1542); and Katherine Parr and Mary Odell (*A Collection of State Papers*, ed. Samuel Haynes (London, 1740), 62, Katherine Parr to the Lord Admiral).



APPENDIX A

List of Publications Relating to the Marriage of Mary and Philip

1. G. A. Albicante (1555) *Il sacro et divino Sponsalio del gran Philipppo d'Austria et della sacra Maria Regina d'Inghilterra* [...] (Milan: F. and S. Moscheni).
2. G. P. Car. ([1554]) *La partita del Serenissimo Principe con l'armata di Spagna, & l'arrivata sua in Inghilterra, & l'ordine tenuto dalla Regina in ricevere Sua Altezza. Et del lietissimo sponsalio, e matrimonio loro, con il nome de i Signori, e Cavalieri Spagnuoli, Inglesi, & altri che ivi si son trovati presenti, & delle livree, feste, & altre cose che si son fatte alle nozzi* [...] ([Rome]: V. and A. Dorico).
3. J. Christopherson (1554): *An exhortation to all menne to take hede and beware of rebellion* (London: J. Cawood) (STC 5207).
4. ([1554]) *Copia d'una lettera scritta all'illustriss. S. Francesco Taverna Crancanz. etc. da uno gentil'huomo della Corte del Sereniss. Re di Spagna, da Vincestre alli .xxv. di Giulio del felicissimo viaggio in Inghilterra, & delli Sponsaliti fatti con quella Serenissima Regina.* [...] (Milan: F. and S. Moscheni).
5. ([1554]) *Een nieuu tiidinghe, hoe dat die Prince van Spaenghien triumperlick aengecomen is in Engbelande, mistgaders die bruyloft te Winchestre ghebouden* (unknown) (STC 19835).
6. J. Elder (1555) *The Copie of a letter sent in to Scotlande, of the arivall and landyng, and most noble marryage of the moste illustre Prynce Philippe, Prynce of Spain, to the most excellente Princes Marye Quene of England,* [...] (London: J. Wayland) (STC 7552).
7. [P. Enriquez] (1554) "Traslado de una carta embiada de Inglaterra a esta ciudad d' Seuilla, en que se da relacion de l successo del viaje del principe don Philippe nuestro señor [...]" ([Sevilla]: A. de Burgos), in P. de Gayangos (ed.) (1877) *Viaje de Felipe Segundo á Inglaterra, por Andrés Muñoz (impreso en Zaragoza en 1554), y relaciones varias relativas al mismo suceso* (Madrid: Aribau), 85–101, translated in CSPA, XIII (1554–58), pp. 7–13.
8. L. Gorecki (1554) *Oratio Leonbardi Goretii Equitis Poloni de matrimonio serenissimi ac potentissimi, serenissimae potentissim[ae] Dei gratia Regis ac Reginae Angliae, Hispaniae &c. Ad populum principesq[ue] Angliae* (London: W. Powell) (STC 12090).
9. J. Heywood (1554) *A balade specifieng partly the maner, partly the matter, in the most excellent meetyng and lyke marriage betwene our soueraigne Lord, and our soueraigne Lady, the Kynges and Queenes highnes* [...] (London: W. Riddell) (STC 13290.3).
10. (1554) *Il trionfo delle superbe Nozze fatte nel Sposalito del Principe de il Spagna & la Regina d'Inghilterra, con numero delli Principi, Signori, & Ambasciatori che si trovorno alle presente Nozze, con il numero delle Velle dell'Armata che venne con il Principe* (unknown).

11. H. Junius (1554) *Philippeis, seu, In nuptias divi Philippi, ang. pii, max. & heroinae Mariae ang. felicitis, invictae, Regum Angliae [etc.] Carmen Heroicum, [...]* (London: T. Berthelet) (STC 14861).
12. (1554) *Kurtze anzeigung: Welcher massen der Durchleuchtigst und Hochgeborne F[ür]st und Herr, Herr Philips / der R[ö]mischen Keyserlichen Maestät / unsers allergnedigsten Herrn son / und die Durchleuchtige Hochgeborne F[ür]stin vnd Fräwe / Fräwe Maria / geborne K[ö]nigin in Engellandt / am tag Jacobi des heiligen Apostels / dises 1554 Jars / einander entpfangen haben. [...]* (Nuremberg: J. Kreydlein).
13. (1554) *La solenne et felice intrata delli Serenissimi Re Philippo, et Regina Maria d'Inghilterra, nella Regal città di Londra alli xviii. d'Agosto M. D. LIIII. Con la descrizione degli archi, & statue, & altre dimostrazioni della publica letitia di quel Regno* ([Rome]: unknown).
14. (1554) *La vera Capitulatione, e Articoli passati, e conclusi infra il Serenissimo Philippo Principe d'Ispagnia, e la Serenissima Regina Maria d'Inghilterra con il consenso de Principi Baroni e Popoli del detto Regno congregati insieme nella inclita Citta di Londra il mese di Maggio prossimo passato, principalmente per la deliberatione e resolutione di detti Capitoli pertinenti al Matrimonio Contratto infra gli detti Serenissimi Principe, e Regina Maria* ([Rome]: unknown).
15. N. Mameranus (1555) *Gratulatorium in sereniss. potentissimique principis ac Domini, Dn. Philippi, Regis Angliae, Franciae, Hierusalem, citerioris Sicili[ae], Hyberniae, &c. Defensoris fidei [...]* 19. *Iulii, an. 1554. in Angliam adventum. Et Epithalamium nuptiarum eiusdem cum Maria Sereniss. Regina Angliae. [...]* (Cologne: I. Soter).
16. A. Muñoz (1554) “Sumario y verdadera relacion del buen viaje que el invictissimo Príncipe de las Españas don Felipe hizo á Inglaterra, y recebimiento en Vincestre donde caso y salio para Londres. en el cual se contiene grandes y marauillosas cosas que en este tiempo passaron [...] ([Zaragoza]: E. Nagera),” in Pascual de Gayangos (ed.) (1877), *Viaje de Felipe Segundo á Inglaterra, por Andrés Muñoz (impreso en Zaragoza en 1554), y relaciones varias relativas al mismo suceso* (Madrid: Aribau), 1–84.
17. (1554) *Narratione assai piu particolare della prima, del viaggio, et dell'entrata del Serenissimo Prencipe di Spagna, al presente Re d'Inghilterra, fatta in quel Regno, con l'ordine di tutte le cerimonie, & titoli, seguite nel felicissimo Matrimonio di sua Maestà, con la Serenissima Regina, il giorno di S. Iacomo, alli XXV. di Luglio. M D LIIII.* ([Rome]: unknown).
18. (1554) *Neue Zeytung. Was sich jetzt verschidenen tagen / Mit des Printzen ankunfft inn Engellandt [...]* z[u]getragen hat (Augsburg: H. Zimmermann).
19. (1554) *Oratio pia, & erudita pro statu illustrissimorum Principum Philippi [et] Mariae, Regis [et] Reginae Angliae Franciae etc. ut deos eos in multos annos conservet, [et] illustrissimam Reginam faciat pulchra prole letam matrem* (London: J. Cawood) (STC 19836).
20. (1554) *Seker nieuwe tijdinge hoe dat de Prince van Spaengien triumphelick aengecome[n] is in Engbelandt / midtsgaders de bruyloft te Winchestre ghebouden* (Antwerp: Jan II van Ghelen).



APPENDIX B

Mary I's Privy Councilors on November 17, 1558

This is based on Dale Hoak's list in his essay, "Two Revolutions." The numbers in the left-hand column are taken from that list.

2. (Sir) Henry Jerningham (1572)	Master of the Horse
3. (Sir) Edward Waldegrave (1561)	Keeper of the Gt Wardrobe
4. (Sir) John Bourne (1575)	Chancellor of duchy of Lancaster
5. Sir Thomas Wharton (1572)	<u>Principal Secretary of State</u>
8. (Sir) Robert Peckham (1569)	Master of Henchmen
10. John Bouchier, earl of Bath (1561)	
12. Sir Henry Bedingfield (1583)	Vice-Chamberlain & Captain of Guard
14. Sir Richard Southwell (1564)	Master of the Ordnance
15. Sir John Mordaunt (1571)	
18. (Sir) Clement Heigham (1571)	Chief Baron of the Exchequer
19. Sir Thomas Cornwallis (1604)	Comptroller of the Household
22. <i>Henry Fitzalan, earl of Arundel</i> (1580)	Lord Steward (until 11/64)
23. William Lord Paget (1563)	Lord Privy Seal
24. Richard Lord Rich (1567)	
25. Sir Francis Englefield (1596)	Master of the Court of Wards
26. Sir Edward Hastings (1572) (Lord Hastings of Loughborough)	Lord Chamberlain
27. Sir Edmund Peckham (1564)	Treasurer of the Mints
29. <i>Sir William Petre</i> (1572)	<u>Principal Secretary of State</u>
30. <i>Sir John Mason</i> (1566)	Treasurer of Chamber
32. Sir John Baker (1558)	Chancellor of the Exchequer
34. <i>Sir Thomas Cheyne</i> (1558)	Treasurer of Household, Ld
36. <i>Francis Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury</i> (1560)	Warden of Cinque Ports
38. <i>William Herbert, earl of Pembroke</i> (1570)	President of the Council of the North
39. <i>William Paulet, marquess of Winchester</i> (1572)	<u>President of Council in Marches</u>
40. Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of Durham (1559)	Lord Treasurer

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| 41. <i>Edward Stanley, earl of Derby</i> (1572) | |
| 43. [Nicholas Heath, archbishop of York (1578)] | Lord Chancellor |
| 44. Thomas Thirlby, bishop of Ely (1570) | |
| 45. <i>William Lord Howard</i> (1573) | <u>Lord Admiral</u> |
| 46. Dr John Boxall (1571) | Principal Secretary of State |
| 47. Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague (1592) | |
| 48. <i>Edward, Lord Clinton</i> (1585) | Lord Admiral |
| 49. <i>Dr Nicholas Wotton</i> (1567) | |
| 50. (Sir) William Cordell (1581) | Master of the Rolls |

Notes: Names in roman are those of councilors not reappointed or “dropped” by Elizabeth. Heath (43) ceased to be a councilor by the end of 1558. *Italicized* names are those of councilors reappointed by Elizabeth. Offices are those held on November 17, 1558 or the most important one recently held (underlined). Councilors retained by Elizabeth kept the specified offices until their deaths unless otherwise indicated. Years of councilors’ deaths are shown after their names. Two more of the 1553 councilors were still alive on November 17, 1558. Thomas Lord Wentworth (21), prisoner in France, was indicted on July 2, 1558 for conspiracy to deliver Calais to the French; Sir Anthony St Leger (35), Lord Deputy of Ireland until April 1556, never sat during the last two years of Mary’s reign.



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