

The Vilification of Mary Tudor:
Religion, Politics, and Propaganda in Sixteenth-Century England

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ii
ABSTRACT	iv
LIST OF FIGURES	v
I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
Historical Background	10
II. THE HEALER AND THE HANDMAIDEN: MARY'S CATHOLIC PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN 1553-155.....	198
III. THE HABSBURG MARRIAGE AND ENGLISH REACTION: THE MARIAN PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN FOR HABSBURG AND ENGLISH RECONCILIATION.....	56
Habsburg Marriage and Marian Policy.....	56
Marian Propaganda Campaign for the Habsburg Marriage.....	68
The Collapse of the Marian Propaganda Campaign.....	78
IV. THE TRUMPETS AGAINST THE MONSTROUS REGIMENT OF "BLOODY MARY": PROTESTANT REACTIONS TO THE REIGN OF MARY 1553-1570.....	89
The Creation of the "Cruel Tyrant" and the beginning foundations of the idea of "Bloody Mary".....	106
V. Conclusion.....	136
BIBLIOGRAPHY	146

ABSTRACT

Mary Tudor, the first reigning queen of England, has been one of the most despised rulers in English history. She was the Catholic queen whose policy of burning Protestant heretics earned her the regrettable moniker, “Bloody Mary.” The purpose of my thesis is to examine the reign of Mary I and the years preceding it to understand the origins of the “Bloody Mary” image that has dominated English historical tradition over the past four centuries.

In the early stages of her reign, Mary and her advisors created a propaganda campaign by distributing images of her as a benevolent Catholic queen and loving Habsburg wife in order to garner popular support and ease fears over the Catholic religious policies she set into motion. I will argue that it was these images, created by the Marian government, that were used and manipulated by Mary’s Protestant adversaries to delegitimize her authority and villainize her reign in the eyes of her English subjects. This negative Protestant propaganda campaign in conjunction with Mary’s unpopular religious policies, thus set into motion the creation of the “Bloody Mary” image that began to spread through seventeenth-century Protestant England and into the twenty-first century.

LIST OF FIGURES

1	“Certain prayers to be used by the quenes heignes in the consecration of the crampe rynges”	54
2	“Mary Tudor curing the king’s evil”	54
3	Richard Beearde’s “A Godly Psalme of Marye Queene which brought us comfort al, through God, whom wee of dewtye prayse.”	55
4	John Heywood’s “A Spider and the Flie”	55
5	Easter Plea Rolls 4 & 5 Philip & Mary Easter	87
6a	Great Seal of Philip and Mary	87
6b	A detailed drawing of the Great Seal	87
7	Coins of Mary I and Philip	88
8	Hans Eworth. Portrait of King Felipe II. Of Spain	88
9	“About the Origin of Monks. About the Origin of the Antichrist	133
10	“Behold here a brief abstract of all genealogie of all the Kynges of England	133
11	John Foxe. “A Lamentable Spectacle of three women, with a sely infant brasting out of the Mothers wombe, being first taken out of the fire, and cast in agayne, and so all burned together in the Isle of Guernsey”	134

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

According to English cultural and historical tradition, Mary I is perceived to be a villainous queen whose torture and persecution of English Protestants earned her the regrettable nickname “Bloody Mary.” From the time of her reign (1553-1558), Mary’s supporters and opponents characterized her between the extremes of the biblical heroine Deborah, who redeemed the country from religious destruction, and the villain Jezebel, who persecuted God’s faithful subjects. Until very recently, the prevailing image of Mary Tudor was as a cruel, tyrannical, and hysterical woman whose premature death saved England from Catholic and Spanish oppression. Over the centuries, the mutation of Mary’s character and reputation became a tool in the hands of Protestant historians who portrayed her as the antithesis of the Virgin Queen, Elizabeth I, and the subsequent rise of England’s glory as a world power in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

This traditional image of Mary Tudor even infiltrates popular culture today. Film director Shekhar Kapur’s interpretation in his movie, *Elizabeth* (1998) portrays Mary as an embittered and hysterical woman whose zeal for persecuting Protestants is depicted in the gruesome scenes of three individuals burning at the stake. This image was further perpetuated in 2010 when the popular tourist attraction, the London Dungeon, included the vile Queen Mary I among England’s most infamous and bloody scoundrels, such as Jack the Ripper, Sweeney Todd, and Guy Fawkes. In this exhibit, patrons were visually transported back to 1556 London to witness “Bloody Mary” fantastically condemning Protestants to death as well as to experience the sights, screams and stench of a fiery

execution of helpless “heretics” burning alive. These haunting portrayals of Mary Tudor that dominate popular culture are the result of four centuries of anti-Catholic prejudice.

In my thesis, I aim to examine how political propaganda during the 1550s and 1560s deleteriously contributed to the vilification of Mary I. While the moniker “Bloody Mary” was not coined until the latter seventeenth century,¹ I argue that the origins of the degradation of Mary’s reputation was a result of the chaotic and divisive religious situation in England from the beginning of her reign, and her inability to transcend these divisions to unify her people under one religion and one English queen. I will argue that this failure was further exacerbated by her decision to marry Philip II of Spain, her alignment with the Roman Catholic Church, and later with Elizabeth I’s institutionalization of Protestantism in England.

Rather than attempting to restore Mary Tudor’s reputation and reign, I will reevaluate the ways in which she came to be understood as a cruel and tyrannical queen and how this image has dominated English history and popular culture over the past four centuries. I will specifically evaluate Mary’s reign from 1553 to 1558 and the decade following her death to trace the evolution of her image from a Catholic savior to a cruel despot. I will argue that Mary and her advisors diligently worked to bind her rule and royal representation with images of Catholicism and the Spanish Habsburgs in order to garner her subjects’ support for potentially distressing religious and diplomatic policies. While Mary was queen, her two primary objectives were to resurrect the Catholic faith

¹ Thomas S. Freeman, “Inventing Bloody Mary: Perceptions of Mary Tudor from the Restoration to the Twentieth Century,” In *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives*, edited by Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 78.

and practice in England and to provide her kingdom with an heir to continue the Tudor dynasty. In order to justify and legitimize these policies, Mary and her government utilized Catholic and Habsburg imagery through the use of portraits, political tracts, sermons, court rituals, literature, and woodcuts. However, as this thesis will show, when Mary's religious policies proved unpopular with the English populace, her Protestant and political adversaries used these same images to vilify her and justify their anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish agendas. Lastly, this work is important because it will demonstrate how the failure of Mary's religious policies and the demise of her image and reign was symptomatic of the successes of the Protestant Reformation taking place in sixteenth-century England.

Many historians in the Whiggish scholarly tradition celebrated the success of Protestantism institutionalized under Mary's successor, Elizabeth I, as a victory for intellectual and constitutional progress in England. Through the historical interpretation of the black legend of "Bloody Mary" and the defeat of the Spanish Armada by Elizabeth in 1588, the period of the English Reformation became a part of the "prehistory of England's imperial greatness," an idea that dominated the historiography until the Second World War.² The traditional-Whig historiography maintains that England became a Protestant country during the reigns of Henry VIII (1509-1547) and Edward VI (1547-1553). Furthermore, the English Reformation was a product of the people because they were weary of the superstitious and harsh abuses inflicted on them by the Roman Catholic Church and therefore eagerly desired the Protestant reforms. Because Mary was

² David Loades, *Revolution in Religion: The English Reformation 1530-1570*.(Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1992), 1.

a Catholic queen, these historians have evaluated her reign using a Protestant lens and judged her to be an ineffectual, severe, and over-zealous ruler based on her policies of religious persecution and attempted extermination of Protestantism. This interpretation of Mary Tudor was primarily the product of the Protestant martyrologist John Foxe and his work, *Actes and Monuments* (1563), which documented Protestant men and women martyred during Mary's attempt to eradicate Protestantism in England.³ This work is one of the most prominent contemporary sources in the historiography as it became a major source for traditional-Whig historians to find evidence during Mary's dysfunctional reign.

In 1856, historian J.A. Froude claimed that Mary's reign witnessed the death throes of Catholic England as Catholics were allowed to treat Protestants cruelly and educate the English laity with Popish superstition.⁴ At the turn of the twentieth century, A. F. Pollard continued to sustain Foxe's and Froude's interpretation of Mary's rule when he wrote, "Sterility was the conclusive note of her reign," emphasizing that her authority and policies did nothing to further the progress of England, similar to her inability to have children.⁵

This negative view of "Bloody Mary" by the historical community began to be questioned by revisionist historians in the 1980s. For the past three decades, they have reevaluated the traditional-Whig interpretation of the English Reformation and have attempted to uncover a more nuanced understanding of Mary Tudor and her reign.

³ John Foxe. *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online or TAMO* (1563 edition) (HRI Online Publications, Sheffield, 2011). Available from: <http://www.johnfoxe.org> [Accessed: 10.25.12].

⁴ J. A. Froude, *The Reign of Queen Mary* (London: 1856), 320.

⁵ A. F. Pollard, *History of England from the accession of Edward VI to the death of Elizabeth I.* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1915), 97.

Revisionist historians have argued that by the time of Mary's reign, England remained a predominately Catholic country and maintained its faith despite the Protestant reforms that had taken place. Furthermore, historians such as Eamon Duffy, Judith Richards, and Jennifer Loach have maintained that the English people eagerly anticipated Mary as their queen because she was a devout Catholic and argued that she was a successful ruler who set many precedents for future female regnant monarchs, such as her sister, Elizabeth I.⁶ Revisionists further negate previous historical assertions that Mary was a hysterical, vengeful, and foolishly doe-eyed woman who was so smitten that she was willing to hand over the keys of her kingdom to her aloof and promiscuous husband, Philip II of Spain. Instead, they claim that Mary was sound of mind and was conscientious of creating religious and dynastic policies that would be in the best interest of the country.

While the traditional-Whig historians advocated for a Protestant England and the revisionist historians for a Catholic England, post-revisionist historians emerged within the last twenty years fusing these polarities. These historians, such as David Loades, Susan Brigden, and Ethan Shagan, argue that the people of England found themselves caught up in a Reformation, "initially not of their making," but that they fully participated in its completion.⁷ They assert that England was not predominately one religion but rather that the English people adjusted, adapted to, and profited from the major religious reforms that took place. Post-revisionist historians are varied in their opinions regarding

⁶ Eamon Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England Under Mary Tudor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); Jennifer Loach, *Parliament and the Crown in the Reign of Mary Tudor* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986); and Judith M. Richards, *Mary Tudor* (London: Routledge, 2008).

⁷ Brigden, 12.

how effective Mary I may or may not have been but have generally agreed that she maintained the incorrect belief that the majority of her subjects were loyal Catholics seduced by the evil teachings of Protestantism and would easily give sway to her counter-reformational agenda.⁸ Historians have rightly asserted that England during the period of the English Reformation was a time of chaos, uncertainty, and religious confusion. I will similarly argue that England was not a predominately Catholic country, nor was it fully Protestant. When Mary ascended the throne in 1553, she came to rule a people who had undergone mass transformation in their religious and civil institutions over a forty-year period which resulted in a complex system of diverging beliefs and divided religious loyalties.

At the same time that Mary's government disseminated and attempted to monopolize images of the queen as a pious Catholic and devoted Habsburg wife, the queen and her advisors--both domestic and foreign--were divided regarding many key policies. As a result, the government failed to present a united front on key domestic issues and was unable to maintain control of the Marian images infiltrating English popular culture. Because the English government could not establish a monopoly on the queen's images or reputation, contradictory representations of Mary as a Catholic savior and a cruel Jezebel infiltrated the public sphere.⁹ I will argue that divisions within Mary's government over controversial domestic and religious policies resulted in a juxtaposition between the official government image of Mary as a pious Catholic and Habsburg queen,

⁸ David Loades, *Mary Tudor*, 25.

⁹ Peter Lake and Steven Pincus, "Introduction." In *The Politics of the public sphere in early modern England*. Edited by Peter Lake and Steven Pincus (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 2-7.

and her Protestant opponents' vilifying personification of a tyrannical ruler. The latter image of Mary became the norm, propagated by a rigorous Protestant propaganda campaign that emerged in the decade following Mary's death.

My analysis of the transformation of Mary's image during the 1550s and 1560s will be separated into three separate chapters. The first chapter will examine Mary and her government's propaganda campaign which produced images of the queen as a pious Catholic savior and liberator of her people from the tyranny of the Duke of Northumberland and Protestantism. I argue that Mary used this propaganda in order to gain popular support for her decision to reestablish Catholicism and realign England with Papal authority. The second chapter analyzes how Mary and her government used similar propaganda to promote her marriage to Philip II of Spain as a means to make the marital alliance with the Habsburgs seem unthreatening and welcoming to her xenophobic people. Moreover, I will argue that Mary's images as a good Catholic Queen--coupled with those of a devout Habsburg wife--were met with unforeseen responses from the English populace. Mary's pursuit of realignment with Rome, along with her marriage to the Habsburg heir, transformed her genuine desire for a Catholic England into a perceived vehicle for Papal dominance and foreign, namely Spanish, social and political oppression. This chapter will further illustrate that the English political and religious culture during Mary's reign was not in the state of Catholic cohesion that the revisionist historians have asserted. Rather, I will show that Mary was unable to successfully reestablish her counter-reformation aims because the confessional nature of her subjects was complex, diverse, and muddled.

The final chapter will show how Mary's Protestant opponents took advantage of the Queen's unpopular policies and manipulated images of a Catholic queen and Habsburg wife into cautionary examples of the dangers of having a foreign, Catholic queen on the throne. This chapter will examine Protestant propaganda that existed during Mary's reign through the outbreak of the Northern Rebellion in 1569 during Elizabeth I's rule. Furthermore, I will examine how some of Mary's Protestant opponents used the nature of her sex as a vehicle to criticize her reign and person. Through this analysis, I will argue that these Protestant individuals made wider cultural criticisms of women during this period, which saw the rise of female monarchical power across Europe. My goal is to understand why the combination of unpopular Marian policies alongside Protestant propaganda contributed to the transformation of the beloved Queen Mary of 1553 into the villainous "Bloody Mary" that has haunted English history for centuries.

Over the course of this work, images and iconography will play a key role in the analysis of both Marian and Protestant propaganda. A number of historians during the last few decades have examined Tudor monarchs' images and iconography. While the majority of these historians tend to focus on Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, many of their overall arguments can be applied to the reign of Mary I. John King claims that the glorification of the Tudor monarchs as "godly" rulers in their royal portraits and artwork was a key component of Tudor propaganda campaigns for their legitimization.¹⁰ His study examines the dominant motifs used within Tudor iconography as pious monarchs and the ways in which they operated and brought these particular forms into popular

¹⁰ John King, *Tudor Royal Iconography: literature and art in an age of religious crisis* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 3.

culture. King explains that Mary I found religious iconography to be a useful tool in legitimizing her reign. Furthermore, her determination to restore the Catholic Church in England made a profound impact on her iconography during her reign as she resurrected previously discarded forms of popular devotion such as the celebration of the Mass and devotion to the saints and this was used in imagery.

Historian Sydney Anglo has also contributed to the study of Tudor propaganda policies. Rather than primarily focus on the iconography of the Tudor monarchs, Anglo argues that the Tudors are still the best known and most readily recognized English royal house because of the vigorous means they pursued of exploiting rituals, symbols, and dynastic hieroglyphs in order to “make themselves, their dynasty and their possessions instantly recognizable.” The imagery of Tudor kingship, Anglo explains, was a result of a series of ad hoc expedients and successful exploitation of several traditions that could be associated with monarchical power. In other words, the Tudor monarchs utilized various ancient traditions or rituals, both religious and secular, whenever they served a political purpose. Anglo suggests that during the sixteenth century the English people responded to easily recognizable heraldic badges, memorable slogans, and simple messages and were an effective means for the Tudor monarchs to legitimize their authority.¹¹

Historian Kevin Sharpe’s monumental work, *The Selling of the Tudor Monarchy*, is similar to Anglo’s in that he recognizes that the Tudor monarchs utilized such tools as the printing press, visual representations, and public spectacles to secure their authority and the support of the people. Sharpe also claims that the Reformation played a pivotal

¹¹ Sydney Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship* (London: Seaby, 1992), 5- 130.

role in the political and social transitions taking place in England, which forced the Tudor monarchs to reinvent how they presented their authority in order to gain popular support. In Sharpe's analysis of Mary I's reign, he recognizes that Mary had neither the ability nor the intuition of her father to create images and symbols in terms that the English people would identify with and accept.¹² However, I will show that the opposite was true. Mary was quite successful at creating images of her reign with Catholic and Habsburg symbols and imagery to the extent that for the past four centuries English popular cultural and historical tradition has remembered this queen as a fanatical Catholic monarch whose marriage to a Habsburg prince almost lost England's autonomy. Mary's failure, however, lay with her inability to control and maintain this image nor stop the dissemination of Protestant propaganda that spread across the kingdom.

Historical Background

In the decades prior to Mary's accession to the English throne, there was immense religious division and uncertainty. In 1529, the Catholic religious fabric of English life was torn apart by Mary's father, Henry VIII, when he broke from the Roman Catholic Church and removed the Pope's authority from England in order to divorce his wife and Mary's mother, Katherine of Aragon, and marry his mistress, Anne Boleyn. In order to accomplish this task, Henry used Parliament as a vehicle to proclaim himself as the "Supreme Head of the Church of England," and his kingly grasp extended from the political realm into the spiritual. As a result, Henry inherited the equivalent religious authority in England as the Pope in Rome. Another consequence of this religious schism

¹²Kevin Sharpe, *Selling of the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 315.

was the bastardization of Princess Mary and the invalidation of her claim to the throne. The newly established Church of England underwent extensive alterations by the government by eliminating many Catholic practices such as the sacraments, altars, religious festivals, pilgrimages, and saints.¹³

There has been a wide historiographical debate among historians about the origins, popularity, and effects of the English Reformation. The traditional-Whig historiographical interpretation has maintained that Catholicism in England was decaying prior to the Reformation and the people by and large wanted religious reform.¹⁴ The Revisionist movement, initiated by historians such as Eamon Duffy, instead stresses how Catholicism remained engrained in the lives and faith of the English people prior to the Reformation and how its continued significance delayed the acceptance and conformity to the English Reformation.¹⁵ Duffy maintains that the Reformation was not popular and that it was instituted and established by Parliament and the King through the bullying, coercion, and manipulation.

During the past two decades, post-revisionist historians have examined the English Reformation between these two extremes. For example, Susan Brigden and Ethan Shagan argue that the English Reformation was brought about by both the English government and the people. Their works emphasize that the English Reformation would not have been successful without “popular politics” or as Shagan explains, the spread and

¹³ John Guy, *Tudor England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 150-160.

¹⁴ A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (London, 1964).

¹⁵ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

acceptance of the reforms by the English people.¹⁶ While Brigden primarily analyzes the Reformation within the context of London, she does note that it was a slow process and resulted in a mixture of diverging beliefs. Furthermore, Shagan argues that the English government shared a symbiotic relationship with the English people because it was too weak to enforce policies that would be considered unpopular among the masses. Within the context of the English Reformation, the reign and policies of Mary I played an important role because it was a period in which she worked zealously and diligently to re-establish Catholicism in England and attempted to eliminate all threads of Protestantism established under her father and brother.

During the periods of Protestant renovation under Henry VIII and Edward VI, Mary remained a staunch Catholic and stubbornly refused to acquiesce to any religious changes. This was especially the case after her father's death in 1547 as English religious culture and traditions underwent further transformations through the Protestant aspirations of her brother and his advisors. Edward VI's second Lord President of his council, John Dudley, the Duke of Northumberland, pursued unpopular religious, domestic, and foreign policies such as overthrowing the former Lord Protector, the Duke of Somerset, with trumped up charges as well as entering into a dishonorable alliance with France. During his three years of power (1550-1553), Northumberland pursued more drastic and radical Protestant policies through the confiscation of additional Church property, the passing of the *Second Book of Common Prayer*, and greater waves of violent religious iconoclasm. He was viewed by the English populace as ruthless, corrupt,

¹⁶ Susan Brigden, *London and the Reformation*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 5; and Ethan H. Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 7.

and lacking in personal religious conviction which made the imposed Protestant reforms all the more radical, resented, and regarded as Northumberland's personal political tools to access power and wealth.¹⁷

In February 1553, Edward fell violently ill and when it became apparent that he would not survive, the issue of his heir created a panic among his council. In the year prior to Henry VIII's death, he returned Mary to the line of succession after Edward VI in the Act of Succession 1544 passed by Parliament in July 1543. Based on this Act, Mary was the rightful heir to the throne. The dying King, Northumberland, and his councilors were adamantly against Mary's becoming queen for fear that her Catholic devotion would ruin the Protestant reforms that they had worked to establish. One month prior to Edward's death, the Habsburg ambassador, Jehan Scheyfve, wrote to Charles V that the King had issued a proclamation declaring that Mary "was not a proper person to succeed, . . . and it may be asserted that her accession would mean a violent change in policy and the total ruin of the kingdom, because of her religion, which would immediately reintroduce, establishing popery once more with harsh and terrible measures."¹⁸ The Edwardian Council understood that Mary would reestablish

¹⁷ Barrett L. Beer, "Northumberland: the myth of the wicked duke and the historical John Dudley." *Albion*, 11 (1979): 1-14 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4048314>. (Accessed: 19/07/2013), 1; After the use of the Second Book of Common Prayer became law in 1552, Northumberland was particularly aggressive in trying to yield Mary to the Edwardian reforms and put an end to her license to hear mass in a private chapel. However, Mary remained adamant that she would not relinquish her Catholic devotion and was protected from her brother's government by her alliance with her cousin, Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor. For many Englishmen, Mary was seen as a pillar of resistance and devoutness to the Roman Catholic faith and loyal to the authority of the Pope, despite the adversity and pressures placed upon her by her father and her brother.

¹⁸ Ambassador correspondence from Jehan Scheyfve to Charles V (June 11, 1553). From: 'Spain: June 1553, 1-15', *Calendar State Papers, Spain, Volume 11: 1553 (1916)*, pp. 48-56. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=88481> Date accessed: 23 April 2013.

Catholicism in England and therefore they hastily found Protestant heirs who would remove the Marian Catholic threat.

Edward and Mary's cousin, Jane Grey, was a great-granddaughter of Henry VII and was raised as a devout Protestant by her parents Henry Grey, the Duke of Suffolk, and Frances Brandon, the daughter of Henry VIII's sister, Mary. Because of her youth, devotion to Protestantism, and royal heritage, Edward and his Council delegitimized Mary's claim to the throne and named Jane as the heir in the "Device of Succession" published on June 21, 1553. However, this publication was not considered a legal form of disinheritance in England. The only legal form to disclaim Mary's right to the throne would be to pass a bill in Parliament but Edward did not live long enough to accomplish this task. Therefore, Mary was still considered the legitimate and rightful heir to the throne by many, if not most, people in England.

Despite the legal issue, Northumberland continued to pursue his Protestant coup. In May 1553 when it became clear that Edward would die and Jane would succeed him, Northumberland recognized that a marriage between his son and the new Protestant heir would be beneficial for him to consolidate and secure his power in England.¹⁹ In a letter to Emperor Charles V on May 12, 1553, Jehan Scheyfve detailed the advantages that the Northumberland family and factions would gain by this marital alliance, especially in

¹⁹ Letter from Jehan Scheyfve, Habsburg ambassador and the Bishop of Arras. (May 5, 1553). From: 'Spain: May 1553', Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 11: 1553 (1916), pp. 37-48. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=88480> Date accessed: 19 July 2013. Scheyfve writes to the Bishop that the Duke of Northumberland wishes to marry his son, Guildford to the eldest daughter of the Duke of Somerset, Henry Grey;

terms of his power and influence over Protestant England.²⁰ Unfortunately for Northumberland and his agenda, many Englishmen viewed this marriage and Lady Jane's accession as a cunning plot to bring the crown of England under his own personal control.²¹ Rumors abounded throughout the realm, recorded by Habsburg ambassadors, that Northumberland had intentionally poisoned the young king and forced Edward to sign a will disinheriting Mary from the royal succession.²²

Distrust of Northumberland was further explained by many of the ambassadors who witnessed this period of uncertainty and division. One Habsburg ambassador wrote to the Emperor on July 12, 1553 that "many people in the realm who love the Lady Mary and hate the Duke and his children, and would gladly help her if they could."²³ This ambassador sent another report on the state of the country, which maintained that Mary was so well loved throughout the kingdom and many were aware of the Duke's "wicked complaisance" in attempting to cheat the heir from her right to the throne.²⁴ While the Habsburg ambassadors were going to be naturally inclined to show favor towards Mary because of her Habsburg blood and their accounts must be considered with reservations,

²⁰ Ambassador letter from Jehan Scheyfve to the Emperor, Charles V (May 12, 1553), From: 'Spain: May 1553', Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 11: 1553 (1916), pp. 37-48. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=88480> Date accessed: 19 July 2013

²¹ Beer, 2.

²² Letter from Francisco de Vargas, Habsburg ambassador, to Prince Philip (July, 27, 1553) From: 'Spain: July 1553, 21-31,' Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 11: 1553 (1916), pp. 109-127. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=88486> Date accessed: 23 April 2013.

²³ The Ambassadors in England to the Emperor. (July 12, 1553) From: 'Spain: July 1553, 11-15', Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 11: 1553 (1916), pp. 80-90. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=88484> Date accessed: 23 April 2013.

²⁴ The Ambassadors in England to the Emperor. (July 16, 1553) From: 'Spain: July 1553, 16-20', Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 11: 1553 (1916), pp. 90-109. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=88485> Date accessed: 23 April 2013.

it does indicate that Mary received some support for her claim to the throne on the domestic front.

Mere days before Edward's death, Northumberland sent an envoy to Mary asking her to come to London to be at the young king's deathbed. While this could appear to be a gracious supplication to Edward's sister, Mary was keen to the possible threat that Northumberland would try to take her captive in order to pursue his coup with Lady Jane. Instead of going to London, Mary fled to Suffolk on July 4, 1553 in order to find refuge in a region containing many of her supporters as well as raise an army to fight for her claim to the throne. After Edward's death, it became clear to Northumberland that Mary would not fall into his trap when he heard reports of her uprising. He was determined to bring her under his control and made the mistake of leaving London and his support base to meet her in battle.²⁵

Once Northumberland left London, his supposedly loyal Council began to question whether they supported the right side. The Lords Paget and Arundel soon proclaimed Northumberland to be a tyrant and urged the rest of the Council to recognize Mary's legitimate claim to the throne. On July 19, the Council came to a consensus and proclaimed Mary to be the rightful Queen of England.²⁶ They sent a letter to Mary announcing that they "remained your highness's true and humble subjects in our hearts ever since the death of our late sovereign lord and master your highness's brother" and further declared that they "have this day proclaimed in your city of London your Majesty

²⁵ Jocelyn Hunt and Carolyn Hill. *The Mid-Tudor Years* (Essex: Longman, 1988), 89-91.

²⁶ David Loades, *Mary Tudor*, 102.

to be our true natural sovereign liege lady and Queen.”²⁷ Protestants rallied around Mary as well. She gained the unexpected support of the Protestant bishop John Hooper, who had immediately recognized Mary as the legitimate heir and sent men to support her cause.²⁸ According to Brigden, in London the widespread distrust and hatred of Northumberland and suspicions about his motives were enough to discredit his political backing of Queen Jane as the heir to the throne.²⁹ Furthermore, the pamphlet, *Chronicle of the Grey Friars*, related that within London there was deep distrust and resentment of Northumberland, and that “all the people reviled him and called him traitor and heretic.”³⁰ Historian David Loades claims that while a few Englishmen rallied around Mary because of their personal loyalty and hopes of her restoring Catholicism, the majority supported her because she was the successor based on the widely-acknowledged form of legitimacy—a statute.³¹ Mary was seen as the legitimate heir to the throne of England and Northumberland was so despised that Mary was understood to be a welcome relief to Northumberland’s tyranny.

After London proclaimed Mary as the rightful Queen, Northumberland realized the weakness of his position and the collapse of his plan and surrendered. On August 3, Mary made a triumphant entrance through the streets of London amongst cheers and vast celebrations. Jehan Schehvfe recorded the events of the day. “Immediately afterwards the proclamation was made amidst such expressions of popular rejoicing, such a clamor and

²⁷ Letter from the Royal Council to Queen Mary. (July 19, 1553). BL Lansdowne MS 3, f. 26.

²⁸ Loades, 103.

²⁹ Brigden, 523.

³⁰ “The Chronicle of the Grey Friars: Edward VI”, *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London: Camden Society old series, volume 53* (1852), pp. 53-78. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=51588> Date accessed: 27 February 2014

³¹ Loades, 103.

din and press of people in the streets,” he continued, “the people were made with joy, feasting, and singing, and the streets were crowded all night long...crying out: ‘the Lady Mary is proclaimed Queen!’”³² One eye witness described the rejoicing among the English people through the ringing of bells, holding public banquets, burning bonfires and the distribution of money.³³ From both domestic and foreign accounts, it can be gathered that there was general excitement among the English because of Mary’s accession.

By the summer of 1553, Mary I was established as the legitimate ruler of England in spite of attempts by her Protestant rivals to impede her succession. From contemporary documents, her accession appeared to be popularly supported and there were reports of widespread celebrations and rejoicing for Mary’s bloodless victory and claiming the throne. While her rule seemed secure, Mary and her government would embark on a road of controversial religious policies and a foreign marriage that would ultimately delegitimize her rule and authority in the eyes of her subjects. In the next chapter, I will examine how Mary and her government began the unpopular process of re-establishing Catholicism and the Pope’s authority in England. I will then explain how Mary’s religious policies were coupled with the creation and dissemination of propaganda of her

³² Jehan Schevfe to the Emperor. (July 20, 1553). From ‘Spain: July 1553, 16-20’, Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 11: 1553 (1916), pp. 90-109. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=88485> Date accessed: 23 April 2013; The Ambassadors in England to the Emperor. (July 20, 1553). From ‘Spain: July 1553, 21-31’, Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 11: 1553 (1916), pp. 109-127. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=88486> Date accessed: 23 April 2013.

³³ John Gough Nichols ed., *The Chronicles of Queen Jane and of Two Years of Queen Mary and especially the Rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt written by a resident in the Tower of London* (London: Camden Society, 1850), 11.

as a devout Catholic queen and savior in order to gain the trust, confidence, and security of her English subjects.

CHAPTER II

THE HEALER AND THE HANDMAIDEN: MARY'S CATHOLIC PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN 1553-1558

On July 19, 1553, Mary Tudor was proclaimed Queen Mary I at St. Paul's Cathedral in London by the Earl of Arundel, the Earl of Penbrook, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and the Lord Chamberlain after the defeat of the Northumberland coup. She thus became the undisputed heir to the throne of England.³⁴ While there was substantial support for the new Tudor queen, there was consecutively a sense of unease and apprehension over what Mary's reign and her Catholic sympathies would mean for her subjects. Historian Eamon Duffy makes the claim that it was Mary's religious devotion and widespread hope that she would reestablish the Catholic faith that produced such displays of loyalty and support from her subjects. However it was clear to Mary, her advisors, and her foreign allies that there was not a consensus over religion in England and there were many subjects still concerned about Mary's Catholicism.

From the very beginning of her reign, Mary's primary agenda was to bring England back to the Roman Catholic Church. As she was determined to see this goal come to fruition, Mary began a propaganda campaign to ensure its success and make Catholicism more palatable to her subjects. In this chapter, I will explain the methods and policies that Mary and her councilors devised to re-establish the Roman Catholic faith and heal the English schism with the Roman Catholic Pope in order to reinstate his authority. Furthermore, I will argue that Mary and her government initiated a propaganda

³⁴ A. G Dickens and Robert Parkyn, "Robert Parkyn's Narrative of the Reformation," *The English Historical Review*. 62, 242. (Jan., 1947), 78. JSTOR Accessed: Dec. 12, 2013.

campaign with the creation of images of the queen as a good Catholic and a healer, savior, and redeemer to make her religious policies safe, accesible, and desirable to the English people. In this chapter, I will examine Catholic pamphlets, images, and government-sponsored sermons and pamphlets to show how Mary and her government created and disseminated images of the queen in a good, Catholic light to legitimize her reign and her religious policies and make her seem safe to her subjects.

The Marian curate of Doncaster, Robert Parkyn, made a record of Mary's accession and reactions from her subjects in *Robert Parkyn's Narrative of the Reformation* (1534-1555). He wrote that while many rejoiced that the Catholic queen was on the throne, "but such as was of heretical opinions might not away therwith but spake evil thereof."³⁵ Parkyn remarked that the "gratius Quene Marie" came to restore England back to the Catholic faith but in order to do so, "she and her Cowncell" would have to "established the matter with the whole consent of the Lordes spiritual and temporal of this realm."³⁶ Therefore, it was even clear among the English people that in order for Mary to proceed with her religious policies, she would need to gain the acceptance and approval of the English lords and Parliament.

As mentioned previously, during the Edwardian succession crisis, many Privy Councilors were vehemently opposed to Mary's claim to the throne because of her Catholic sympathies. In addition, there were those among Mary's supporters who hoped that she would not make any religious changes in order to keep the religious property they had acquired during Henry VIII and Edward VI's reigns. After the break with Rome,

³⁵ Parkyn, 79.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 80.

Henry VIII set into motion administrative and legal processes between 1536 and 1541 for the dissolution of monasteries, priories, convents, and friaries throughout England. As Henry was the Supreme Head of the Church of England, he allowed the selling and harvesting of church property to private hands and the money went straight into the royal coffers. Therefore, these noblemen had a stake in the preservation of the Henrician reforms in order to preserve their newly acquired wealth and property. On June 11 1553, Jehan Scheyfve wrote to Charles V of the Edwardian councilors who were “in favour of admitting the Princess to the Crown if she will agree to make no religious changes, leave the church and abbey lands with their actual possessors, allow the present ministers to remain in power, issue a free and general pardon to all and sundry who may have committed any offence, and swear a solemn oath to abide by her promise.”³⁷ The main issue at hand was if Mary were to restore Catholicism in England, what she would do about the former ecclesiastical property. This problem was an issue that needed to be approached delicately, otherwise, all of her hopes of Catholic restoration would be for naught.

From the earliest days of Mary’s reign it was evident that the reestablishment of the Catholic Church lay at the forefront of her agenda. “As for the re-establishment of religion in England,” Charles V wrote to his English ambassador mere days after Mary’s accession, “you may tell the Queen that we greatly praise her zeal and desire to do her

³⁷ Letter from Jehan Scheyfve to Charles V. (June 11, 1553). From: ‘Spain: June 1553, 1-15’, Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 11: 1553 (1916), pp. 48-56. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=88481> Date accessed: 23 April 2013.

duty in that respect and to how her gratitude to God for the success He has given her.”³⁸ However, Charles and others went on to warn that Mary would face many difficulties if she did not approach this path with caution. Otherwise, many of her principal supporters--including members of her Council and her subjects in London--would declare themselves against her because they had been seduced by the “preaching of false doctrine.”³⁹ In another letter written to Charles V, “speaking of your Majesty’s views as to the best means of firmly establishing her authority,” Simon Renard, a Habsburg ambassador reported that, “he urged the Queen not to hurry where religion was concerned, not to make innovations nor adopt unpopular policies, but rather to recommend herself by winning her subject’s hearts, showing herself to be a good Englishwoman wholly bent on the kingdom’s welfare.”⁴⁰ Charles V, as a ruler himself, understood how important it was to establish a solid and patriotic public image to one’s subjects in order garner public support for high risk or controversial agendas, such as the religious policies Mary was about to initiate.

Charles V may have had a further motive to urge his cousin to tread lightly as she attempted to re-establish Catholicism in her country. He was not a stranger to confessional conflicts and religious wars. A few years prior to his election as the Holy Roman Emperor in 1519, Martin Luther began his campaign for Catholic reforms and his teachings, later to be known as Protestantism, spread rapidly throughout the German

³⁸ A letter from Charles V to his Ambassadors in England. (July 29, 1553). From ‘Spain: July 1553, 21-31’, *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 11: 1553 (1916)*, pp. 109-127. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=88486> Date accessed 23 April 2013.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ A letter from Simon Renard to Charles V. (August 2, 1553). From: ‘Spain: August 1553, 1-5’, *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 11: 1553 (1916)*, pp. 127-150. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=88487> Date accessed: 23 April 2013.

principalities. For the next thirty years, confessional conflicts between Protestants and Catholics resulted in the Peasants' Revolts in the mid-1520s and the formation of the Lutheran Schmalkaldic League in 1531. Finally in 1546, Charles V, tired of religious division, outlawed the Schmalkaldic League, drove the League's troops out of Southern Germany, and defeated Protestant princes, John Frederick, Elector of Saxony and Philip of Hesse, at the Battle of Muhlberg in 1547. However, in order to stop the religious conflicts, Charles offered an armistice, the "Augsburg Interim," which created an interim solution of giving allowances to Protestants until Catholic unity could be restored by the Council of Trent. Despite this peace offering, many Protestant princes resented the interim and joined an alliance with Henry II of France and drove Charles V's army out of Germany to the Netherlands in 1552.⁴¹ Fresh from these confessional wars and rebellions, Charles must have understood that the Protestant sects were not easily pushed aside or coerced. In order for a ruler to enforce an opposing religious faith, based on his experiences, Charles knew that Mary needed to recognize and understand that the Protestant sects were a force to be reckoned with and must be approached gently and with patience.

Charles V was not the only foreign leader to urge caution regarding Mary's religious policies. When news reached Rome of Mary's victory, Pope Julius III and other authorities rejoiced to have a follower of the Catholic Church back on the throne. Julius III wrote on August 5, 1553, he was "very happy at this obvious sign of God's mercy.

⁴¹ Ulinka Rublack, *Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 37-44.

Cannot but rejoice as a father at the return of a son we had feared lost.”⁴² While the Earthly Father could see his prodigal son returning from a distance, Julius III recognized that there would be opposition and difficulties bringing England back into complete obedience, especially among the holders of ecclesiastical property. “Therefore, she should make no trouble,” Julius wrote concerning Mary’s obedience to Papal authority, “but the holders of ecclesiastical property will.”⁴³ It was evident to Mary’s foreign advisors that England was not ready for a complete revival of the Roman Catholic faith and it was up to Mary and her advisors to usher in religious reforms as gently as possible.

Initially, it seemed that Mary abided by the Pope’s and her cousin’s advice to proceed slowly with religious reforms. On August 8, 1553, Mary published “The Queen’s Pronouncement on Religion,” in which she explicitly stated her royal prerogatives and objectives regarding the religious situation. The Proclamation stated:

Her Majesty, being now in possession of her Imperial crown and estate pertaining to it, cannot forsake that faith that the whole world knows her to have followed and practiced since her birth; she desires rather, by God’s grace, to preserve it until the day of her death; and she desires greatly that her subjects may come to embrace the same faith quietly and with charity, whereby she shall receive great happiness... She makes it known to her beloved subjects that out of her goodness and clemency, she does not desire to compel anyone to do so for the present or until by common consent a new determination shall be come to.⁴⁴

⁴² Letter from Julius III to Cardinal Reginald Pole. (August 5, 1553) *The Correspondence of Reginald Pole: Volume 2. A Calendar, 1547-1554: A Power in Rome*. Edited by Thomas F. Mayer (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003), 128.

⁴³ Instructions from Julius III. (August 7, 1553). *The Correspondence of Reginald Pole: Volume 2. A Calendar, 1547-1554: A Power in Rome*. Edited by Thomas F. Mayer (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003), 137.

⁴⁴ “The Queen’s Pronouncement on Religion” publication copied and printed within the Habsburg ambassador documents sent to Charles V. (August 8, 1553). ‘From: Spain: August 1553, 6-10’, *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 11: 1553 (1916)*, pp. 150-162. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=88488> Date accessed: 23 April 2013.

Mary made it clear that she had always maintained her loyalty and devotion to the Catholic faith. Furthermore, she stated that her greatest desire was for her subjects to return to the true faith through means that seem to be gently and agreeably guided. But Mary gave her subjects the impression that even though she wished for them to return to Catholicism, she did not intend to compel them to do so. However, Mary made an important declaration by including the statement, “or until by common consent a new determination shall be come to.” The “common consent” of the pronouncement can be interpreted to mean the common consent of Parliament enforcing the re-establishment of Catholicism and the Pope’s authority in England. The Protestant reforms initiated by her father and brother were voted by Parliament and Mary was going to use the same legislative procedures to legitimize her religious policies.

In the final piece of Mary’s pronouncement, she charged her subjects not to stir up sedition or rebellion in the kingdom by penalty of the law, which included using words such as “papists” and “heretics.” Mary further commanded that no English subject should preach, teach, or interpret Scripture unless he had been trained at a university. This instruction was important because Protestantism encouraged laymen to read and teach the Scriptures. However, Catholics believed that only men trained and ordained had the proper authority to interpret the Scriptures accurately. Lastly, the pronouncement stated that “neither shall they print any book, treatise, dialogue, rhyme, ballad, comedy or argument except by special, written command of her Majesty, under pain of her displeasure.”⁴⁵ With these directions, Mary made it clear to her subjects that while she

⁴⁵ “The Queen’s pronouncement on religion”

would not force them to conform to her religion, she would not tolerate anyone spreading or publishing any seditious lies or unofficial religious interpretations. Therefore, though it appeared that Mary allowed toleration in England, her pronouncement clearly specified her religious aspirations for her country.

In addition to this proclamation, Mary's actions indicated her intention to return England to the Catholic Church. On St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, 1553, mere days after "The Queen's Pronouncement on Religion," Mary designated Bishop Stephen Gardiner as her Lord Chancellor. Gardiner had been named the Bishop of Winchester during Henry VIII's reign and played a pivotal role in the establishment of the Royal Supremacy in the break from Rome. However, he was sent to prison during Edward VI's reign for objecting to the ecclesiastical and civil policies made by Edward's Council.⁴⁶ As soon as Mary reclaimed the throne, she released Gardiner from prison and made him Chancellor. The following day, in several churches in and around London, Mass was performed, including at St. Paul's Cathedral, which was noted by the chronicler Wriothesley.⁴⁷ By August 27, the power of licensing preachers for all cathedrals, churches, and chapels throughout the entire realm was given to Gardiner by the Queen and was left to his discretion.⁴⁸ Robert Parkyn noted that "in many places of the realm priests was commanded by lords and knights catholic to say mass in Latin with consecration & elevation of the body and blood of Christ under form of bread and wine with a decent order...after tholde ancient custom, as was used in her father's days."⁴⁹ By

⁴⁶ Muller 220.

⁴⁷ Wriothesley, II, 101-2. Come Back

⁴⁸ Muller, 225.

⁴⁹ Parkyn, 79-80.

the end of September, the Habsburg ambassador Renard celebrated the news that the revival of the Mass had been met with a successful restoration in various parts of the kingdom.⁵⁰

Despite the success that the Marian government sensed at the re-establishment of the Mass, it was still an illegal act. According to an act issued during Edward's reign in 1552, the Second Prayer Book was the standard and therefore made the celebration of the Latin Mass illegal. Mary understood the importance of supporting her religious reforms through Parliamentary channels. By October, Mary's first Parliament had abolished the Edwardian religious laws and the church doctrine was restored to the form of the 1539 Six Articles established by her father.⁵¹ Mary did approach this restoration with caution, as her cousin urged, and only presented Parliament with moderate reforms. These reforms were met with sufficient support in Parliament, however, MPs made it clear to Mary that they would not automatically approve of all the demands placed before them. For example, members declined to proceed with a bill to punish those who failed to attend church services. Furthermore, in order to reinforce to Mary their position against returning clerical land to the church, Parliament refused to revive the bishopric of Durham that had been abolished during Edward's reign.⁵² Despite the rejection of these latter bills, Mary's first Parliament was considered to be a promising start to fulfilling her religious policies in England.

⁵⁰ A letter from Simon Renard to Charles V. Sp. Cal. XI, 199.

⁵¹ Muller, 232.

⁵² Robert Tittler. *The Reign of Mary I* 2nd ed. (Essex: Pearson Education Limited, 1991), 24-25.

While Mary and her government created and disseminated images of Mary as a devout Catholic queen and Habsburg wife, she also pursued religious policies that turned out to be grossly unpopular, which undermined her progress with the Catholic revival. As mentioned previously, Mary and the papal legate, Cardinal Reginald Pole, maintained an unwavering determination to restore the Pope's authority in England despite objections from both her domestic and foreign advisors. Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor; the Lord Chancellor, Archbishop Stephen Gardiner; her husband, Prince Philip of Spain; and Cardinal Pole, tended to be at odds over how to successfully return England under the fold of the Catholic faith and authority.⁵³ From the early days of her reign, Reginald Pole argued that England could not fulfill a true reconciliation with the Catholic Church and the Pope without the retrieval of ecclesiastical property. Pole argued that it made no sense to welcome the prodigal son, England, back if he insisted on keeping the fruits of their schism, which would be like pardoning a sinner who does not feel any contrition or repentance for their sin.⁵⁴ He also insisted that if the English nobles' desired the Queen's authority to be strongly established and destroy all opposition, they should support Mary's design to restore the Pope's authority and ecclesiastical lands. By doing so, Pole

⁵³ Ethan Shagan, "Confronting compromise: the schism and its legacy in mid-Tudor England" in *Catholics and the 'Protestant nation': Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England* edited by Ethan Shagan. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 61. Shagan notes, "Queen Mary and Reginald Pole firmly believed that much apparent acquiescence to the Tudor government's ecclesiastical predations had masked a powerful undercurrent of resentment against the state-sponsored Reformation. In other words, they believed that people who had profited from the dissolution of monasteries and chantries were pious traditionalists who looked forward to a time when churches, monasteries and chantries could be restored to their former glory."

⁵⁴ A letter from Pole to Mary. (October 2, 1553). *Pole's Correspondence*, 207.

explained that God will reward their obedience and bless them throughout Mary's reign.⁵⁵

Mary desired to remain obedient to the authority and opinion of the Apostolic See. She was strongly urged by Charles V and her Privy Council, however, that it would not be wise to reunite with the Catholic Church by taking the ecclesiastical land from her subjects. Mary was further persuaded to not allow Pole back into the country until her reign could be firmly established because of his stubbornness on the church property issue.⁵⁶ One Habsburg ambassador, Mendoza, had advised Pole on behalf of the Queen "not to continue his mission without further commission from his Holiness alleging at his reason the Emperor's desire for the quiet of England, which might be disturbed if Pole came as the Pope's Legate before the minds of the people, long alienated from obedience to the Holy See, were better disposed; this requires time, and a more perfect establishment of the Queen in her kingdom."⁵⁷ Mary conceded to these opinions and prevented Pole from returning to England until after her marriage to Philip in July 1554.

Upon Philip's arrival and their subsequent marriage, his primary agenda was to help Mary restore England to the Roman Catholic Church. The Venetian Ambassador, Bernardo Navagero, wrote that "the Emperor and the King of England as Christian Princes did not bear the Pope ill-will, as demonstrated by so many of their actions, and

⁵⁵ "Instructions by Cardinal Pole to the Reverend Father Confessor of the Emperor." (Oct. 1553). From: 'Mary: October 1553' Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Mary: 1553-1558 (1861), pp. 15-22. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=70400> Date accessed: 20 June 2013.

⁵⁶ A letter from Peter Vannes to Queen Mary. (September 53, 1553). From: 'Mary: September 1553', Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Mary: 1553-1558 (1861), pp. 9-15. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=70399> date accessed: 20 June 2013.

⁵⁷ "Instructions by Cardinal Pole to the Reverend Father Confessor of the Emperor." (Oct. 1553). From: 'Mary: October 1553' Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Mary: 1553-1558 (1861), pp. 15-22. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=70400> Date accessed: 20 June 2013.

lately by King Philip, whose marriage with the Queen of England was made solely for the purpose of bringing back that kingdom to its devotion and obedience to the See Apostolic.”⁵⁸ Philip recognized that it would be almost impossible for the government to reestablish papal authority in England by returning the ecclesiastical land to the Church and understood that special concessions would need to be made.⁵⁹ Therefore, Philip and Mary negotiated with Pole to attempt to get Papal absolution for those ecclesiastical property holders in order to guarantee Parliament’s acceptance of returning England to the Pope’s authority in the second Parliament which was held in January 1555. However, Philip and Mary explained to Pole that they had no intention of keeping the ecclesiastical land the Crown inherited over the past few decades and hoped to lead their subjects by example by willingly and with good faith returning to the Church its due. Therefore Pole acquiesced to their wishes and was able to acquire the Papal absolution.⁶⁰

In January 1555, Parliament passed an act that officially ended England’s schism with Rome by revoking Mary’s Royal Supremacy and reestablished the Pope’s authority without returning ecclesiastical property.⁶¹ This appeared to be a great victory for Mary and her religious agenda, however, to Pole, the English refusal to return ecclesiastical lands still contained heresy and disobedience. In the year prior to Parliament’s act, Mary

⁵⁸ Letter from Bernardo Navagero, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the Doge and Senate. (July 11, 1556). From: ‘Venice: July 1556, 11-20’, Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, Volume 6: 1555-1558 (1877), pp. 518-534. [URL://http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=100579](http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=100579) Date accessed: 25 July 2013.

⁵⁹ Loades, 132.

⁶⁰ Letter from Niccolo Ormanetto to Gianfrancesco Stella. (January 27 1555). *Pole’s correspondence, vol. 3*, 29-30.

⁶¹ Statute 1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. 8. AD. 1554 & 1555. *The Statutes of the Realm*, 246. “Brief summary of what took place concerning the Church Property” (January 20, 1555). From: ‘Venice: January 1555’, Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, Volume 6: 1555-1558 (1877), pp. 1-13. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=100540> Date accessed: 24 June 2013.

and Philip had commissioned an investigation into all the ecclesiastical goods, property, and profits that had been sold or stolen by her English subjects. During this investigation, even within regions with strongly Catholic sympathizers, it was clear that the recovery of church goods was going to be almost impossible. When these individuals were called upon to return their ecclesiastical property by their local priests or government commissioners, a majority simply refused. Thomas Keys of Folkestone he refused to yield “a house of 12d a year out of a piece of land that should find a canopy light to burn before the sacrament.”⁶² While many in England may have rejoiced of the reunion with the Roman Catholic Church, the decades of schism and profits earned through owning ecclesiastical property prevented them from truly returning to the pre-Reformation Catholic state that Mary so greatly desired.

During this session of Parliament, another act was passed that had a profound effect on the Marian reestablishment of Catholicism and the reputation of both the Queen, Philip and the Pope among the English populace. This was the revival of the Heresy Acts. This statute incorporated the renewal of three acts passed under the reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V that authorized the English government to arrest, punish, and execute heretics that had infiltrated the kingdom. The statute stated, “For the avoiding of Errors and Heresies which of late have risen grown and much increased within this Realm, for that the ordinaries have wanted authority to proceed against those that were infected therewith...therefore and enacted by the authority of this Parliament.”⁶³ Loades explains that by re-enacting the heresy laws abandoned by Edward VI, it became a capital

⁶² An example quoted in Shagan’s *Catholics in a ‘Protestant Nation’*, 62

⁶³ 1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. VI. A.D. 1554 & 1554-5. *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 4, 244.

offence to deny or rebel against any form of Catholic orthodoxy thus giving Mary and Pole the authority to exterminate Protestants.⁶⁴ At this point in Mary's reign, the much desired widespread compliance and acceptance of her Catholic policies were being met with pockets of Protestant opposition and rebellion. This was a period of much religious schism and unrest all across Europe, and the harsh reception of heresy and mass executions was a common practice among the Catholic countries of Europe, including the Habsburg territories. Over the next three and half years that this act was in effect, two-hundred and eighty men, women and even children were burnt at the stake for heresy. The creation of the so-called "Marian martyrs" sparked widespread unpopularity and revulsion, even among Mary's loyal Catholic supporters.

Mary had successfully completed the first stage of the re-establishment of the Catholic Church in England through both legal and popular support. As Mary's religious intentions were revealed to the public through her pronouncement, mass was legally re-instituted, and the first stages of eradicating Protestantism was approved by Parliament. She was then able to commence with a propaganda campaign to secure her image as a devout Catholic Queen in order to garner public support for her religious policies. In order for Mary to make Catholicism palatable, acceptable, and patriotic in England she had to make it inseparable from loyalty to the monarchy. It was imperative for her to intertwine her own image and royal representation of herself with Catholic imagery. Therefore, it was crucial for Mary to secure and capitalize on her early reputation as a loyal and devout Catholic woman.

⁶⁴ Loades, 136.

Within months of her accession, Mary and her advisors, Lord Chancellor Stephen Gardiner and the newly appointed Bishop of London, Edmund Bonner, began using the pulpit as a means to communicate with the English people about the religious changes that were taking shape and the obedience that was required from Mary's people. In October 1553, Gardiner published a sermon that he wrote and Bonner preached at St. Paul's Cathedral in London called, *De vera obediencia*.⁶⁵ In the sermon, Gardiner addressed the religious schism and turmoil England had faced over the previous decades as a "long season confuselye jumbled together, some things blemished and some decayed, and almost turned quite upside down, were by the perfect line and plummet of God's word."⁶⁶ He further wrote that England has wrestled against the truth and tangled with a certain foolishness resulting in the English people living in darkness and banished from God's bounty and blessings. Despite the bleakness of their past, Gardiner gave hope that they can find redemption, like the Apostle Paul, and through their obedience to God's will and truth will find absolution and freedom. He wrote that Paul, "who as soon as God had overthrown him, fell down, and spake the words of obedience, saying: what wilt thou have me do: For that chosen vessel had so much plenty of the grace of God, that he confessed bi and by, it was the voice of God that checked him, and called him from his error, and so committed himself wholly to the governance of God, and obeyed him in all truth."⁶⁷ The Apostle Paul would be a striking example to the English people because he was a Jewish persecutor of the early Christians before Jesus Christ struck him down on

⁶⁵ Stephen Gardiner, *De Vera obediencia an oration made in Latine by the ryghte reuerend father in God Stephan B. of Winchestre, nowe lord Chauncellour of England, with the preface of Edmund Bonner...touching true obedience*. (STC 11585, London 1553) Early English Books Online.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁶⁷ Gardiner, 19.

the road to Damascus, blinded him, and called him back to obedience in order to spread the Gospel to the Gentiles. By using Paul as an example of obedience, Gardiner implied that the English people were rebellious to God for persecute Catholics over the past few decades and now God is calling them back to obedience.

While Gardiner called the English people back to religious obedience, this message was also intended to mean obedience to the queen. Gardiner was Mary's Lord Chancellor and one of her key advisors in the implementation and establishment of her Catholic policies. When Mary's subjects would hear or read Gardiner's sermon on obedience, they would know that not only should they follow the laws of God set forth but in the laws of the land as well. This theme of obedience was also published in a sermon by James Brooks, the Bishop of Gloucester and Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University in 1554. *A sermon very notable, fructeful, and godlie made at Paules crosse*, Brooks also recognized that England was in a state of religious rebellion and that "the words of the Gospell...were at the least being then even at the very point of death in extremes."⁶⁸ Brooks compared the state of England during the period of religious rebellion to woman who was dying of a cantankerous sore or disease that was eating away at her body and flesh. Yet while this woman is at the point of death, Brooks acknowledged the hope that "our Mother the holie Catholique Church, for the spiritual reviving of her spiritual daughter, spiritually deceased, thys particular church, the Church

⁶⁸ James Brooks, *A sermon very notable, fructeful, and godlie made at Paules crosse the xii. Daie of Noue[m]bre, in the first yere of the gracious reigne of our Souereigne Ladie Quene Mary her most excellent Highnesse, by James Brokes doctor of diuinitie*, (STC 3839, London 1554) Early English Books Online.

of England.”⁶⁹ The re-establishment of Catholic Church, according to Brooks, revived the spiritual life of England and through obedience to the faith, the English found health and life. It is important to note that themes of obedience, healing, and redemption found in these sermons made by Gardiner and Brooks were disseminated throughout the country and would lay the foundation for the propaganda campaign that Mary and her government would propagate throughout her reign.

While Mary’s Lord Chancellor and priests were pushing Mary’s religious reforms and intentions through sermons and oration, they were also beginning the process of acclimating the English people to Catholic rituals and traditions, such as the Mass. One of the primary ways for Mary and her government to ensure the success of their Catholic agendas was to resurrect those practices that had been abolished during the previous reigns which would help her subjects to feel that these changes were safe and welcome. Reports were sent to both Emperor Charles V and Pope Julius III celebrating the success and good progress of her religious policies throughout the kingdom, especially regarding the resurrection of the Mass. On September 4, 1553, Habsburg ambassadors in London wrote that “the mass and other offices are being recited in public in the city of London and elsewhere and...mass is being said again without any scandal or opposition that one can hear of or discover.”⁷⁰ While the success of re-establishing the mass in England seemed to signal widespread support for her overall religious policies, there were many who saw these changes as the beginning of an overall Roman Catholic takeover.

⁶⁹ Brooks, 2.

⁷⁰ The Ambassadors in England to the Emperor. (September 4, 1553). From: ‘Spain: September 1553, 1-5’, Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 11: 1553 (1916), pp. 197-211. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=88492> Date accessed: 24 April 2013.

Mary's dearest desire upon ascending the throne was England's reunion with Rome. Cardinal Reginald Pole, the Papal legate for Rome, sent a letter to Pope Julius III to proceed at once.⁷¹ Even within a few days of coming to the throne, Mary confided to Simon Renard, the Habsburg ambassador, her intention to rectify the religious situation by reuniting with the Pope and the Roman Catholic Church.⁷² While Mary did desire reconciliation with Rome, she received pressure from her papal allies, such as the Pope and Cardinal Pole, to secure the alliance as soon as possible in order re-institute Papal authority in England. One month after Mary became queen, Cardinal Pole wrote that the devil had prompted Henry VIII to divorce the Roman Catholic Church and his wife, and that Anne Boleyn have had given birth to all kinds of evil that have manifested itself within the kingdom. "Henry left the obedience of the Church only because of his 'base and evil desire'." Pole wrote that he "thought [I] should let you know what needs to be done 'to the benefit and consolation of that kingdom'. I expect a response. Obedience is the benefit and foundation."⁷³ In other words, Pole required that Mary maintain obedience to the Roman Catholic Church in order to eliminate the evil that her predecessor's allowed into the kingdom. Not many days later, the abbot of San Saluto, Vincenzo Parpaglia, wrote to Pole that while Mary was expected to consult Parliament on any major religious changes, he urged Pole to remind Mary of "her duty to God and the papacy. She should not delay obedience, since preserved in order to restore it."⁷⁴ This

⁷¹ Muller, 223.

⁷² Loades, 107.

⁷³ Letter from Reginald Pole to Mary I. (August 13, 1553). *Pole's correspondence*, 161-163.

⁷⁴ Letter from Parpaglia to Pole. (August 19, 1553). *Pole's correspondence*, 164.

correspondence shows that Mary received pressure from Rome to re-establish their papal authority in England.

Based on the correspondence between Mary and the Pope and Cardinal Pole in the early days of her reign, there appears to be some contradictions. Initially, the Pope warned Mary to tread lightly in her religious reforms in England in order to make Catholicism palatable and safe among her religious divided populace. However, within days, Cardinal Pole and the Pope applied pressure on Mary to realign England with the Papacy as quickly as possible. What is clear is that Cardinal Pole and the Pope understood that the Papacy was an essential institution to the Roman Catholic Church and in order for Mary to successfully bring England back into the Catholic fold; she needed the Pope's divine guidance to support the Church and fight Satan's attacks through his heretical followers. Therefore, for Pole and the Pope, it was necessary for Mary to approach the re-establishment of Catholic Church in England carefully, but the realignment with Rome was essential to make it successful.

Mary announced her intentions to a somewhat startled Privy Council during the very early days of her reign. Simon Renard wrote to Charles V that the Queen "is going as far as the Pope's authority, in order that England and Ireland shall be restored to the obedience of the Church as they were before the changes we know of took place."⁷⁵ Renard had warned Mary that she would face opposition from her Privy Council, and he was proved correct because many on her Council had expected the Queen to restore the

⁷⁵ A Letter from Simon Renard to Charles V. (September 9, 1553). From 'Spain: September 1553, 6-10', Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 11: 1553 (1916), pp. 211-229. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=88493> Date accessed: 24 April 2013

mass and other traditional Catholic rites but were not anticipating her to go to the extreme of realigning with the Pope.⁷⁶ Those who were against the reconciliation with Rome most likely feared having to relinquish their property back to the Church which they had obtained in previous decades.⁷⁷ John Rogers, a Protestant clergyman under Edward VI who later became the first Marian martyr, was said to have expressed his complete disbelief at Mary's proposal.⁷⁸

However, it seemed that Mary attempted to bridge the gap between her reluctant Council and eager Papal authorities by asking for the Pope to withdraw any ecclesiastical censures, excommunications and declarations made against England and her subjects in order to better draw them back to the church and secure the reinstatement of Catholicism.⁷⁹ Furthermore, Renard noted that while Mary was eager to reconcile England to Rome, she recognized that the Pope's commission could not be executed at the very beginning of her reign because the "question of the Papal authority is odious" to many in the kingdom. Mary asked the Pope to be patient and to trust that she was doing all that was in her power to incline her subjects to obedience.⁸⁰ The Pope conceded to Mary's wishes because he recognized that delay might be best since "Mary was so inclined to the papacy, we do not want her damaged by it acting precipitously."⁸¹ It appears from this document that Mary was very conscious of the potential unpopularity of this move because she attempted to make it as agreeable as possible to all parties

⁷⁶ Loades, 107.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 109.

⁷⁸ Muller 223.

⁷⁹ Letter from Simon Renard to Charles V. (September 9, 2013); Muller 223.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Letter from Julius III to Reginald Pole. (September 20, 1553). *Pole's correspondence.*, 194.

involved. Mary also used a propaganda campaign as a means to validate, legitimize, and familiarize her subjects with the idea of reconciliation with Rome. If Mary could soothe her subjects' apprehensions about the revival of Catholicism through visual and textual images of their Queen performing and celebrating traditional/orthodox acts, they would acknowledge the benefit and advantage of returning to Catholicism under papal authority. And as Mary attempted to restore Catholic rituals and practice and all its connotations within England, it was imperative for her to make Catholicism seem safe, familiar, and unthreatening. Therefore, Mary and her government began a public relations campaign that portrayed the Queen as a good Catholic woman, savior, and restorer to her subjects by healing the country of its political discord and religious injuries.

Over the course of her five year reign, Mary managed her image and popular portrayals through the use of woodcuts, prayer-books, pamphlets, legislation, Catholic supporters' writings, and sermons as vehicles to exemplify her devotion to the Catholic faith and her divine right as ruler to her all subjects, both Catholic and Protestant.⁸² In this regard, Mary was a true Tudor monarch. It was extremely important for the Tudor monarchs to represent themselves using religious and symbolic images as a means to legitimize their authority, especially over the Church of England after the split with Rome in 1529.⁸³ Furthermore, as Kevin Sharpe explains, all the Tudor monarchs recognized the significance of utilizing the advantages of the printing press, visual representations of themselves, as well as public spectacle to secure their authority and support of the

⁸² King, *Tudor Royal Iconography*, 185. John King emphasizes this point that "Queen Mary's commitment to the Counter-Reformation had a profound impact on the iconography of her reign."

⁸³ King, 4-5.

people.⁸⁴ Sharpe further claims the Tudor monarchs had an all-encompassing fixation with securing their dynasty. This was due to the fact that the first Tudor monarch, Henry VII, usurped the throne from the last Plantagenet king, Richard III, at the battle of Bosworth in 1485 and had to spend the rest of his reign attempting to legitimize his rule. While the Tudors could boast of their royal lineage through the illegitimate heirs of John of Gaunt, son of Edward III, many in England did not consider that to be a strong enough claim to the throne. Therefore, over the course of the sixteenth century, the Tudor monarchs worked diligently to legitimize their reign and secure their dynasty.

One of the most effective forms of distributing Mary's image as a pious, Catholic woman and Queen was through the sponsorship and dissemination of pamphlets and liturgical texts. One device Mary employed was the distribution of miniature images of herself encouraging forms of popular devotion in prayer books and religious pamphlets. As Mary attempted to create an image of herself as the English subjects' redeemer of the Catholic faith, she also created more positive depictions of herself as a Counter-Reformation prince.⁸⁵ For Mary to be a "Counter-Reformation prince" and to successfully represent this image, she needed to portray herself as a monarch who was passionately employed to eradicate England from the evils of Protestant reform.

The Counter-Reformation was a period of Catholic revival and attempts by predominantly Catholic countries to put an end to the spread of the Protestant Reformation. The Counter-Reformation is typically chronologically placed between 1545-1648, beginning with the Council of Trent and ending with the Thirty Years' War.

⁸⁴ Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, XXV.

⁸⁵ Sharpe, 271

The Council of Trent was an Ecumenical Council of the Catholic Church that issued condemnations of what it defined as Protestant heresies as well as defined the Church's teachings. In reality the Counter-Reformation was a counter-attack, which made all Protestants into heretics and any of their teachings heresy as well. Under the leadership of Popes Paul III, Julius III, Paul IV, and Pius IV, the Council of Trent was a major reform council that was the embodiment of the ideals of the Counter-Reformation.⁸⁶ Despite the fact that Mary was not involved in the planning of the Council of Trent, many historians regard her reign as an example of an effective Counter-Reformation monarch because of the reforms of the seminaries and education programs for the Catholic clergy who held unto those teachings even into Elizabeth's reign.⁸⁷

In order for Mary to dispel her subjects' misapprehensions about Catholicism, she needed to depict Catholicism with safe, familiar, and acceptable imagery, such as herself with traditional Catholic images and performing orthodox rituals. In the Catholic pamphlet, "Certain prayers to be used by the quenes heignes in the consecration of the crampe rynges" (figure 1), Mary is depicted as an orthodox Catholic queen kneeling before a prie-dieu and an altar.⁸⁸ Historian John King has noted that on the lower border of this image is a depiction of St. George, the patron saint of England, slaying a dragon,

⁸⁶ Diarmaid MacCulloch. *The Later Reformation in England, 1547-1603* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 121.

⁸⁷ William Wizeman, "The Religious Policies of Mary I," in *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives*. Edited by Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 160-161. In Wizeman's chapter, he argued that Mary's religious and educational reforms of Oxford and Cambridge Universities were one of her greatest achievements during her reign. Mary gave generously to the royal foundations of the recently impoverished universities, provided scholarships for poor clergymen, and through Cardinal Pole, created a rigorous educational instruction through canon law and scholastic theology that persisted well into the Elizabethan reign.

⁸⁸ Westminster Cathedral MS Treasury, Vellum manuscript, "Certain prayers to be used by the quenes heighnes in the consecration of the crampe rynges" (1553-8); miniature attributed to Levina Teerling.

which follows a typical English iconographical pattern of a traditional Christian figure defeating paganism or in Mary's case, Protestantism.⁸⁹ Furthermore, this image would hold special significance for the English people after the many years under Protestant "captivity" by Henry VIII and Edward VI when their altars were ripped from their churches. The high altar during the pre-Reformation era was one of the most sacred areas of the Roman Catholic Church because it was where the parish priest would present the sacrament of the Eucharist. Duffy argues that during this period, the celebration of the Mass and the altar was a source of human community and unity with their Holy Father.⁹⁰ The altar and the practice of Mass were abolished alongside many Catholic "superstitious" rituals during the Protestant reforms of Edward VI's reign. Mary never neglected the celebration of Mass at the altar and as we have seen, when she came to the throne, she hoped to restore it. This miniature of Mary kneeling before the altar in which the Mass and an image of Christ is displayed, revealed to her subjects that she restored the practice of Mass before the altar and would encourage them to do so as well. Furthermore, this image would communicate to the English people that Mary's strengths as their queen was her ability to provide "restoration" and "healing" not only to the Catholic faith but to England as a whole. By equating the queen with these divine qualities in this Catholic image, Mary's subjects should be instilled with confidence and safety in her authority and her religion.

The miniature also depicts the image of the Virgin Mary holding Jesus, which some had considered "superstitious" during the Edwardian regime. Duffy explains that

⁸⁹ King, 4-5.

⁹⁰ Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 92-93.

devotion to the Virgin Mary “proliferated in late medieval England as elsewhere in Christian Europe, and indeed Englishmen were encouraged to think of their country as being in a special way ‘Mary’s Dowry’”⁹¹ Her cult in England came only second to that of Christ himself and was displayed in many rituals, prayers, and psalters during this period. Upon the Henrcian attack on the Roman Catholic Church and rituals in the 1530s, the king and Sir Thomas Cromwell spear-headed a campaign against the pilgrimages and cults of the saints, including the cult of the Virgin Mary.⁹² However, when Mary re-established the Catholic Church, the cult of saints and of the Virgin Mary was restored. Therefore, in the miniature, the statute of the Virgin Mary and Child reveals to Mary’s subjects that she has reversed the Henrician and Edwardian program of iconoclasm and revived the cult of the saints. This is important because it was appealing to the return of tradition and therefore, making it seem palatable and safe again.

Another ritual that Mary revived was that of curing the King’s Evil or “scrofula” as portrayed in the pamphlet woodcut picture, “Mary curing the King’s evil” (figure 2). The King’s Evil was a tuberculosis swelling of the lymph glands that was thought to be cured by the touch of royalty during the medieval and early modern period. When Henry VII ascended the throne, he had a strong political motive to adopt and exploit the practice of curing the King’s Evil in order to legitimize his sovereign authority and power through God’s approval.⁹³ Even after his divorce and break with Rome, Henry VIII continued to

⁹¹ Duffy, 256.

⁹² Peter Lake, “Anti-Popery: the structure of a prejudice” in Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (eds), *Conflict in Early Stuart England*. (Harlow, 1989), 183.

⁹³ King, 20.

use this practice as a means to legitimize his reign but was abandoned by Edward VI as a superstitious ritual.⁹⁴

After Mary came to the throne, she also adopted the custom of curing the King's Evil to help further her legitimacy as God's chosen sovereign of England. As the curing of the King's Evil was singularly utilized by male monarchs, it is quite significant that Mary was the first reigning queen to demonstrate this power.⁹⁵ Every Good Friday during her reign, Mary went to St. Paul's Cathedral and went through a ceremony in which she would be instilled with the power to heal. According to a Venetian ambassador witnessing the ceremony in 1556, he wrote that the queen first crept towards the cross, "kneeling at a short distance from the cross [she] moved towards it on her knees, praying before it thrice, and then she drew nigh and kissed it, performing this act with such devotion as greatly to edify those who were present."⁹⁶ In this same account from a Good Friday service in 1556, Mary performed the healing ceremony on at least one man and three women, and "kneeling the whole time she commenced pressing, with her hands on the spot where the sore was, with such compassion and devotion as to be marveled at."⁹⁷ Mary then gave each individual a golden coin that was blessed, and touched the evil sore and proceeded to tie it on a string around their necks. Historian Sarah Duncan argues that while very few individuals would come to these ceremonies, usually only around twenty or so, Mary's healing abilities were widely known and recognized.⁹⁸ Duncan claims that

⁹⁴ Sharpe, 150.

⁹⁵ Sharpe, 151.

⁹⁶ Cal St Pap Venetian, 6:436

⁹⁷ Cal St Pap Venetian 6:435-37.

⁹⁸ Sarah Duncan, *Mary I: Gender, Power, and Ceremony in the Reign of England's First Queen* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 124.

while Mary was pious and favored the return of all Catholic rituals, “Clearly the queen saw the merits of reinforcing her image as rightful English monarch with all the kingly powers and prestige of her male predecessors.”⁹⁹ The woodcut image of Mary curing the King’s Evil was printed in a pamphlet similar to “Certain prayers to be used by the quenes heignes in the consecration of the crampe rynges,” and therefore, Mary’s subjects would have seen an image of the queen performing acts of deep devotion and spiritual healing. Most importantly, on a political level, Mary presented herself as a healer of her country from decades of its religious wounds and political strife.

As previously noted, it was imperative for the Tudor monarchs to use religious imagery to legitimize their reigns as divinely appointed. These images of Mary were reinforced by her Catholic supporters in works published and dedicated to her during her reign. The first of these writers was Richard Beard, a hymn writer, who wrote a ballad in 1553 entitled, *A Godly Psalme of Marye Queene which brought vs comfort al, through God, whom wee of dewtye prayse.*¹⁰⁰ Beard described England’s abysmal condition prior to Mary’s accession as a period of divine retribution for the crime of allowing Protestant heresy to infect the kingdom. He recognized that God had allowed Mary to ascend the throne as the savior and liberator of the English people in order to re-establish Catholic worship in the kingdom. “And our liege Lady, Marie Queene, on us by truth to reign. Hee (God) hathe us sent a comforter, To be our help and guide: with pity and with virtues all endowed on every side.” Beard continued, “The lawful, just and righteous of England,

⁹⁹ Ibid., 126.

¹⁰⁰ Richard Beard, *A Godly Psalme of Marye Queene which brought vs comfort al, through God, whom wee of dewtye prayse*, (STC 1655, London 1553) Early English Books Online.

head and Queen: To be the true inheritor...to build the house, and fortress up of true religion...[and] will chiefly love the church of God, and punish wickedness.”¹⁰¹ In this portrayal, Mary was depicted as the divine inheritor of the crown, God’s tool to restore the true faith within the kingdom, and again, as the comforter and healer of her country.

Beeard’s pamphlet also provided a woodcut image of Mary similar to that of “the crampe ringes” woodcut that depicts the queen in a state of piety and humility while kneeling (figure 3).¹⁰² While the former image is of Mary kneeling before the altar, in Beeard’s woodcut, she is now kneeling before the Pope with the globus cruciger, or papal orb, in his left hand while his right portrays the Latin gesture of benediction as two fingers are extended in a position to bless her. This gesture was commonly used by Catholic figures such as bishops, popes, and saints in order to make the sign of the cross and bless those in their presence.¹⁰³ In the image, the Pope is also holding the globus cruciger, which was a symbol of authority used during the Middle Ages and symbolized Christ’s dominion over the world. Finally, the Pope can be recognized by the English laity because he is shown garnishing the papal tiara that has the crown as a base with a three-tiered form as seen with the three dimensions on the crown worn by the Pope in the image. In order to emphasize Mary’s divine right, angels from the heavenly realm place

¹⁰¹ Beeard, 5.

¹⁰² “Cramp-rings” were rings that were worn to cure the “falling-sickness” or cramp but is now known as epilepsy. According to legend, the first “cramp-ring” was given to Edward the Confessor on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem and was passed down to the successive English sovereigns still containing the medicinal or spiritual powers to heal. According to custom, the English sovereigns every year on Good Friday would formally bless the “cramp-rings” in a service and the ceremony survived to the reign of Mary I. Susan Duncan, *Mary I*, 124.

¹⁰³ Gregor Kollmorgen, “The Latin Gesture of Benediction: A History in Images and a Plea for a Return,” *New Liturgical Movements* (February 10, 2010).

<http://www.newliturgicalmovement.org/2010/02/latin-gesture-of-benediction-history-in.html#.UhLqUV8o7IU> Date accessed: August 1, 2013.

the royal crown on her head. This picture would have signified to her subjects that she received the blessing from the Holy Father to re-establish Papal authority in England. When Mary defeated Northumberland, Pope Julius III had blessed her accession when he wrote on August 5, 1553 “God’s right hand has produced righteousness. Despite the best efforts of Edward and his ‘sect’ to divert the succession, God has given the crown to Mary, who has never deviated from the Catholic faith.”¹⁰⁴

Finally, the Latin text at the bottom of the page, “Ad Completoriv,” is a reference to the phrase, “Ad completorium,” which means the night prayer or the final church service of the day in the Christian tradition of canonical hours. In English, the Latin phrase means “compline,” which tends to emphasize spiritual peace. While it is difficult to ascertain why exactly Beard included this phrase at the bottom of the image of Mary being crowned, one can assume that he was asserting that Mary’s accession to the throne would finally bring spiritual peace and an end to the religious suffering and strife in the kingdom. Sharpe suggests that the image “enfolded Mary into a scriptural narrative...the Mary ‘which brought us comfort’ was figured as the servant of God to bring ‘his people England’ to Him.”¹⁰⁵ What is evident within Beard’s pamphlet, however, is that Mary was depicted as a monarch who was divinely ordained in order to bring healing and save England from the tyranny of the Protestant faith.

The second Catholic writer to advance this representation of Mary as the savior, healer, comforter, and restorer of the Catholic faith was John Heywood. In his treatise published in 1556, *The Spider and the Flie*, Heywood used allegorical imagery of a battle

¹⁰⁴ Letter from Pope Julius III. (August 5, 1553), *Pole’s Correspondence*, 129.

¹⁰⁵ Sharpe, 273.

of wills between the Protestant “spiders” and Catholic “flies” to illustrate the religious strife and division in English society.¹⁰⁶ His book included illustrations of a philosopher’s office with a wide window that had been overtaken by Protestant spiders spinning their webs of heresies in an attempt to capture and smother Catholic flies (figure 4). This illustration is an analogy of the Protestant take-over of England with their sacrilegious practices and persecution of the Catholic faithful. Hope for the Catholic flies was resurrected when the heroine maid, Queen Mary, appeared to judge and condemn the wicked spiders.¹⁰⁷ As she is represented as a simple housemaid, she is duty bound by her master, Christ, and her mistress, the Holy Catholic Church, to kill the Protestant spiders in order to “save custom of justice: first her thereto, /Loth was she: execution on him to do.”¹⁰⁸ Her kingly sword to dispense justice was represented by a maiden’s broom and through this transformation Heywood has feminized the masculine symbol and has tempered justice with mercy.

Heywood’s portrayal of Mary also provided a symbolic link to the Virgin Mary because her primary trait is extolling mercy. Duncan argues that this representation of Mary’s mercy would later be reframed in response to her most controversial policy of burning Protestant heretics.¹⁰⁹ This can especially be seen in the context of Heywood’s description of the maiden putting the spiders to death, “Whose sworde like a brome: that swepht out filth cleane:/ Not a sword that fileth the house: by blodie meane,/This

¹⁰⁶ John Heywood, *The Spider and the Flie, A parable*. [In verse] (STC 13308, London 1556) Early English Books Online.

¹⁰⁷ Duncan argues that Heywood’s portrayal of Mary is an image of a powerful and merciful woman through her dispensing of justice. Duncan, 130.

¹⁰⁸ Heywood, 452.

¹⁰⁹ Duncan, 130.

mercifull maiden tooke in hand to sweepe,/ Her window: this realme. Not to kill, but to keepe: All in quiet.”¹¹⁰ In the image, Mary understood that she had a divinely appointed duty to redeem the country by eliminating any Protestant threat that prevented it from fulfilling God’s will. While she did not take any joy in ending the lives of the Protestant spiders, she did so for the well-being of her kingdom.

In the end, Mary’s allegorical figure ends the protracted religious conflict by destroying the spiders “wyth her foote she presseth hym to death” and “the mayde sweepth the window cleane in euerie place. As far as her brome and arme wyll stretch, which done she departeth.”¹¹¹ The queen was presented as a servant of God who seeks to do His will to eliminate the threat of Protestantism within England.¹¹² Heywood presents Mary as a champion who will save England from Protestant wickedness and heresy and cleanse the country of its filth and depravity by making England whole once again. In the eyes of Mary’s Catholic subjects, her purity and devotion to Catholicism as a woman as well as her supreme and divine authority as sovereign made her the perfect muse for Heywood and others to make the queen a Catholic heroine.

This portrayal of Mary as the heroine and savior was further emphasized in Miles Huggarde’s pamphlets, *An Assault of the Blessed Sacraments* (1553) and *A Treatise declaring howe Christ by perverse preachyng was banished out of this realm. And howe it hath pleased God to bring Christ home againe by Mary our moost gracious Quene*

¹¹⁰ Heywood, 453 excerpt quoted in Duncan’s work, 130.

¹¹¹ Heywood, 224; Duncan 129.

¹¹² Sharpe, 273.

(1554).¹¹³ In *An Assault on the Blessed Sacrament*, Huggarde described the attack on the holy sacraments by the Protestants during the reformation of Henry VIII and Edward VI and the fear, devastation, and defeat English Catholics felt at this violation of their sacred faith. Like Beard's ballad, Huggarde recognized that God punished his people for their disobedience and rebellion, like the Israelites, by withholding his blessings and allowing wickedness to rule the kingdom. However, Huggarde rejoiced that Mary's accession to the throne finally brought redemption, hope, and restoration of the Catholic faith:

For the whiche as I a long time did pray, I heard trumpets blow very sweet and high, Then did my hart reioyce putting care away, Me thought the sounde was of some victory, with the coming in I saw suddenly, A noble standard all the white and green, Embroidered with roses royally beseene. After which standard did enter in, one triumphantly as the chiefe captaine, Whiche was a crowned quene and virgin. Who seeing Lady Faith so had in disdain, Drove backe the baile that I might se plaine, Lady Faith still holding the sacrament, to the which quene did kneel.¹¹⁴

Huggarde had prayed for England's redemption from its sins and for God to provide someone to lead them back to the Catholic faith. God heard Huggarde's prayer and answered him by placing Mary Tudor on the throne. In the text, Huggarde portrays Mary as a victor welcomed home from battle amidst joyous celebrations. God used Mary as His warrior to redeem His people from religious persecution. Huggarde described Mary kneeling and awaiting her blessing before a physical manifestation of Faith, a figure of a humble woman, who held the Holy Sacraments that were discarded by her predecessors.

¹¹³ Miles Huggarde, *An Assault on the Blessed Sacraments* (STC 13556, London 1553) Early English Books Online; Huggarde, *A treatise declaring howe Christ by perverse preachyng was banished out of this realm. And howe it hath pleased God to bring Christ home againe by Mary our moost gracious Quene* (London: 1554) Early English Books Online.

¹¹⁴ Huggard, *Assault on the Sacrament*, 19.

This image in Huggarde's pamphlet is significant as it replicates images that were similarly published in the miniature images of Mary as well as Beard's ballad.

Huggarde's other pamphlet, *A Treatise declaring howe Christ*, mirrors the portrayal of Mary as the deliverer of the true faith. In this work, however, Huggarde used biblical metaphors to relate this image. He compared the reign of Edward VI with the deprivation and sin of the reign of King Herod, which prompted the Virgin Mary, Joseph, and Jesus to flee to Egypt, similar to Catholicism going into exile by the tyranny of the Protestants. However, the reign of Mary I is seen as England's redemption and the period when the Holy family felt safe to return from Egypt, or when "Mary brought home Christ again."¹¹⁵ It is also quite significant that Huggarde compared Mary to the Virgin Mary. Duncan claims that "The Virgin Mary was the model of perfect womanhood—chaste, merciful, pure and unthreatening—and as such she provided a useful symbol for a ruling queen in counteracting fears about female viragos, women rulers who had become too masculine and sexuality threatening as a result of their power."¹¹⁶ Also, the Virgin Mary played a prominent role in the spiritual lives of the English people prior to the Reformation. Therefore, to see their new queen as a physical manifestation of their heavenly queen would most likely have been very comforting. For Queen Mary, using the image of the Virgin Mary, and the cult of the Virgin as well, was a way to reinforce her Catholic policies and strengthen the legitimacy of her reign and make them palatable and holy.

¹¹⁵ Huggarde, 20.

¹¹⁶ Duncan, 129.

One final pamphlet that portrayed Mary as defender of the Catholic faith and liberator of persecuted England was Richard Taverner's *An Oration gratulatory made upon the joyful proclaiming of the most noble princes Quene Mary Quene of England* (1553).¹¹⁷ Taverner's pamphlet provides a conflicting perspective to the previous one of Mary and her public image. As historians have examined the religious orientation of the previous writers, a wide consensus reveals that Richard Beearde, Miles Huggarde, and John Heywood were Catholics, but Richard Taverner was a well-known participant in Protestant activities in the reigns prior to Mary's.¹¹⁸ Taverner was a close associate of Thomas Cromwell's during Henry VIII's reign and published his own translation of the Bible in 1539 as well as other Protestant pamphlets. However, when Mary came to the throne in 1553, Taverner felt that the only way to survive was to play the part of a Catholic and outwardly show his support and allegiance to the queen through publishing a very pro-Catholic, pro-Marian pamphlet.

What is significant about Taverner's pamphlet, however, is that he utilized the same Marian symbolism and imagery as his contemporary pamphleteers, which suggests that Mary's image as a Catholic healer and savior had infiltrated both Catholic and Protestant camps. Taverner portrayed Mary as a joyous liberator and savior of the English people, similar to the themes found in Beearde, Heywood, and Huggarde's presentations. Yet, rather than the English enemy in the form of Protestantism, Taverner described the villain as the "one deuelish ma[n]" who can only be assumed to be the Duke of

¹¹⁷ Richard Taverner, *An Oration gratulatory made upon the joyful proclaiming of the moste noble princes Quene Mary Quene of England* (London 1553) British Library: General Reference Collection C.12. B.21

¹¹⁸ Sharpe, Duncan, King

Northumberland, who brought misery and destruction to the kingdom. Nevertheless, his worst crime was that he “craftily framed his matters, so tyrannically made himself strong & . . .so weakened the true and undoubted heirs to the Crowne imperial, that all hope was gone, al good men and wome[n] were in utter despair and deploration.”¹¹⁹ But God in his mercy turned this unspeakable sorrow into joy by placing Mary on the throne. Taverner celebrated the many virtues of England’s new queen, as a woman of integrity, clemency, and mercy and emphasized all the people of England would flourish under her reign.¹²⁰ This passage of Taverner’s pamphlet gives us some insight into a Protestant’s motivation to support Mary’s claim to the throne despite her Catholic faith. He made it clear that Northumberland was widely despised for the crimes he was charged with by the English people. While Mary was of a diverging religious belief, she was the rightful heir to the throne and seemed to be a much better alternative to the devastation of Northumberland’s reign.

In the second part of Taverner’s pamphlet, he addressed the issue of religion. “True religion of Christ, which is now received into this realm, might, through her gracious goodness, be retained & kept still,” he declared.¹²¹ He explained that there were many people in England during Henry VIII’s and Edward VI’s reigns who spread lies about the Catholic faith and allowed so many sects and heresies, which allowed the Catholic church to decay and become nearly beyond redemption. By the end of his pamphlet, Taverner expressed his greatest hope that by Mary restoring the “pure and

¹¹⁹ Sharpe, 2.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹²¹ Taverner, 7.

sincere religion of Christ,” eliminating abuses in the Church and reinstating discipline and repressing heresy, the Catholic church would be re-established and confirmed.

Finally, he wrote “The[n] I trust shall those odious names of Papist, of schismatic, or heretic, or Libertine, & such like unseemly names cease amongst us, whe[n] we shall all agree together as brethren, and be as it were one flock, having one so vigilant & tender an herd over us.”¹²² It is evident that Taverner’s greatest desire was that England would know peace and religious unity and not the confusion, fear, and distrust of past regimes. In other words, Taverner hoped that Mary would not punish the Protestant reformers, such as himself, and all of England could live in religious unity. Sadly for him, this would not be the case.

Taverner and the other pamphleteers were influenced by the dominant Catholic images that Mary and her government had projected to the public and they further enhanced these images through their own interpretations and formats. In each of these pamphlets and images that were distributed among the English populace, Mary was portrayed as a queenly-savior, a healer of wounds and hearts, and a restorer of the true faith for the benefit of England. Based on decades of political strife and religious wounds, Mary and her government made a conscious and deliberate decision to follow past Tudor propaganda initiatives and create an image of Mary as a divinely-appointed ruler ordained by God to save the country from past hardships and sins. Similar to the beloved Virgin Mary, this Mary Tudor became a vehicle for restoration, hope, and redemption. Mary and her government’s motivation behind the creation of these images was to make

¹²² Taverner, 10.

Catholicism and her religious reforms familiar, safe, and unthreatening in the eyes of her subjects. It was evident to Mary and her councilors that there were many in England, especially among the nobility, who feared the resurrection of the Catholic faith based on the ramifications any alliance with Rome or other Catholic principalities might inflict on their property, rights, and the kingdom itself. In order to allay their reservations, Mary attempted to connect her image with the re-establishment of Catholicism as well as reinforce her role as a healer and restorer of English unity.

Despite the great strides Mary and her government made through the creation and dissemination of these images, her policy decisions to allow foreign influence into the country began the process of dismantling the image of Mary as a Catholic queen, healer, and restorer. The next stage of Mary's reign and progress of Catholic reforms were darkened with fears, uncertainty, and distrust through her decision to marry the Habsburg heir, Philip of Spain. Again, Mary faced another policy decision that was unpopular among the English populace and she needed to further align her image with her Spanish husband in order to gain her subjects support and loyalty. In the next chapter, I will examine the methods and means that Mary and her government used to make her Habsburg marriage seem safe and beneficial to her subjects.

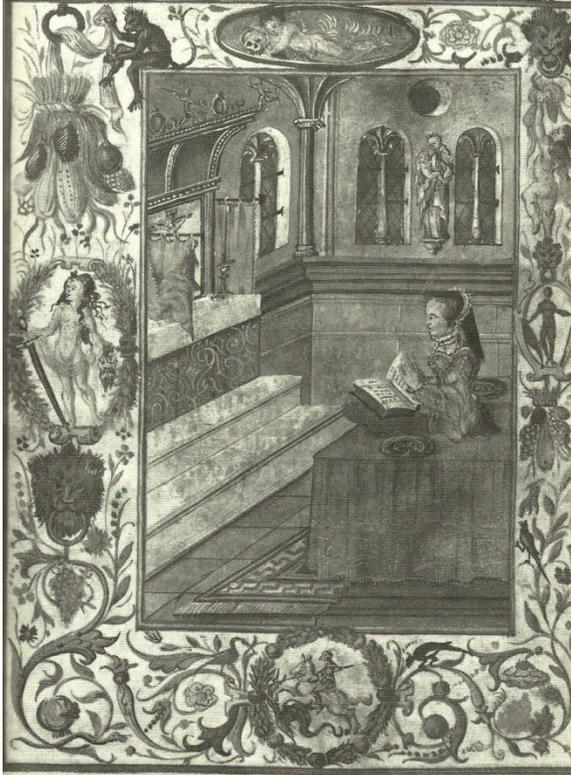


Figure #1
Westminster Cathedral MS Treasury,
Vellum Manuscript, “Certain prayers to
be used by the quenes heignes in the
consecration of the crampe rynges”
(1553-8); miniature attributed to Levina
Teerling.

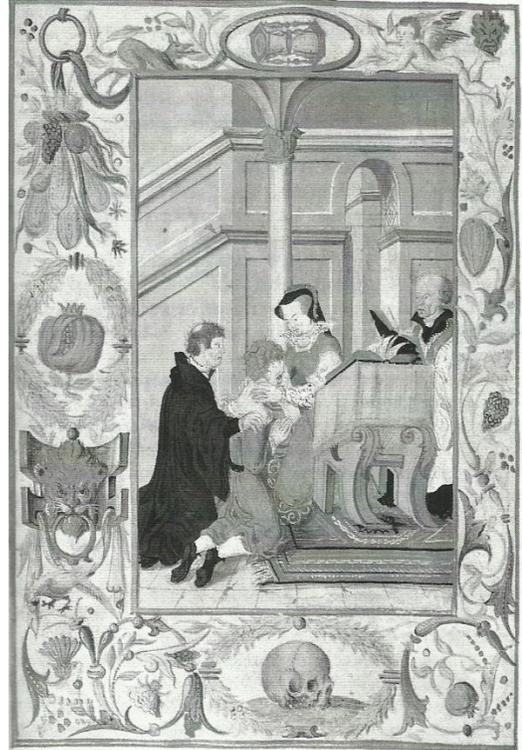


Figure #2
Mary Tudor curing the king’s evil
(watercolor on paper), English
School/Private Collection/ The
Bridgeman Art Library International.

Also found in *Susan Doran. Mary I:
Gender, Power, and Ceremony in the
Reign of England’s First Queen* (New
York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 125.

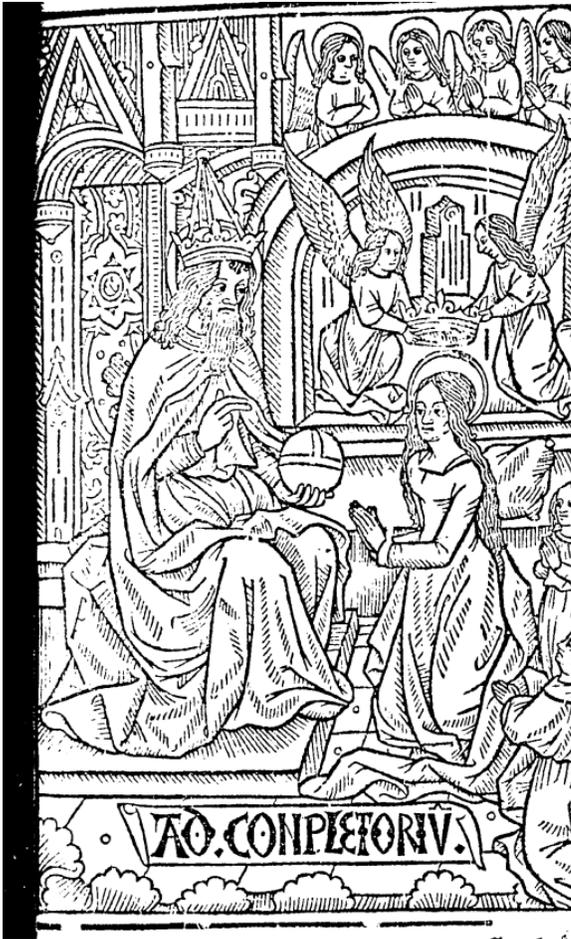


Figure #3
Image from Richard Beard's *A Godly Psalme of Marye Queene which brought vs comfort al, through God, whom wee of dewtye prayse.* (1553)



Figure #4
Image from John Heywood's *A Spider and the Flie* (1556)

CHAPTER III

THE HABSBURG MARRIAGE AND THE ENGLISH REACTION: THE MARIAN PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN FOR HABSBURG AND ENGLISH RECONCILIATION

Habsburg Marriage and Marian Policy

While the reconciliation with Rome was at the forefront of the Marian agenda, the Queen wanted to be married not only to provide an heir to the throne but because she believed that she needed a partner to help her with significant state matters and customs deemed not “pertinent to women.”¹²³ Whether or not this is the case, Mary did not pass any major religious policies, such as the reconciliation with Rome and the heresy laws, until after she was married to Prince Philip of Spain in July 1554. Therefore, Mary needed to intertwine her image as a devoted wife to a Habsburg prince by using similar techniques as her Catholic propaganda campaign in order to strengthen her image as a pious, Catholic Queen to garner her subject’s support and compliance to her religious and diplomatic policies.

As a sovereign female ruler, Mary had an obligation to continue the Tudor lineage and provide an heir to the throne. Thus the other image Mary consciously fashioned of herself was of the loving, devoted wife of a Habsburg prince and heir. When Mary became queen, she was already thirty-seven years and knew that if she was going to continue the Tudor dynasty she needed to marry as quickly as possible. Mary’s main requirements for her potential new spouse was that he had to be Catholic and equally zealous of restoring the Catholic faith in England. The primary contender for her hand was her second cousin and the son of Emperor Charles V, Prince Philip of Spain. From

¹²³ Loades, 10.

the day that Mary came to throne, Charles V and his ambassadors advised Mary to consider Philip as her consort. The Habsburg ambassadors in London urged Mary to be cautious in matters of religion and her forthcoming marriage. They explained that government matters could be too difficult for a woman and it was important that “the Queen should be assisted, protected, and comforted in the discharge of those duties” by her husband.¹²⁴ After laying this groundwork, Charles V proposed that a marriage to Philip would be a prudent match because he could assist and protect her in ways that an English husband could not.¹²⁵ Furthermore, a marriage alliance between England and the Holy Roman Empire would be advantageous to Charles V because it would be a way to keep France in check. But this was not discussed with Mary. To her, the marriage was depicted as an effective means to restore Catholicism and firmly establish her throne.¹²⁶ It seems that Charles only wanted to portray this proposed marriage in the most beneficial light for England, otherwise, if it seemed that the Habsburgs would use the marriage for their own international political agenda, it might make Mary and her government hesitant to proceed.

It was already evident to the Habsburg ambassadors and to many in Mary’s government, however, that this match was highly undesirable to the English people. Charles was very much aware of English xenophobia, particularly against the Spanish, and particularly because of Philip’s policies in the Low Countries.¹²⁷ Charles was very

¹²⁴ A letter from the Habsburg ambassadors to Charles V. (August 2, 1553) From: Spain: August 1553, 1-5’, Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 11: 1553 (1916), pp. 127-150. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=88486> Date accessed: 23 April 2013.

¹²⁵ A letter from Simon Renard. (August 7, 1553). From Spain: August 1553, 6-10’, Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 11: 1553 (1916), pp. 150-162. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=88486> Date accessed: 23 April 2013

¹²⁶ Muller, 236.

¹²⁷ Loades, 108.

much afraid that Philip's unpopularity would spill over into England. In a letter to his son days after Mary's ascension, Charles wrote "I believe that the English will do all in their power to prevent our cousin from wedding a foreigner."¹²⁸ Simon Renard also wrote a memorandum to Mary reiterating that she should marry for the sake of the commonweal and to carry on the succession to the Crown. He recognized, however, that Mary would face barriers if she decided to marry a foreigner, including Philip. "Some difficulties might arise in connexion with a foreigner," he wrote, because "it is the nature of the English to hate and abhor strangers. Your subjects will fear that a foreign prince may wish to alter the laws, customs and administration of the land."¹²⁹ While Mary's Council was already in divided over the issue of re-establishing Papal supremacy in England, in the early days of September 1553 and a mere month and an half after her accession, she announced that she had chosen the Habsburg prince as her future husband.

After Mary made this declaration to her Council and to Parliament, they implored her to reconsider because they feared that her subjects would not stand for it. Mary's Council presented her with a list of reasons why a marriage to Philip of Spain would be problematic. Her subjects hated foreigners and would be fearful that the foreign prince would attempt to alter the laws, customs and administration of the kingdom. This would then open the door for schismatic, heretics, Protestants, and other Marian opponents to gain a foot hold with the English populace and usurp the religious changes she was attempting to implement.¹³⁰ Lastly, the Council explained that religion should be her

¹²⁸ A letter from Charles V to Prince Philip. (July 30, 1553) From: 'Spain: July 1553, 21-31', Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 11: 1553 (1916), pp. 109-127, URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=88486> Date accessed: 23 April 2013.

¹²⁹ A memorandum from Simon Renard to Mary I. (October 15, 1553).

¹³⁰ Letter from Simon Renard to Mary. (October 15, 1553). From: Spain: October

chief consideration and the only way to guarantee its success was through a suitable English match.

For many of her councilors, including her Lord Chancellor Gardiner, they preferred her to make a domestic marriage with Edward Courtenay.¹³¹ Courtney was a Catholic who spent fifteen out of his twenty-seven years in the Tower for conspiring with Reginald Pole to lead a Roman Catholic uprising in 1539. Another advantage to a marriage with Courtenay was that he was the great-grandson of Edward IV and therefore of royal lineage.¹³² Rather than acknowledge the Council's and Parliament's fears or proposals, Mary berated them for presuming to interfere with such personal matters and reminded them that they would not have acted that way if she had been a male sovereign attempting to choose a consort.¹³³ By November 17, Mary had accepted the Habsburg Prince's proposal and announced to the realm that she was to marry Philip of Spain. It was evident to the Habsburgs and to Mary's Council and Parliament that any popular support the queen had received for being the rightful heir, or for her policies to re-establish Catholicism would be greatly diminished by her choice of husband. Despite these misgivings, Mary was adamant about proceeding. In addition, she felt it was necessary to align her image with that of her future husband to secure her subjects' allegiance. It may be possible that Mary was misinformed about the strength of her peoples' loyalty to her and thought that conjoining her image with her husband's would dispel any fears and misapprehensions that a foreign marriage might bring.

¹³¹ Muller, 236.

¹³² Ibid., 237.; and letter from Simon Renard to Prince Philip. (October 3, 1553). From: Spain: October 1553, 1-5', Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 11: 1553 (1916), pp. 261-272. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=88497> Date accessed: 24 April 2013.

¹³³ Loades 111; Letter from Simon Renard to Charles V. (November 17, 1553). From: Spain: November 1553, 16-20', Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 11: 1553 (1916), pp. 363-374. URL: <http://british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=88506> Date accessed: 24 April 2013.

The marriage between a queen and a foreign ruler was unexplored territory for the English, which was cause for much uncertainty and unrest over how the marriage would work. Historian Margaret Sommerville argues that early modern philosophers, theorists, and theologians perceived women to be inferior to men because nature had formed them to be physically weaker, less intellectually capable, and less competent at controlling their emotions. Early moderners maintained that the sexual differences between men and women were evidence of different and unequal abilities, and character traits. Sommerville further explains that the widespread perception of a woman's physical, intellectual, and emotional inferiority contributed to an understanding that all women needed to be subjected to husbands, fathers, or brothers in order control their nature. Evidence of women's natural inferiority was explained in the Biblical text of Genesis as God created Eve from the rib of Adam and therefore women should naturally be subject to men. Furthermore, Eve was held responsible for the Fall of Man because she was susceptible to Satan's manipulations because of her natural inferiority. From the sixteenth-century male perspective, women should never be allowed to forget that Eve sinned first and that it was her fault that mankind was no longer in communion with God in the Garden of Eden.¹³⁴ Sommerville's analysis of the sixteenth century misogyny provides a glimpse into English fears about their queen and her submission to a husband which would mean total loss of control, and could threaten the sovereignty of England.

Mary and her Council understood that her subjects were anxious about her nuptials and attempted to dispel doubts by making a marriage treaty that emphasized the queen's sovereignty in England. In January 1554, Mary's government had drawn up a

¹³⁴ Margaret R. Sommerville, *Sex and Subjection: Attitudes to Women in Early-Modern Society* (London: Arnold, 1995), 9- 29.

marriage treaty that clearly defined the role and expectations for the new Habsburg consort. In this treaty, supported and signed by Mary's Council, Philip was given the royal title of King and Consort, however, it would be an empty title void of the powers and prestige of a reigning king. The treaty explained that Philip "shall assist his consort in the task of government, saving always the kingdom's laws, privileges, and customs. He relinquishes all claims to dispose of offices, posts and benefices in the kingdom, which shall be bestowed upon its natives."¹³⁵ Furthermore, any child that would be born to the royal couple would succeed to Mary's right to the kingdom of England and Philip could never force their children, or Mary, to go out of the country with him. Finally, the treaty stipulated that, their kingdoms and dominions would be left whole to be governed by their native rulers, according to their own laws and customs. In other words, the treaty created a safeguard that if Mary were to die, Philip would not be able to claim England as his own territory or attempt to set up any type of puppet government.¹³⁶

Based on the contemporary account of an anonymous writer who supposedly was a resident of the Tower of London during Mary's reign, Lord Chancellor Gardiner came before the presence of all the Lords, nobility, and gentleman gathered at Westminster and declared, "that the Queen's majesty, partly for the wealth and enriching of the realm, and partly for friendship and other weighty considerations, hath, after much suite on his (the king of Spain) behalf made, determined, and by the consent of her council and nobility, to match herself with him in most godly and lawful matrimony."¹³⁷ Gardiner also noted that England was fortunate to have a Prince who would so humble himself to marry the

¹³⁵ Treaty of marriage between Philip, Prince of Spain, and Mary, Queen of England. (January 1, 1554) Calendar of State Papers, Spain 1554.

¹³⁶ Treaty of Marriage between Philip, Prince of Spain, and Mary, Queen of England.

¹³⁷ *The Chronicles of Queen Jane*, 34.

Queen as a subject and not a ruler. “The queen should rule all things as she dothe now; and that there should be of the council no Spaniard, nether bear rule or office in the queen’s house, or elsewhere in all England” further declared Gardiner. In this public announcement, Mary and her Council attempted to reassure the most powerful masters and lords of England that Philip would not be a threat to them, their property or their power.

After the treaty was ratified, it was published as a royal proclamation in January 1554. The Habsburg ambassador soon wrote that because Mary “has decided to cause the publication of her marriage to be made throughout the kingdom, it will be well to have certain number of people ready to explain everywhere the advantages to be derived by the kingdom from this marriage, and dispel all fears of being governed by foreigners.”¹³⁸

This seems to imply that while Mary had her nuptial agreement published and disseminated, she also had individuals strategically placed among the populace who promoted the benefits of the marriage and allayed the fears might produce. While the Habsburg ambassador’s letter made this implication, it is unclear from domestic sources whether or not the Marian government fulfilled this appeal. It is apparent from this treaty that from the start, however, that Mary’s Council wanted to protect England from the potential threats and vulnerabilities that a royal foreign husband could bring. Many also felt the need to reassure Mary’s subjects that the government would protect the kingdom from foreign dangers.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Mary’s propaganda campaign to create an image of herself as a good Catholic queen influenced and inspired pamphlets and

¹³⁸ Letter from a Habsburg ambassador to Charles V. (January 31, 1554). From: Spain: January 1554: 26-31’, Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 12: 1554 (1949), pp. 50-66. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=88537> Date accessed: 24 April 2013.

writings upon her accession to the throne. She was able to use similar methods to present herself as a good Habsburg wife, such as sponsoring writings praising her Spanish-Catholic marriage to allay her subjects' fears. During the days of marriage negotiations between the Marian and Habsburg governments, the author of *Chronicle of Queen Jane* documented that when the Habsburg ambassadors came into London and were brought to Westminster, "the people, nothing rejoicing, held down their head sorrowfully."¹³⁹ He further noted that "the day before his [Philip's] coming in, as his retinue and harbingers came riding through London, the boys pelted at them with snowballs; so hateful was the sight of their coming in to them."¹⁴⁰ Upon the New Year and the publication of the marriage treaty, Renard wrote to the Bishop of Arras that rumors of rebellion and treasonous acts spread like wildfire throughout the kingdom. "The heretics are constantly trying to rouse up the people against the nobility and foreigners in order to prevent the marriage and the thorough restoration of religion."¹⁴¹ Some of these rebels, as documented by Renard, attempted to use Mary's scorned prospect, Courtenay, or her sister, Elizabeth, as figureheads for insurgence. Other rebels in Essex, such as Peter Carew, attempted to revolt against the Queen because they feared the Spaniards were only interested in the marriage alliance in order to come to oppress the English people.¹⁴² However, before Carew could successfully take up arms, a warrant for his arrest sent him into exile in Europe.¹⁴³

¹³⁹ *The Chronicles of Queen Jane*, 34.

¹⁴⁰ *The Chronicles of Jane*, 34.

¹⁴¹ A letter from Simon Renard to the Bishop of Arras. (January 8, 1554). From: 'Spain: January 1554, 1-10', Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 12: 1554 (1949), pp. 1-20. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=88534> Date accessed: 24 April 2013.

¹⁴² A letter from Simon Renard to Charles V. (January 18, 1554). From: 'Spain: January 1554, 11-20', Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 12: 1554 (1949), pp. 20-36. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=88534> Date accessed: 24 April 2013.

¹⁴³ Loades 112.

Shortly after the threat of the Carew revolt, a more significant rebellion took place in Kent under the leadership of Sir Thomas Wyatt with the help of Sir Robert Courtenay and Jane Grey's father, Henry Grey, the Duke of Suffolk. Wyatt, with the support of 3,000 men from four counties, occupied Rochester on January 26, 1554 and proclaimed themselves loyalists of England because they were fighting against the Spanish match and the threat of Spanish invasion. The *Chronicles of Queen Jane* documented Wyatt rousing his troops with the following dialogue:

Masters, we go about to fight against our native countrymen of England and our friend in a quarrel unrightfully and partly wicked, for they, considering the great and manifold miseries which are like to fall upon us if we shall be under the rule of the proud Spaniards or strangers, are here assembled to make resistance of the coming in of him and his favorers; and for that they know right well, that if we should be under their subjection they would, as slaves and villains, spoil us of our goods and lands, ravish our wives before our faces, and deflower our daughters in our presence, . . . in time before his coming, this their enterprise, against which I think no English heart ought to say, much less by fighting to withstand them.¹⁴⁴

According to this writer, the English people were terrified of the Spaniards coming to England and wreaking havoc on their property and families. Loades claims that the leaders of the rebellion understood that Mary was obstinate and it would be easier to break her rather than bend her to their will to abandon the marriage.¹⁴⁵ Wyatt and his followers saw themselves as English liberators from the tyranny that the Spanish match would inflict while Mary's government viewed them as the worst sort of traitors and heretics.

In response to the uprising, Mary gave a speech in Guildford Hall in January 31, 1554, which was one of her most important moments as Queen. She reminded her people

¹⁴⁴ *The Chronicles of Jane*, 38-39.

¹⁴⁵ Loades, 111.

that she was their queen by their support for her cause against the traitor Northumberland. Furthermore, she turned Wyatt's motivation for rebellion on its head and argued that "under pretense of misliking this marriage, [he] rebel[led] against the catholic religion and divine service restored in this realm."¹⁴⁶ Mary trivialized the "potential" threat of her nuptials and made rebellion against the Catholic religion a treasonable offence. Furthermore, Mary claimed that Wyatt was also waging war against her very person and her subjects' private property and identified herself with the well-being of the commonweal. Mary's speech roused her subjects in defense of their Queen and when Wyatt brought his army of 3,000 rebels to the gates of London, they were refused entrance. Without being able to contact their allies inside London, Wyatt's army was attacked from behind by the queen's forces under the Duke of Norfolk and was thus defeated.¹⁴⁷ Therefore, Wyatt's rebellion failed and resulted in his execution along with Sir Henry Grey and the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey, because she now became a threat for further insurrections.¹⁴⁸ In addition to the leaders of the rebellion, Mary had ninety rebels hanged, drawn, and quartered, the standard execution for treasonable offences for the English lower classes.

After Wyatt's defeat, a pamphlet was printed in support of the Queen's marriage that emphasized the dangers of disobedience. John Proctor's 1555 pamphlet, *A Historie of Wyates Rebellion*, was dedicated to the "most virtuous lade, our most gracious sovereign, Marie" and demonstrated to her subjects the fatal consequences of rebellion

¹⁴⁶ Letters from Counts d'Egmont and de Lalaing, MM. de Courrieres and Nigri to Charles V. (February 3, 1554). From: 'Spain: February 1554, 1-5', Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 12, 1554 (1949), pp. 66-82. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=88538> Date accessed: 24 April 2013.

¹⁴⁷ Loades, 113.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 115.

through the example of Sir Thomas Wyatt. In his preface, Proctor explained that he wrote this treatise to expose the hateful visage of rebellion, to make sure that no insurrection occurred again and so that “both the good may be encouraged in the execution of perfect obedience and unspotted loyalty and [the] wicked restrained.”¹⁴⁹ The author also mirrored the arguments made by Mary during the Guildford Speech that although Wyatt rebelled under the guise of the Spanish match, any kind of rebellion against the government was an act of heresy. This treasonous tale had a happy ending in which the heroine, Queen Mary, was favored by God and drew her people back to loyalty and away from the treason they “did so much abhor.”¹⁵⁰ In this way, Proctor emphasized that God always defends those whom he has chosen, and thus rebellions against sovereigns are never profitable or successful. Mary’s use of religious imagery to legitimize her reign spilled over into the Catholic-inspired writings of that period. Not only did these writings celebrate her religion and marriage, they also charged her subjects to recognize that God had continued to bless and protect her sovereignty as the wife of a Habsburg heir and it was their duty to offer loyalty and devotion to His elected authority on earth.

The theme of obedience was also emphasized in James Cancellor’s 1556 treatise, *The pathe of obedience*.¹⁵¹ Cancellor’s work received a “letter patent” from the Marian government, indicating that it had official sanction, and he dedicated it to the “highe and mighty princes, Mary, the fyrst, by the grace of God Quene of England.”¹⁵² He opened by declaring that God demands obedience from his people to their lawful sovereigns.

¹⁴⁹ John Proctor, *A historie of Wyates Rebellion* (STC 20408, London 1555) Early English Books Online, 12.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 35.

¹⁵¹ James Cancellor, *The pathe of obedience* (STC 4564, London 1556) Early English Books Online.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 2.

Cancellor claimed that God punishes disobedience and rebellion and went into further detail of how the dangers of disobedience to the Catholic Church and their Queen would be manifest. “Since the which time many of us have not only declared ourselves in all our acts unnatural and disobedient subjects against our most virtuous Queen, Queen Mary. But also,” Cancellor continued, “as I have said against our mother the Catholic church.”¹⁵³ The author proceeded to list many grievous sins and acts of disobedience, perpetuated by the English, such as degrading the Sacraments, forgetting God’s word, whoredom, adultery and dissent.¹⁵⁴ Cancellor explained that the English subjects have been disobedient to both their Queen and church, which resulted in all kinds of evil to befall the kingdom. He used examples from the Bible of the disobedience of the Israelites to God to warn the English people that if they do not turn from their sinful ways, they will suffer the fate of the damned.

The common refrain from these Catholic pamphlets was to point out what would happen to the English if their acts of heresy continued unchecked. Cancellor warned that, “like as the wolf sucketh the blood of lambs, so likewise disobedience devoureth the state of every commonweal” and especially that “heretics, who if they might bee suffered too reign, would bring all things to ruin.”¹⁵⁵ The significance of these lines would not be lost on the English populace as they had a year previously witnessed and experienced the defeat and execution of the Wyatt rebels. It was clear that rebellion would not be tolerated by Mary and her government.

Despite or perhaps because of the unpopularity of the Habsburg marriage, Mary went on to assure her subjects that despite her marriage, she would retain all of her

¹⁵³ Ibid., 9.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 9.

¹⁵⁵ Cancellor, 10.

powers and sole sovereignty over the kingdom in the second Parliament held in April 1554. In a statute ratified by Parliament, Mary's role was clearly expressed,

By the authority of this present Parliament, that your Majesty as our only Queen, shall and may solye and as a sole Queen, use have and enjoy the Crown and Sovereignty of and over your Realm Dominions and Subjects ...as your Grace hath had used exercised and enjoyed, or might have had used or enjoyed the same before the solemnization of the said Marriage.¹⁵⁶

This act stipulated that Philip's role as Mary's consort was to "permit and suffer" her to dispose of all benefices and offices and his sole task was to aid his wife in her administration of the government. Mary and Parliament made it clear to the English people that their sovereign would maintain complete autonomy and control over the kingdom and Philip would play the role of the typical royal consort of helper and supporter and nothing more.

Marian Propaganda Campaign for the Habsburg Marriage

As the new religious laws went into effect and Philip's role became legally and politically established within the kingdom, Mary then felt it was necessary to fuse her image to Philip in order to link her religiously-inspired image as a Catholic Queen with her choice of a Catholic husband. One of her primary motivations for choosing Philip as her spouse was because of his staunch Catholicism and zealous desire to eliminate Protestant dissent in Europe. Therefore for Mary, aligning Philip's image to her already recognized Catholic image should merge effortlessly. Hopefully the message sent to her subjects would be that the royal couple would work together to bring England back to God and His will.

¹⁵⁶ I Mary, st. 3, c. 2, *Statutes of the Realm, Volume 4, Part I [1547-1585]* (London: Record Commission, 1819), 222-226.

However, as Simon Renard had realized from the beginning, one of the principle difficulties with the Spanish match would be to sell it to “the people.”¹⁵⁷ Loades claims that when Renard used the term, “the people,” what he really meant was the nobility and gentry without “whose cooperation the country could soon become ungovernable.”¹⁵⁸ But Mary also wanted to win the support of the broader populace, and therefore utilized many of the same strategies and techniques she had used in her attempt to present her Catholicism as safe, acceptable, and healing. In order for Mary to unite her image and divine sovereignty with that of her new husband, she used a variety of devices such as portraits, official government seals and documents, coins, pamphlets, and coats of arms. The objective of linking Mary’s image to Philip’s was to transfer the established support of the English people from their English Queen to the Habsburg couple. Again, it seems that Mary was misinformed about the amount of support she had garnered upon her accession and hoped that Philip’s transition as a royal consort could be seamless if he was portrayed as a Catholic helpmate in conjunction with the image of the already “beloved” Catholic queen.

In the months prior to their marriage and in the years after, Mary used official government proclamations, documents, seals, and coins to demonstrate to her subjects that Philip was a co-ruler of England and required the same amount of loyalty, obedience, and respect that she demanded. After their marriage took place in July 1554, official government documents were published and distributed throughout the kingdom that showed Philip with equal authority and divine sovereignty as Mary. Despite Mary’s Council and Parliament’s diligent efforts to limit Philip’s authority as consort, it appears

¹⁵⁷ Simon Renard to Charles V.

¹⁵⁸ Loades, *Mary Tudor*, 111.

that Mary desired her husband to have the appearance of equal royal dignity and power within the kingdom. After the marriage, royal proclamations consistently began, “In the year of the reign of our sovereign Lord and Lady, Philippe and Marye by the grace of God, king and Queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland, Defenders of the faith, princes of Spain & Stile, Archdukes of Austria, Dukes of Villaine, Burgundy and Brabant, counties of Habsburg, Flanders, Tyrol.”¹⁵⁹ As demonstrated in the marriage treaty, Mary was to hold equal authority over Philip’s dominions as it stated, “the Queen shall, in virtue of the marriage, be admitted to share in the realms and dominions, present and future, of the Prince, as long as the marriage endures” and proceeded to list the same territories as documented in the royal proclamations.¹⁶⁰ Mary and Philip were to be seen as joint rulers over a significant portion of Europe as well as holding the responsibility as “Defenders of the Faith.” For the royal couple the defense of the Catholic faith was their primary agenda and it seemed to be such an important occupation for them that they included that title among their other royal responsibilities.

Philip arrived in England with a large Spanish retinue on July 20, 1554 and the royal couple was married five days later in the cathedral church in Winchester. Upon their marital union, illustrations on government documents began to bear portraits of Mary and Philip jointly enthroned, with her holding the scepter of rule and he with a sword. These illustrations were primarily in the center of the initial letters of these documents under a large crown with the phrase, “Dieu et mon droit,” meaning, “God and my right.” The heading for the document following the initial letter of P is, “Philippus & Maria On Gracia Rex & Regina,” which means “Philip and Mary, by the grace of the

¹⁵⁹ *Actes made in Parliament* (STC 9448, London 1555) Early English Books Online

¹⁶⁰ A Treaty of Marriage between Philip, Prince of Spain, and Mary, Queen of England.

King and Queen.” Above this phrase, the document portrays images of the Tudor rose and iconic English symbols such as a lion and a dragon representing the Tudor lineage and English heraldry. This particular image was exhibited on a royal letter patent granted to Sir Henry Sidney, Sir George Blounte, John Somerfeilde, and Thomas Marrowe for services provided to the crown.¹⁶¹ The depiction of the royal couple along with the script, “God and my right,” emphasized that the authority and justification for making these proclamations were given to both queen and king by divine right. Similar depictions are also found on plea rolls, which are rolls of parchment that record details of legal suits or actions taking place in courts of law. In an Easter roll from 1556, Mary and Philip’s images are displayed in similar positions as the document described above, yet they are also framed by the Tudor rose and pomegranate, which represented Mary’s mother, Catherine of Aragon, while the couple is dressed in a mixture of English and Spanish costumes.¹⁶² (figure #5) These illustrations of the royal couple garnished in heraldry and English iconography suggested to Mary’s subjects that the two were co-rulers and their swords and scepters gesture to the crown and authority they share.

As noted above, Mary used the symbol of the pomegranate in her royal insignia on government documents to refer to her mother, Catherine of Aragon. Mary’s mother was also a Spanish Habsburg and was an aunt to her husband, Philip. Catherine of Aragon chose the pomegranate as special emblem because it testified to her identity as a Spanish princess. It also was a symbol of her parents’, Ferdinand and Isabella, the “Catholic Monarchs”, defeat of the Moors in Granada and the pomegranate became part

¹⁶¹ “Mary I, Queen of England. Philip. Initial P of a royal letter patent, depicting a royal couple, document being a grant to Sir Henry Sidney, Sir George Blounte, John Somerfeilde and Thomas Marrowe etc, on vellum. (4 May 1555) British Library: RP 5469: 14 April 1994.

¹⁶² Mary and Philip, Easter 1556 plea roll. National Archives England: KB 27/1178. Picture is also located in Sharpe’s *Selling of a Tudor Monarchy*, p. 276.

of the royal arms of Spain.¹⁶³ Furthermore, the pomegranate was a symbol of fertility and abundance and would represent to the English subjects that she would continue the Tudor dynasty through the birth of many English heirs.¹⁶⁴ Because she was very close to her mother, it seems that Mary attempted to emulate her in many ways while she was queen, such as her faith in Catholicism and her Habsburg heritage. Therefore, it is also possible that Mary's desire to portray herself as a Habsburg wife could have stemmed from her own Habsburg heritage. However, there is a sense of tragic irony that Mary adopted the pomegranate as her royal emblem because despite its symbolism for fertility, both women became historically notorious for their barrenness. While Catherine was pregnant several times during her marriage with Henry VIII, her only child to survive was Mary and her inability to produce healthy, living children was one of the primary justifications for divorce. Furthermore, Mary was married towards the end of her child-bearing years and although she claimed to be pregnant twice during her marriage to Philip of Spain, she was not able to conceive. However, when Mary chose the pomegranate as her symbol, it was to represent herself with her Habsburg roots and fertility. Soon depictions would be used against her by her Protestant adversaries.

The Great Seals and coins issued by Mary's government rehearsed some of the same visual images and symbolism. Around the border of the Great Seals were inscribed all the titles the monarchs held and lands they ruled as well as images of the couple enthroned. Mary and Philip were often depicted seated from left to right while facing each other and with swords in both their outside hands and their inner hands joined together by holding a large orb with a cross. The position of the sovereigns and their

¹⁶³ Hope Johnston, "Catherine of Aragon's Pomegranate, Revisited," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 13, no. 2 (2005) 153-173 JSTOR Accessed: 12/30/2014, 154.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 173.

regal weapons and orbs signified the equal rule of the king and queen over England.¹⁶⁵ (figure #6a and 6b) On the reverse side of the Great Seal, Mary and Philip are seated on horses while each are holding a sword. However, in this image, Philip is the dominant figure because he is seated on the an elaborately decorated front horse and Mary is facing him the other side. In addition, the inscription on the outside of the seal bears Philip's titles as Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, Brabant and Flanders. From 1555 onwards, this Great Seal would not have comforted those in England who feared that this union would cede Mary's and England's authority to the Habsburg empire.¹⁶⁶ The same could be said about the coins that Mary issued after her marriage (figure #7). The coins present two profile figures of the sovereigns facing each other under one shared crown while the inscriptions describe their combined kingdoms. The coins announced Philip and Mary as a couple united by faith with the inscription, "Posuimus deum adiutorem nostrum," which means "We have made God our helper," a reference to Psalm 17:3.¹⁶⁷

As can be seen from the images portrayed on the government documents, seals, and coins, there was an apparent contradiction between the marriage treaty, laws, and Mary's advisors' wishes to keep her as the sole sovereign and the images of Mary and Philip as joint rulers. What is clear is that Mary and her government went to great lengths to legally preserve her authority and sovereignty by securing a potentially humiliating and degrading role as a consort for Philip. Furthermore, knowing the fears and apprehensions her subjects' felt regarding the marriage, Mary had the treaty and laws published to appease them. Yet, we have to wrestle with the question of why Mary

¹⁶⁵ "Philip and Mary, Great Seal. Philip and Mary I of England: Great Seal." British Library: Seal CV.8: Unspecified.

¹⁶⁶
¹⁶⁷ Loades, 100.
Sharpe, 281.

proceeded to portray publically her marriage as a joint ruler-ship in which Philip was seen to have equal or even greater power. We can conjecture that Mary hoped to please and appease her husband who was offended by the terms of the marriage treaty by visually portraying him as a co-ruler in England.¹⁶⁸ Or perhaps Mary was participating in the sixteenth-century ideology that a wife was not to be dominant over her husband and felt that it would be prudent to represent their marriage at least virtually as an equal union. While there could be several reasons why this contradiction occurred, there is not enough evidence to suggest one explanation is viable over another.

As these coins would be distributed throughout the kingdom, Mary's subjects would have a firsthand experience with Mary and Philip's joint rule over the kingdom and as Sharpe claims, this would not have helped appease fears of Philip gaining too much power in the country.¹⁶⁹ John Cawoode's pamphlet (1555) criticized Mary's decision to put the crown over both their heads in these images, which symbolized "giving to the prince of Spain (under the name of the king) as much authority, as if he were king of England in deed."¹⁷⁰ The unpopularity of the match and the degradation of the Queen was apparent when Anne, the widow of the martyred Bishop Hooper, was recorded as stating that the new coin bore "the effigies of Ahab and Jezebel."¹⁷¹ Mary's

¹⁶⁸ Letter from Philip to Charles, 6 January 1554, AGS Estado 103, fol. 72. Letter from Charles to Philip, 21 January 1554, AGS Estado 808, fol. 119. These letters are cited in Harry Kelsey, *Philip of Spain King of England: The Forgotten Sovereign* (New York: I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2012), 972. In Kelsey's analysis of these letters, he wrote that Philip was greatly offended by the degrading and powerless role that Charles and Mary negotiated in their treaty without his input or participation. Despite his objections, Philip understood that this marriage alliance was an important diplomatic move and could be greatly beneficial to Imperial Spain.

¹⁶⁹ Sharpe, 280.

¹⁷⁰ John Cawoode, *A supplicacyon to the quenes maiestie* (STC, 1555), cviii. (?), Early English Books Online

¹⁷¹ As quoted in Christopher Challis, *The Tudor Coinage* (Manchester, 1978), 118; As will be further discussed in the next chapter, the Marian opponents and Protestants used the imagery and symbolism of the wicked queen Jezebel from the scriptural account of the life and ministry of Elijah in 1

opponents identified her with Jezebel who persecuted and murdered God's faithful prophets, or Protestants, by burning them at the stake.

After Philip was established as the royal consort, Catholic pamphlets were published in support of the marriage that called for obedience from English subjects. One such pamphlet was John Elder's 1555 treatise, *The Copie of a Letter sent to Scotland*, which contained a "letter patent" provided by the Marian government approving its publication.¹⁷² Elder documented Philip's arrival in England and the joyous celebrations that unfolded over Philip and Mary's union. He then discussed the corruption, miseries, and calamities England had suffered because of its disobedience and breaking with the Catholic Church. When all hope seemed lost, Elder praised Mary for reuniting England with the Catholic Church and defending the true faith. He regarded the marriage of Mary and Philip as a divinely-ordained union to save the kingdom. "The more strongly in this enterprise, Lo how the providence of God hath joined her in marriage with a prince of like religion, who being a king of great might, armor and force, yet seateth towards you neither armor nor force, but seeketh you by the way of love and amity," wrote Elder.¹⁷³ In this passage, he portrayed Philip as a king of honor and might, yet reassured the reader that Philip hoped to bring the English subjects to the true religion through love and friendship, not force. This resembled Mary's "Pronouncement of Religion" she published in the early days of her reign. Because of Mary and Philip's apparent kindness and their blessed union, Elder continued, "to which respect great cause you have to give thanks to

and 2 Kings of the Bible. In this account, Jezebel is a Phoenician princess and wife to Ahab, whose hatred of the Israelites and God's prophets put them to a gruesome death. However, Jezebel faces God's retribution when she falls from a window and is torn to pieces by a pack of wild dogs.¹⁷¹

¹⁷² John Elder, *The copie of a letter sent in to Scotlande, of the ariuall and landyng, and moste noble marrayge of the most ilsustre Prynce Philippe, Prynce of Spaine, to she most excellente princes Marye Quene of England* (STC 7552, 1555) Early English Books Online.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 31.

almighty God and hath sent you such Catholic Governors. It shall be therefore your parte again to love, obey and serve them. And as it was a singular favor of God to conjoin them in marriage.”¹⁷⁴ Elder’s call to obedience, love, and service to the Queen and King as well as being thankful for their rule continued the theme of obedience established by the Marian government and pamphlet writers after Wyatt’s Rebellion.

Another avenue through which Mary represented her image with her husband was the use of royal portraits. Within sixteenth century political culture, royal portraits provided means for monarchs to represent their supremacy, majesty, and royal prerogative. These images fulfilled the symbolic requirements that were necessary for rulers to make themselves and their dynasties instantly recognizable.¹⁷⁵ The joint portrait of Philip and Mary created in 1558 by a Flemish painter who became the official court painter during Mary’s reign, Hans Eworth, depicts Mary seated and enthroned with the Habsburg and English coats of arms displayed above and Philip standing opposite her. (figure #8) Mary is holding a red Tudor rose in her hand and Philip is wearing a golden fleece around his neck, signifying their dynastic union while the inscription above the door frame gives the dates and years which the royal couple had ruled as monarchs of the kingdoms of England, Spain, France, Sicily, and Ireland and as the Archduke and Duchess of Austria, Burgundy, and Brabant, in addition to being Defenders of the Faith.

This portrait visually represented Mary as a loving wife of a Habsburg prince and further implied that he ruled England as her equal. One of the prominent features of the double portrait is the pendant jewel that Mary wore around her neck. The jewels were wedding gifts to Mary from Philip and Charles V and would have been regarded as

¹⁷⁴ Elder, 30.

¹⁷⁵ Anglo, 5.

symbols of Habsburg rule because a pendant of this design became the sign for a Habsburg consort.¹⁷⁶ Furthermore, this jewel became one of the most prominent emblems of many of Mary's future royal portraits and as art historian, J. Woodall explains, this wedding gift epitomized Mary's privileged but subordinate status within the Habsburg family and would further be recognized as such among the viewers of her portraits.¹⁷⁷ While Woodall claims that Mary wearing the Habsburg pendant signifies her submissive role in her marriage to Philip, I would argue that was not necessarily the case. Mary was widely known for her love of jewelry and fine clothing and as the pendant was a gift from her husband and father-in-law, she most likely wore that piece in her portrait as a way to honor Philip and demonstrate to her subjects the loving and generous relationship that they shared.¹⁷⁸ Furthermore, rumors of Mary's pregnancy were spreading throughout the kingdom when the portrait was commissioned in 1554 and the excitement of a new English heir would provide a greater sense of significance to the union.

While this portrait of the royal couple was meant to give English subjects a sense of dynastic security, it most likely contributed to greater uneasiness over the Habsburg union. Sharpe argues that Mary's inclusion of Philip's titles as heir to the Habsburg empire of Spain, Austria, Burgundy, Brabant and Flanders within the portrait, as well as on the state seals and documents "cannot have comforted those who feared that Mary's marriage to Philip might dissolve her, and England's authority in a large Habsburg empire."¹⁷⁹ In this portrait, neither Mary nor Philip dominates the image to a degree that would give the impression of one wielding greater power than the other. For the casual

¹⁷⁶ J. Woodall, "An Exemplary Consort: Antonis Mor's Portrait of Mary Tudor," *Art History*, 14, no. 2 (1991), 202.

¹⁷⁷ Woodall, 214.

¹⁷⁸ Woodall, 213; Loades, 128.

¹⁷⁹ Sharpe, 270.

observer, it would appear that the royal couple are joint rulers over many European countries. Despite all of Mary's efforts to strengthen her subjects' confidence with her marriage by projecting herself as a Spanish Habsburg prince and heir and as a godly agent of the restitution of the true faith, nevertheless, as we will see, the English people's intrinsic distrust and fear of foreigners appeared to be stronger than their love of their queen.

After the English Reformation and decades of Protestant propaganda, a deep-seeded fear of foreigners transformed into anti-Catholic and anti-Popery prejudices among the English populace. Historian Peter Lake argues that one of the central characteristics of "popery" to the English was that "it was foreign, involving allegiance to a foreign ruler (the pope) and acceptance of his right to excommunicate and depose Christian princes."¹⁸⁰ Based on Protestant propaganda and teachings, the Pope, as the ruler of the Roman Catholic Church, was deemed tyrannical and an earthly form of the Antichrist attempting to usurp the power and authority of Christian princes by encouraging superstitions and heretical devotion and worship, which kept Englishmen in the dark. Unfortunately, for Mary and her revival of Catholic polices, the English people were unable to forget these years of Protestant indoctrination about the Roman Catholic Church and restore its authority without massive resistance and the eventual failure of the Catholic restoration.

The Collapse of the Marian Propaganda Campaign

The combined process of the Habsburg marriage, the formal reconciliation with Rome, and the revival of the heresy laws resulted in Mary's reputation and her religious

¹⁸⁰ Lake, 187.

policies spiraling downward. Her decision to make these “radical” religious policies in conjunction with her marriage to Philip of Spain tainted Catholicism with a stench of foreignness and cruelty for many in England. In the eyes of Mary’s subjects, their English queen became a surrogate for Popish and Spanish influence and authority and, therefore, the Catholic policies she instituted after her marriage became extremely unpopular among the populace. After Philip and Mary were wed, the resurrection of the Pope’s authority in England combined with the revival of the heresy laws created an atmosphere of fear, betrayal, and unrest among Mary’s subjects. The heresy laws, which were revived to contain the spread of Protestantism, especially became a vehicle for foreign and Catholic cruelty in the eyes of English public and resulted in causing greater harm to Marian religious policies than it did good.

One of the purposes of the heresy statutes, implemented in February 1555, was to execute the primary leaders of the Protestant movement, such as Thomas Cranmer, John Hooper, and John Rogers, in order to discourage and dishearten the Protestant movement in England. But soon commoners became targets of the laws which undermined the effectiveness of the policy. In addition, the Lord Chancellor, Stephen Gardiner, hoped that the resurrection of the heresy statutes had been instituted as a scare tactic to discourage Protestantism, because those threatened with burning would confess and convert back to the true faith. This may have worked with some individuals, however, the executions of those who did not recant had the opposite effect that Mary and Gardiner had hoped for.¹⁸¹ For example, John Rogers was a well-known Protestant in England who had published his own translation of the Bible and worked closely with William Tyndale,

¹⁸¹ Loades, 139.

another important Biblical translator. Rogers was the first Marian martyr to burn at the stake on February 4, 1555 at Smithfield and became a hero in John Foxe's publication of the history of English Christianity and martyrdom called *Acts and Monuments* (1560). In Foxe's narration, Rogers refused to recant his Protestant beliefs and claimed he would seal them with his own blood. "All the people wonderfully rejoicing at his constancy," Foxe wrote, "with great praises and thanks to God for the same....he was burnt to ashes, washing his hands in the flame as he was burning...He was the first martyr of all the blessed company that suffered in Queen Mary's time that gave the first adventure upon the fire."¹⁸²

While Foxe was greatly biased in favor of the Protestant opposition to Mary's reign, his account was also corroborated by Mary's allies, the Habsburg ambassador, Simon Renard. He wrote to Philip of the English reaction to Mary's new policies of burning heretics. "The people of this town of London are murmuring about the cruel enforcement of the recent acts of Parliament on heresy which has now begun," Renard wrote on February 5, 1555, "as shown publicly when a certain Rogers was burnt, yesterday. Some of the onlookers wept, others prayed God to give him strength, perseverance and patience to bear the pain and not to recant,...yet others threatening the bishops. The haste with which the bishops have proceeded in this matter may well cause a revolt."¹⁸³ It was clear to her supporters that the policy of executing heretics could potentially backfire, and some urged Mary to proceed with more caution. Renard continued in his letter to Philip that although certain exemplary executions seemed necessary, they needed to proceed with utmost care and only allow executions when the

¹⁸² John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, chapter 16.

¹⁸³ Letter from Simon Renard to Philip. (February 5, 1555). Calendar State Papers, Spain, p.47

reasons were “overwhelmingly strong and the offenses committed have been so scandalous as to render this course justifiable to the eyes of the people.”¹⁸⁴ The Venetian ambassador, Giovanni Michiel, also noted, on June 1, 1555, that there was great displeasure among the English populace over the execution of the heretics and because of that “such sudden severity is odious to many people.”¹⁸⁵

Even Mary publicly agreed that her government should approach executions with caution and discernment. “Touching punishment of heretics,” Mary urged in a memorandum written in January 1555, “me thinketh [it] ought to be done without rashness, not leaving in the meanwhile to do justice to such as by learning would seem to deceive the simple, and the rest to be so used that the people might well perceive them not to be condemned without just occasion, whereby they shall both understand the truth and beware to do the like.”¹⁸⁶ She commanded that if executions were to take place in London, they should be done with Privy Council members present and with sermons delivered to the people to help them understand the reasons for the execution. Mary wrote that “it may be evident to all this realm how I discharge my conscience therein and minister true justice in so doing” through understanding all of her religious policies, including the executions.¹⁸⁷ While Mary and her government may have had good intentions through the re-establishment of the heresy statutes, however, the reality had the opposite effect. As the Marian government continued to pursue Protestant factions,

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ A letter from Giovanni Michiel to the Doge and Senate. (June 1, 1555). From: ‘Venice: June 1555, 1-15’ Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, Volume 6: 1555-1558 (1877), pp. 93-110. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?>

¹⁸⁶ Extract from the Queen’s memorandum, undated but probably January 1555; taken from G. Burnet, *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, edited by N. Pocock (1865), V, pp. 440-1.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

the English people become more and more dissatisfied with Mary and Catholicism. They began to view the burning of heretics as more of a vindictive and harsh measure to ensure the obedience of the people to the Catholic faith, rather than a means to eradicate a dangerous threat to the country.¹⁸⁸ Furthermore, one of the main reasons that the heresy laws were so unpopular was the Marian government's method of enforcing the executions through the judgments of local authorities. To the local populations where these executions took place, they were regarded as personal vendettas rather than royal capital punishments.¹⁸⁹

The Marian government allowed local ecclesiastical and jurisdictional governments throughout England to have the power to arrest, prosecute, and execute men and women deemed heretical. The result of this policy was that many individuals in local positions of authority used the heresy laws for personal profit and vengeance and did not proceed with caution and preaching as the Marian government demanded. Furthermore, the heresy laws began to target common men and women, which produced panic among the English populace. In Loades' work, *The Religious Culture of Marian England*, he argues that Mary had equated heresy with political dissent, which resulted in the government playing a larger role in ecclesiastical courts and searching for heretics.¹⁹⁰ Not only were religious and government officials searching for dissenters and heretics, common people turned against each other and condemned neighbors and family members as heretics. Loades writes, "In a sense the persecution was very 'top-down' driven first by Gardiner and the Queen and latterly by Reginald Pole. Nevertheless, there was also a

¹⁸⁸ Loades and Duffy, *The Church of Mary Tudor*, 204; Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, 1090.

¹⁸⁹ *Fires of Faith*, 50.

¹⁹⁰ David Loades, *The Religious Culture of Marian England* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2010), 110.

sense in which it was community action; neighbor denounced neighbor, and even families reported their delinquent members of the authorities.”¹⁹¹ He provides ample examples of husbands turning in wives, brothers denouncing brothers for claims of their inheritance, and rival shop keepers condemning each other.¹⁹² This period of local vengeance undermined Mary’s intent to provide religious justice throughout the kingdom and in the end, her hopes of permanently establishing Catholicism in England.

Throughout the kingdom, Protestant sects and many religiously ambiguous Englishmen took advantage of this environment of fear and uncertainty as Mary’s religious policies began to fall apart. Historian Susan Brigden records many individuals who became disillusioned with the Marian government and its religious policies as a result of her re-establishment of Papal authority and the subsequent burning of heretics throughout the realm. Brigden notes a couple of events in which youths in London began to target Catholic clerics by spitting and throwing rocks at them. In May 1554, a draper’s apprentice was whipped for shaving a little boy’s head like a priest’s and was forced to don popish vestments which he responded by saying “If I were in Cheap, should I not have boys enough to laugh at these apish toys and toying trumpery?” Furthermore, these young men participated in acts of iconoclasm in mocking masquerades of monks.¹⁹³ In a letter Philip wrote to his father, he documented the English unrest and ill-feelings towards the Catholic religion when he wrote, “a Kentish priest had his nose cut off and suffered various indignities...it is already being said that the priests are going to take their revenge, and abuses are not going to be corrected.”¹⁹⁴ Renard also noted that many

¹⁹¹ Loades 113.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Brigden, *London and the English Reformation*, 599.

¹⁹⁴ A letter from Philip to Charles V. (August 8, 1555). Calendar of State Papers Spain.

people spoke against the Queen more than they had in past and he was fearful that things would take a dangerous turn in England if things did not change.¹⁹⁵ These small acts of rebellion among the English populace, according to Shagan and Brigden, suggested that Mary was unable to produce a strong foothold in England for the re-establishment of Catholicism, which was most likely the result of her unpopular policies.

As will be discussed in the next chapter, Protestants saw this discontent as an opportunity to emphasize the errors and extreme nature of Marian religious policies. The more men and women who went to the stake with courage, determination, and the demeanor of a martyr, the stronger the Protestant cause, which destabilized the image of a good Catholic Queen that Mary worked so diligently to establish. Mary came to the throne in 1553 with an idealized hope and desire that she would be the redeemer of the lost, the savior of the oppressed, and the restorer of the true faith by executing her good Christian duty to restore Catholicism and the Pope's authority in England. She underestimated the strength and penetration of Protestant sects and messages and hoped to extinguish Protestantism with the threat of execution by burning on the stake. Mary desired to reinforce her reign and religious policies by marrying a staunch Catholic prince that would be her partner in her quest. And finally, she saw herself as the daughter of the Roman Catholic Church and the subsequent obedient follower of the Pope and worked diligently to create an atmosphere in England that would allow for his supreme authority to rest of realm once again. As much of this agenda was unpopular with the English masses, Mary sought to create an image of herself as a good Catholic Queen and a loving

¹⁹⁵ A letter from Renard to Charles V. (February 10, 1555). Calendar of State Papers Spain.

Habsburg wife to ease her subjects' fears and transform her religious policies into something that appeared safe, beneficial, and English.

While Mary had good intentions and some initial success, by her death in 1558, her image became disfigured and battered by her refusal to ease up on eliminating the Protestant threat through burning almost three-hundred martyrs after re-establishing Papal authority in England. These unfortunate decisions distorted her Catholic policies into something foreign and therefore detestable to the English. Mary had waited to re-establish Papal authority and to begin the persecution of Protestant heretics until after Philip came to England in order to have his help and support for such politics to pass to Parliament. Unfortunately for Mary, this was a significant mistake for her policies as well as for her image. The execution of Protestants and the fears of losing ecclesiastical property became intimately linked with the tyranny of Catholicism and the influence and help of Papal and Spanish foreigners. Therefore, the Catholic and Marian propaganda campaign that produced images of Mary as a devout Catholic Queen and loving Habsburg wife soon became images of a woman who favored and promoted foreignness and was not the protector of English autonomy.

Even if historian Eamon Duffy is correct in his assumption that many of the Englishmen during the period of the English Reformation maintained their Catholic faith, his interpretation does not account for the fact that Mary actually failed to establish her Catholic policies because of the taint of foreign intervention and manipulation.¹⁹⁶ Protestant opponents during this period of social and religious unrest recognized and manipulated Marian imagery and used it to their full advantage, especially after Mary's

¹⁹⁶ Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 300.

death. In the century following the Marian regime, Mary would become a scapegoat, the explanation and the threat of foreign invasion, Catholic conspiracies, and an example of the detriment to English autonomy by having a Catholic sovereign. I will argue that the images of Mary produced during her reign of a devout, Catholic Queen and loving Habsburg wife became the template for Protestant propaganda to manipulate and conform to the threats of foreignness and dangers of Catholicism. The Mary Tudor that rode into London in August 1553 as the good, Catholic, liberator of England vanished within her last breath in 1558 and was replaced as a cruel, tyrannical, Jezebel, otherwise known as “Bloody Mary.”



Figure 5
National Archives London
Easter Plea Rolls
4 & 5 Philip & Mary Easter—KB
27/1186

Image can also be found in Kevin Sharpe's *Selling of the Tudor Monarchy*, p. 276



Figure 6a
British Library London
Great Seal of Philip and Mary. Presented by J.S. Wyon, Esp. Philip and Mary I of England. Seal XL.1



Figure 6b
A detailed drawing of the Great Seal can also be found in Kevin Sharpe's *Selling of the Tudor Monarchy*, p. 277.



Figure 7
Coins of Mary I and Philip
Tony Clayton. "Coins of Mary I (1553-
1558)" *Pictures of Coins of the UK*.
<http://www.coins-the-uk.co.uk>

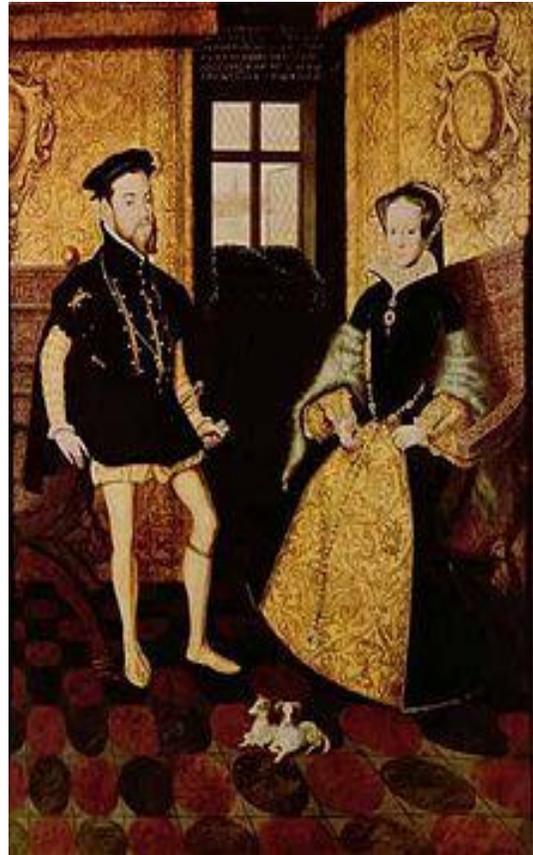


Figure 8
Hans Eworth. Portrait of King Felipe II.
Of Spain and his second spouse Queen
Maria I of England. (1558). Original is
in the Bedford Collection, Woburn
Abbey, England.
Image can also be found in Linda Porter.
Mary Tudor: The First Queen, p. 220.

CHAPTER IV
THE TRUMPETS AGAINST THE MONSTROUS REGIMENT OF
“BLOODY MARY”: PROTESTANT REACTIONS TO THE REIGN
OF MARY I 1553-1570

While Mary and her government worked diligently to disseminate images of herself as a devout Catholic woman, healer, and benevolent queen, a Protestant propaganda machine was engaged in defaming and delegitimizing Mary’s reign. Throughout Mary’s reign and in the decades and centuries after her death, her Protestant adversaries transformed her self-made images of a Catholic Queen and Habsburg wife into its antithesis: a cruel, Popish, and bloody tyrant. In this chapter, I will examine the Protestant propaganda campaign that was simultaneously produced alongside the officially sponsored images, as well as Protestant pamphlets issued in the decades after her death. I will argue that her Protestant opponents used the negative reactions to Mary’s religious policies and Habsburg marriage in conjunction with her Catholic images to produce the foundation for the idea of “Bloody Mary” that has infiltrated Whiggish history and popular culture. Additionally, I will argue that Protestants used Mary’s sex as a weapon to further de-legitimatize her reign and as an explanation for her cruelty and corruption.

Upon Mary’s accession to the throne in July 1553, England was still the home of many devout Protestants and much religious uncertainty. Yet, despite her obvious Catholic sympathies, Mary received substantial Protestant support throughout England, including prominent Protestant regions such as London, Kent, and East Anglia. Historian A. F. Pollard writes that the Catholic parts of the kingdom did not have the time to make their voices heard about who was the legitimate heir based on their distant locations from

London, therefore, it was the Protestants who declared Mary to be Queen.¹⁹⁷ He also claims that many Protestants believed that Mary would preserve their faith. Furthermore, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, a staunch Protestant and reformer, supported Mary as the legitimate heir over the hated usurper, the Duke of Northumberland.¹⁹⁸ Cranmer had played a key role during the reign of Henry VIII after he successfully granted the king a divorce and supported the Royal Supremacy. He was particularly useful to Edward VI in instituting Protestant reforms through the establishment of doctrinal and liturgical structures in the Church of England.¹⁹⁹ As discussed in the introduction, Mary was not successful in regaining the throne because of her overt popularity among the English masses or her Catholic faith. It was her status as the legitimate Tudor heir and the overarching hatred the English people held towards Northumberland that secured her the throne.

It became clear to English Protestants as well as the rest of the country during the beginning months of her reign that Mary intended to re-establish Catholicism in England. Even her “Proclamation of Religion” which stated “not to compel or constrain other men’s consciences otherwise than God shall put in their hearts,” did not reassure many Protestants that their faith was not in jeopardy.²⁰⁰ Within weeks of Mary’s accession, the Duke of Northumberland was executed, and according to Pollard, the manner of his death did more harm to the Protestant cause than good. All of the Protestant reforms he implemented turned to ash when he confessed that he had been “an evil liver and had done wickedly all the days of his life, that for sixteen years he had been no Christian, and

¹⁹⁷ A. F. Pollard, *Thomas Cranmer and the English Reformation, 1489-1556*, 301.

¹⁹⁸ Loades, *Mary Tudor*, 2515

¹⁹⁹ Pollard

²⁰⁰ *Acts of the Privy Council, 1552-1554*, 317.

that all the woes which the realm had endured of late had been due to the Reformation.”²⁰¹ Northumberland’s fall and execution brought down other prominent Protestant leaders with him. Men such as Cranmer, and Nicholas Ridley, the Bishop of Rochester, and other important Protestant reformers, had worked with Northumberland. Over the months following Mary’s accession, these men watched as their Protestant reforms were dismantled by Parliament, and as the Mass and other Catholic rituals sponsored by the Marian government were revitalized all across the country.

Cranmer and Ridley warned many of their friends of the times of tribulation ahead and told them to flee from the coming destruction. Ridley wrote to his Protestant brothers, “Therefore, if thou, O man of God, do purpose to abide in this realm, prepare and arm thyself to die; for both by Antichrist’s accustomable laws and these prophecies, there is no appearance of any other thing except thou wilt deny thy master Christ.”²⁰² In the early days of August 1553, four bishops, five deans, four archdeacons and many doctors and preachers of the Church of England fled the kingdom to escape potential persecution.²⁰³ However, Cranmer, Ridley, and Hugh Latimer, the Bishop of Worcester, chose to stay in England and show that they were not afraid to stand their ground and visibly support the Protestant reforms they initiated during the previous reigns. Latimer wrote to the Protestants who remained in England that, “if thou, O man of God, do purpose to abide in this realm, prepare and arm thyself to die; for both by Antichrist’s accustomable laws and these prophecies, there is no appearance of any other thing except thou wilt deny thy master Christ.”²⁰⁴ As the term “Antichrist” was primarily reserved for

²⁰¹ Pollard, 331; Northumberland’s confession is recorded in *The Chronicles of Queen Jane*, p. 21.

²⁰² Ridley’s letter is quoted in Pollard’s *Thomas Cranmer and the English Reformation*, 333.

²⁰³ Pollard, 332.

²⁰⁴ A letter from Hugh Latimer quoted in Pollard, *Thomas Cranmer*, 333.

the Pope by Protestant reformers, Latimer's use here confirms the Protestants belief that Mary was in league with the Pope and would be diligent to resurrect Catholicism in England.

On August 24, 1553, Mary restored the mass in four or five churches in London and by the beginning of September churches all across the kingdom had followed suit.²⁰⁵ Yet, despite the appearance of outward conformity among the people, there were Protestants, including Cranmer, who were not quiet in their repulsion to the religious changes taking place. Cranmer was especially opposed to the resurrection of the Catholic faith because it would eliminate his lifetime worth of work in creating a Protestant England. Therefore, he responded to the revival of the mass through a manifesto that he intended to nail to the doors of St. Paul's Cathedral, which would have echoed similar actions of Martin Luther nailing his ninety-five theses to the church door in Wittenburg. Cranmer wrote, "And as for offering myself to say mass before the Queen's Highness at St. Paul's, or in any other place, I never did it, as her Grace well knoweth...the mass in many things not only hath no foundation of Christ's apostles nor the primitive church, but also is manifestly contrary to the same, and containeth in it many horrible abuses."²⁰⁶ Cranmer further claimed that "the common prayers of the church, the ministration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, but also that all the doctrine and religion set forth by our sovereign lord King Edward VI is more pure and according to God's word than any other that hath been used in England these thousand years."²⁰⁷ In this manifesto,

²⁰⁵ Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 528.

²⁰⁶ *Writings of the Rev. Dr. Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1831), 371.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

Cranmer outwardly declared himself to be challenging Mary's religious policies and he would later pay the price for his dissent with his life.

A couple of decades after Mary's reign, the Protestant martyrologist John Foxe also recorded Protestant apprehensions about the religious changes taking place at Mary's accession in his work, *Actes and Monuments* (1563). Foxe wrote,

These things being marked and perceived, great discomfort grew more and more to all good men's hearts: but contrary to wicked great rejoicing. In which discord of minds and diversity of affections, was now to be seen a miserable face of things in the whole common wealth of England...But such whose consciences were joined to truth, perceived already coals to be kindled, which after should be the destruction of many a true Christian man, as after it came to pass.²⁰⁸

While Foxe's work had clear Protestant bias, he was present in London during the early stages of the Marian religious policies taking place and would have witnessed Protestants fretfully reacting to the situation at hand.²⁰⁹ Based on the reactions of the prominent Protestant leaders such as Cranmer, Latimer, and Foxe, the Protestant factions in England were clearly apprehensive and distressed of how their faith and the religious direction the country would go under the reign of Mary I.

As explained in the previous chapter, Mary's decision to realign England with Rome, marry Philip of Spain, and resurrect the heresy laws caused significant unrest among her subjects. Mary's perceived duty to God was the lodestar in each one of these decisions, which she hoped would strengthen her Catholic policies and enforce conformity among her subjects.²¹⁰ However, it produced the opposite effect.²¹¹ Rather than

²⁰⁸ John Foxe, *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online or TAMO* (1563 edition) (HRI Online Publications, Sheffield, 2011). Available from: <http://www.johnfoxe.org> [Accessed: 11.01.13], 971.

²⁰⁹ David Loades, "Foxe and Queen Mary: Stephen Gardiner: Edmund Bonner," section 1.4. in *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online or TAMO* (HRI Online Publications, Sheffield, 2011). (HRI Online Publications, Sheffield, 2011). Available from: <http://www.johnfoxe.org> [Accessed: 10.03.13].

²¹⁰ Loades, *Mary Tudor*, 12.

accepting the support and strength of the Papacy and the Spaniards to stabilize and fortify Catholicism in England, Mary's subjects viewed their presence as an invasion and potential threat to their sovereignty, property, wealth, and livelihood. Furthermore, witnessing the excruciating deaths of three hundred men and women from Protestant leaders like Cranmer and Latimer to a common fisherman like Rawlins White produced widespread repulsion to Mary's policies as well as sympathy for the Protestant martyrs and their movement. As a result, Mary's Protestant opponents had fertile ground to plant seeds of dissent and suspicion of Mary's authority.

While England was infiltrated with Marian Catholic propaganda, images, and pamphlets from the beginning of her reign, her Protestant adversaries countered these efforts with a littering of Protestant pamphlets as well. Not only was England flooded with pamphlets from Protestants still residing in the kingdom, but Marian exiles seeking refuge in Protestant capitals in Europe, such as Geneva, noticed the "atrocities" taking place in their native country and sent reactionary pamphlets to the English people to both warn and encourage them.²¹² One of the primary aims of the Protestant propaganda campaign was to take the government-sponsored images of Mary as a Catholic queen and Habsburg wife and transform them into negative and horrific depictions. Doing so, Mary's reign in the eyes of her subjects was distorted from an English, benevolent queen into a foreign, cruel tyrant and, therefore, illegitimate.

One of the first Protestant pamphlets published and distributed in England warning the English people of the dangers of Catholicism and to beware of the Spaniards,

²¹¹ Jocelyn Hunt and Carolyn Hill. *The Mid-Tudor Years* (London: Pearson Education Limited, 1988), 56.

²¹² Gerry Bowler, "Marian Protestants and the Idea of Violent Resistance to Tyranny," *Protestantism and the National Church in Sixteenth Century England*. Edited by Peter Lake and Maria Dowling. (London: Croom Helm, 1987), 125.

was a pamphlet based on the writings of Martin Luther and translated and modified by an English Protestant, John Bale. The pamphlet, *A Faithful Admonition of a certeyne true Pastor and Prophete* (1554), was a translated text of Martin Luther's original pamphlet, *Warning to his Dear German People*, that was published a quarter of a century before.²¹³ The man who translated Luther's work into English and adapted it to pertain to the current situation going on in England was an Edwardian Bishop of Ossory, John Bale, who fled the country after he was arrested for suspicion of treason upon the accession of Queen Mary. In the original treatise, Luther wrote his followers in the face of Emperor Charles V and Catholic forces in Germany denying the Protestants the practice of their faith, and counseled disobedience in order to defend their religion.²¹⁴ As an exiled observer of Mary allowing the Papacy and Spanish influence into the country, Bale recognized that England was undergoing the same situation that Luther faced twenty-five years earlier and used his predecessor's work as a template to encourage the English people to stay true to their faith and defend their rights against Papal and Spanish tyranny.

In Bale's pamphlet, he added a subtext to Luther's original title, which addressed the specific situation going on in England and stated, "Take heed and beware of the popish Pharisees,/ Take heed and beware of the pestilent poison of the cursed Papistes,/ Take heed and beware in time of these Godless Aliens and brutish Spaniards, which mind

²¹³ Martin Luther and John Bale. *A Faithful Admonition of a certeyne true pastor and prophete, sent unto the Germanes at such time as certain great princes went about to bring Alienes into Germany, and to restore the papacy, the kingdom of the Antichrist. Now translated into English for a like admonicion unto all true Englyshe harts; whereby they may learn and know how to consider and receive the procedinges of the English magistrates and Bishops.* (Grenewych, London: 1554) STC 16981.

²¹⁴ Bowler, 126.

to conquer your nation, and to subvert the whole state thereof.”²¹⁵ From this subtitle it is clear that Bale had a specific premonition of what the presence of Catholic and Spanish forces would entail for England based on the experiences of Luther, and wanted to warn his countrymen of the dangers they would face. It should also be noted that Bale held the Papists and the Spaniards to be equally threatening to the English, as they would both poison their souls and livelihoods.

In Bale’s pamphlet, he argued that England was undergoing a terrible spiritual plague produced by the infestation of the Devil, the Antichrist, and his followers in the country.²¹⁶ During the Reformation, Protestants believed that the Roman Catholic Pope was the physical manifestation of the Antichrist referred to by the Apostle John in the book of Revelation. The radical religious, political, and social changes taking place throughout Europe made many believe that they were experiencing the Apocalypse. Historians Andrew Cunningham and Ole Peter Grell explain that “the arrival and identification of Antichrist was essential to Protestants in particular, and helped convince them that they were indeed living through the Latter Days.”²¹⁷ As Luther was one of the premier reformers of the period, his acknowledgement of the Pope as the embodiment of the Antichrist based on his worldliness and depravity had become one of the principle doctrines of the Reformation movement.²¹⁸ A typical motif in Protestant propaganda from this period was the identification of the Antichrist and the Devil with the Catholic Church and the Pope as seen in the broadsheet, *About the Origin of the Monks. About the Origin*

²¹⁵ Bale, 1.

²¹⁶ Bale, 2.

²¹⁷ Andrew Cunningham and Ole Peter Grell, *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse: Religion, War, Famine and Death in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 4.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 28.

of Antichrist (1551). (figure #9)²¹⁹ This particular image was emblematic of the widespread Protestant belief that Catholic princes, clergy, priests, or in this case, monks, were the Devil's offspring and the combination of this demonic spawn created the papal Antichrist, as recognized by the papal tiara. While Bale's work does not include a graphic depiction of the Pope as the Antichrist and the Catholic clergy as demonic descendants, this broadside is an excellent representation of the overarching Protestant fear of being controlled by the Papacy that would be a further theme in many English Protestant pamphlets.

Bale's pamphlet, for instance, painted a vivid image of the dangers of the English government allowing Papal influence back into the country. In the preface to the pamphlet, Bale recognized that the Papists' plague infiltrating the country after the death of King Edward VI was a byproduct of their disobedience and refusal to appreciate the reforms he had instituted. God was punishing England by taking away their noble king, allowing the English to give into their evil desires, and letting the Devil unleash his servants on the country. Bale wrote that "seeing the Devil hath so bewitched them, that they care not what destruction they work towards their country...for as much as they defile themselves with idolatry, superstition, false religion, and with persecuting of the true professors of the Gospel, they are not worthy that any good thing should delight or content them."²²⁰ It is evident that Bale believed that because of their disobedience, the English people would have to suffer Papists' control over their souls and faith, which was a fate worse than death.

²¹⁹ Anon., *About the Origins of Monks. About the Origin of Antichrist* (1551). Also found in Cunningham

²²⁰ Bale, 3.

What is notable about Bale's pamphlet is that he never mentioned Mary by name or that she was the benefactor of the Papal and Spanish invasion taking place. This is a significant omission because those who read this pamphlet in 1554 would be well aware that it was Mary's Catholic loyalty that initiated the religious changes and her decision to marry Philip of Spain. However, Bale made it clear that Papists, and not necessarily Mary, were responsible for the eventual destruction of the country through the reestablishment of Catholicism. He wrote,

I mean not only of the blind Papists which waited and gave daily for the restoring of the wicked Masse, and other damnable idolatry (whether the Devil hath now filled their mouths full) thinking that all should be well... Now they may see what it hath brought, and what it is like to bring, namely the subversion of the whole state of the realm, the overrunning, thereof with a strange nation and such a nation as is the most vile and Godless nation upon earth, the utter destruction of themselves and their posterity forever.²²¹

It can be assumed from this text that the "blind Papists" was a reference to Mary and her followers presumably because by the time Bale's pamphlet was published, Mary had reinstated the mass across the kingdom and therefore allowed the "subversion" of the whole nation.

Furthermore, another potential reference to Mary was Bale's admonition to the English people that it was unlawful to obey despots or those Godless Papists who separated England from the true faith, similar to Luther's message to the Germans.²²² Again Mary is not referred to by name, however, the English reader would understand that Bale presented Mary as the "tyrant." Lastly, Bale faulted Mary for allowing the Spanish into the England. Bale acknowledged that the Spaniards were in league with the Antichrist and English Papists and once in the country, they would take away the English

²²¹ Ibid., 5.

²²² Bale, 6.

nobles' titles and land away, would help establish "the Idol of Rome, and the whole cursed Papacy again," and bring the nation to misery.²²³ He further stated that it was the "unlawful violence, and intolerable pride, and presumption of Tyranny" that allowed this to happen, which was a direct reference to Mary. For the English reader, Bale's pamphlet made it clear that their Papist queen was permitted all sorts of dangers and hardships to take place through the reestablishment of Catholicism and her marriage to Philip of Spain. The Queen portrayed became the antithesis to the image of the Queen created by the English government. Instead of a healer and a redeemer, Mary became a tyrant and idolatrous Papist ushering the country into destruction, misery, and ruin.

Another Marian exile, John Olde, had been a commissioner for the dioceses of Peterborough, Oxford, Lincoln, and Lichfield during Edward's reign. He wrote the pamphlet *A short description of Antichrist vnto the nobilitie of England* (1555), in response to the English government's efforts to reestablish Catholicism.²²⁴ In his earlier publications, *The Acquital or Purgation of the Moost Catholyke Christen Prince Edward VI* (1555), Olde complained bitterly of Catholic propaganda flooding the country by "the preachers in England now promoted and set up in throne by the Queen's highness, as well as Paul's Cross as commonly in open pulpits."²²⁵ Olde saw that the Marian government was trying to indoctrinate the English people with Catholic propaganda and felt that it must be counteracted with Protestant "truth." Therefore, in this later pamphlet, Olde

²²³ Ibid., 11.

²²⁴ John Olde. *A short description of Antichrist vnto the nobilitie of Englande, and to all my brethren and contreyemen borne and dwelling therin, with a warnynge to see to, that they be not deceaued by the hypocrisie and crafty conueyaunce of the Clergie.* (STC 673, Emden:1555)

²²⁵ John Olde. *The Acquital or Purgation of the Moost Catholyke Christen Prince Edward VI* (STC 18797, Waterford 1555), 21.

warned the English of the dangers of the Antichrist and the resurrection of the Catholic faith. Olde exclaimed that

there is nothing more perilous yet more pernicious and evil to the Christen man's religion, then so to be corrupted, poisoned, and blinded in his understanding and judgment, that he esteemeth and judgeth evil in the stede of good, . . . closed superstition in the stede of Christ's true religion, painted hypocrisy in the stede of godly virtue, manifest and open idolatry in the stede of true worshipping of God. . . . And finally to accept and take Antichrist, the man of sin, and the child of perdition (as Paul nameth him) in the stede of God and of Christ.²²⁶

In this passage, Olde cautioned the English people to not be deceived by the trappings of Catholicism because it would be perilous and detrimental to their faith and lives.

While Bale's pamphlet warned the English people to beware of the dangers of both the Papists and the Spaniards, Olde primarily focused on the reign of the Antichrist in England through his deception and the hardening of the English people's hearts to the truth of God's word through the Protestant faith. Olde also differed from Bale by not blaming Mary for allowing Papal influence in England, but instead argued that she became susceptible to the Antichrist's lies and false doctrine. He wrote, "Now the monstrous beast Antichrist, Satan's vicar general in earth and all his adulterous generation of vipers. . . . colored with closed hypocrisy, and deceitful and flattering persuasions to deceive the Queen's majesty and all you, my lords, of her most honorable council. . . . to receive and to establish the usurped power and bloody kingdom of Antichrist in this realm."²²⁷ Olde further noted the great degree that the "false preachers" have gone to in order to deceive the English people and harden their hearts to God's true teachings and faith.

²²⁶ Olde, *A short description*, 2.

²²⁷ Olde, 3.

It is significant that Olde did not blame Mary for the Catholic revival. In his telling, Mary was as much a victim to the lies and seductions of the Antichrist as the rest of the country. However, Olde did provide Mary with an opportunity to save the country from the Antichrist's heresies through examining his teachings and putting them to trial against the holy and pure word of God. By doing so, according to Olde, the Queen's eyes would be opened to the truth and the evilness of the Popish religion and as a result, she would repent and save the country from the Antichrist's grasp.²²⁸ It would appear that despite Olde's Protestant sympathies, it is probable that he thought it would be unwise to blame the Queen directly and wanted to tread carefully. However, if Mary could see the errors of the Popish religion, Olde provided her a chance to be the savior and redeemer of her Protestant subjects as well.

Despite the apparent faith that Olde had in the potential redemption of his queen, another Marian exile, John Ponet, did not share his optimism. The same year that Olde's pamphlet was published, Ponet wrote *A Warnyng for Englande Contennyng the horrible practices of the Kyng of Spayne* after his participation in Wyatt's rebellion and his self-imposed exile to Strasbourg.²²⁹ While it is clear in Ponet's pamphlet that he was concerned with Mary's reintroduction of Catholicism in England, his primary focus was how her marriage to Philip of Spain would affect the country. Similar to Luther and Bale's pamphlet using the example of Papal and Spanish oppression in Germany, Ponet used past events such as the Spanish invasion and seizure of the Kingdom of Naples to warn and prepare them of the cruelty and danger they could face if they did not restrain

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ John Ponet, *A Warnyng for England Contennyng the horrible practices of the Kyng of Spayne/ in the Kyngdome of Naples and the miseries whereunto that noble Realme is brought. Wherby all Englishe men may understand the plague that shall light upon them yf the Kyng of Spayn obtenne the Dominion in England.* (Strasbourg 1555). British Library. General Reference Collection C. 38. C. 34.

the Spanish. Ponet cautioned that “one unadvised grant may give your enemies a knife to cut your own throats and disinherit your children forever and bring England unawares to a most shameful and perpetual captivity.”²³⁰ According to Ponet, when the Spanish, under the control of Mary’s grandfather, Ferdinand of Aragon, invaded and occupied Naples, they were originally peaceful and not intrusive. However, over a period of time, the Spanish took more and more liberties and eventually became so powerful that they claimed lands, political positions and wealth to the point that Naples became a totally subordinate to Spain. By marrying Philip, a Spanish King, Mary put England a compromising situation in which the Spanish could take over all positions of power, which would result in the country losing its autonomy and becoming another Spanish domain.

Ponet went on to explain that not only would the Spaniards, under Philip’s guidance, seize English lands, political positions, and wealth, but they would attempt to make England a “Newe Spayne.”²³¹ He urged the Queen to think logically why Emperor Charles V would allow his son to marry her other than to make England a new Spanish possession. Ponet wrote,

But who hath more need to look to these things then the Queen herself? May she think that the Emperor will put all his kingdoms and dominions into the hands of one of whom his son can have no issue? Who seeth not that if he be once crowned and have his will in England and will rather dispatch her and take a younger of whom he may have children?...Who hath not heard that when it was known the Queen was not with child, the Emperor should practice to undue the marriage between his son King Philip and the Queen.²³²

Not only did Ponet question Mary’s judgment as a queen in choosing to marry a Spaniard, but he also questioned her ability as a woman to conceive children. While Mary

²³⁰ Ponet, 1.

²³¹ Ibid., 8.

²³² Ibid.

was in her late thirties and it might be difficult for her to become pregnant, Ponet had already condemned her as an infertile woman before she had even been married a year. By calling Mary's fertility into question, Ponet applied the traditional sixteenth-century attitude that a woman's most important social role was to be a mother, a bringer of life into the world.²³³ Therefore, if Mary could not perform this most basic and important role as a woman, she would be illegitimate. If this was the case, Ponet claimed that Charles V would annul the Habsburg marriage in favor of a younger woman that could perform her womanly duty. It would also seem that Ponet made an argument similar to the twentieth century historian, Pollard, who claimed that Mary's reign was just as sterile as her body.²³⁴ Ponet may have been posing a hypothetical question to his readers that if Mary could not conceive as a woman and a wife, could she be an effective ruler? In this particular pamphlet, it would appear that Ponet was saying absolutely not.

Finally, Ponet acknowledged the divisions and schisms taking place because of the reestablishment of Catholicism in England. He argued that by Mary allowing the Spanish to have positions of power and influence, faithful Englishmen would lose their property and even lives. Ponet wrote, "Of all manner such persons without exception as keep any of the church or abbey lands is not meant for England: I pray thee good reader to consider the way the matter substantially and thou shalt perceive that the restitution of abbey lands of England is the chief or rather the only cause thereof."²³⁵ In this quote, Ponet acknowledged those Englishmen who were currently in possession of Church or abbey lands were in danger of losing them. At this point in Mary's reign, the noblemen were particularly afraid that England's reunification with the Papacy would result in the

²³³ Henry Kamen, *Early Modern European Society* (London: Routledge, 2000), 160.

²³⁴ Pollard, 97.

²³⁵ Ponet, 10.

loss of the church property they had acquired during the Reformation and Ponet played to their fears. He took it a step further by claiming “for refusing to obey the same will suffer death with the rest who were for like disobedience to the Pope’s laws were burned before their faces.”²³⁶ This statement would have resonated with the English people because by the end of 1555, Mary’s government had already burned seventy-seven men and women, including the most outspoken and openly defiant Marian opponents, Nicholas Ridley, Hugh Latimer, and Bishop John Hooper. Ponet ended his pamphlet on a rather dramatic note by warning Mary’s subjects to beware because “nothing wanteth but a day to kindle the fire.”²³⁷ In other words, the Queen’s decisions to allow Spanish cruelty and destruction in addition to Papal seizures, the English people would face many dangers and misery under her rule.

John Ponet was not the only Protestant writer to notice the religious division and strife that Mary’s decision to reestablish Catholicism did to the country. An anonymous writer published the pamphlet, *A Trewe Mirroure or Glase* (1556), in which he presented a debate between a Catholic and a Protestant named Eusebius and Theophilus respectively, over the religious state of the country.²³⁸ It is unclear what religious affiliation the author of this pamphlet held because he did not attempt to convince the reader that one faith was better than the other, but that the great schism between Catholics and the Protestants would destroy the country. At a time when men and women were willing to burn at the stake in defense of their version of true Christianity, this author was ahead of his time when he claimed that it was more important for Christians to live together in harmony.

²³⁶ Ponet, 11.

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ Anon., *A Trewe Mirrovr or Glase Wherin we maye beholde the wofull state of thys our Realme of Englande, set forth in a Dialogue or Communications between Eusebius and Theophilus* (1556). The British Library. General Reference Collection- 697.a.18

The author argued, “ye know well there hath been great dissension as well among ye learned, as other, about religion a great while...the one a Catholic, the other a Protestant, and the one a papist, the other an heretic, and such life, which ought not to be me thinketh among Christians specially being of one nation and country, who should love together as brethren.”²³⁹ It would appear that this author was not so much concerned with what particular faith was best, but that all English men and women should live together as brothers in Christ with unity and love, not dissention and hate which was the common rule of the day.

The main problem, however, that the author acknowledged was that the Queen was the root cause of the religious conflict because she had re-established Catholicism in England against the will and laws of her father which, therefore, allowed for Spanish tyranny to infiltrate the country.²⁴⁰ Mary’s commitment to resurrecting Catholicism was one of her primary motivations for choosing Philip of Spain as her consort to help her strengthen the religious establishment. The author acknowledged that by letting Philip and his Spaniards into the country, Mary allowed England to become subjected to the will and rule of her Habsburg husband. The author predicted that Philip would bring in a Spanish army, entice the English nobility with promises of wealth and power, and would manipulate Mary to “make the Queen serve their turn.”²⁴¹ As a result, Philip would so weaken the country to the point that it would need to fall under the protection and rule of Spain as part of their territories.

In this pamphlet, the author portrayed Mary as a weak-willed and ineffective queen. Not only was Mary an undutiful daughter and lawbreaker, but she also was

²³⁹ *A Trewe Mirror*, 1.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 17.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 18.

responsible for the religious conflict and anguish that England experienced. According to the author, the hatred between English Catholics and Protestants was a result of her religious policies. Furthermore, Mary made England vulnerable to Spanish dominion because she was an irresolute woman who conceded to her husband's demands for authority and power. Rather than designating Mary as a tyrant and partner of the Antichrist, this author and Ponet instead argued that Mary was not the strong, authoritative, and righteous ruler that England needed.

The Creation of the “Cruel Tyrant” and the beginning foundations of the idea of “Bloody Mary”

By 1558, Englishmen and women had witnessed tragedy, death, and defeat through the burnings of three-hundred Protestants, going to war with their Spanish king against the French, and their defeat and loss of Calais as a result of that war. In 1557, England was inevitably brought into the Habsburg sphere of influence and against its enemy France. Despite the safeguards created in the Habsburg marriage, Philip needed his wife's army and coin to help him in his quest to defeat his greatest enemy, the French. Mary acquiesced to her husband's wishes and the result, the French took Calais after defeating the English army in January 1558. This was considered by Mary's subjects to be a national disgrace and a further confirmation of the fears the English had over having a Habsburg king.²⁴² While the loss of Calais had a profoundly negative impact on Mary's reputation, the persecution and burning of Protestant heretics, however, seemed to have a lasting and detrimental effect on the English subjects' perception of their Catholic queen. After 1558, Protestant pamphlets predominantly used the Marian persecution of

²⁴² John McGurk, *The Tudor Monarchies 1485-1603* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 64.

heretics, or martyrs according to them, as a tangible and substantial reason against Catholic and Spanish tyranny embodied in their queen.

Mary's role as a popish tyrant was resurrected by the Marian exile, Bartholomew Traheron, in his pamphlet, *A Warning to England to Repent* (1558).²⁴³ Not only did Traheron hold Mary responsible for allowing popery and Spanish oppression into England, his writing also personally attacked the queen with hostile language. The author opened his pamphlet stating that Mary "ruled England with raging madness, and open tyranny at her first entrance, restored in haste idolatry and false popish religion...and thy ruler bathed herself and swimmeth in the holy blood of most innocent, virtuous, and excellent personages."²⁴⁴ In this passage, the foundation of the idea of "Bloody Mary" began to take root. While the previous Protestant writers claimed that Mary's propensity to be deceived or her weak-willed nature contributed to England's state of religious conflict and Spanish oppression, Traheron's language describing Mary stained and swimming in innocent blood was a particularly graphic way to blame the queen and hold her personally responsible for the current state of affairs. It is clear that for this Protestant writer, Mary's policy of burning heretics was an egregious offence to her subjects and the "true faith." Not only was Mary responsible for the cruel deaths of Lady Jane Grey and Sir Thomas Wyatt, but also the three hundred "innocent, harmless, and right godly men and women, whom she hath most cruelly roasted and fried in flames of maintaining the open truth and keeping of their conscience upright before God."²⁴⁵ Again, Traheron's use

²⁴³ Bartholomew Traheron, *A Warning to England to Repent, and to tvrne to God from idolatrie and poperie by the terrible exemple of Calace* (1558).

²⁴⁴ Traheron, 2-3.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 4.

of language describing the deaths of the convicted heretics was used not only to glorify those who died but also condemn Mary as a ruthless persecutor of innocent blood.

Similar to Bale's pamphlet, Traheron also identified Mary as a cruel tyrant who cared more for popery, power, and her Spanish husband than she did for her own people. To further enforce this idea, the author placed Mary in the category of historical tyrants when he wrote, "that if thou compare her with the old persecutors of God's truth, Nero, Decius, Diocletian, Domitain, Maximine, and such other thou shalt perceive, that she hath matched the outrageous cruelty of them and that her extreme tyranny hath endured longer than the tyranny of the most part of thither."²⁴⁶ Those Englishmen familiar with the history of Christianity would understand that Traheron was equating their queen with some of the most notorious and cruel persecutors of Christians in the Roman Empire. The comparison with Nero would be especially potent to the English reader who witnessed the burning of Marian heretics as this Roman emperor reportedly used Christians in the first century as human torches to illuminate Rome at night. Furthermore, Traheron claimed that Mary's desire to be a glorified and powerful empress was her primary motivation in marrying Philip of Spain. She did not care if her people became subjected to Spanish cruelty and oppression as a result.²⁴⁷ Therefore, the government images of Mary as a virtuous healer and savior of her English subjects was challenged by Traheron's antithesis. His queen was "despiteful, cruel, bloody, willful, furious, guileful, stuffed with painted processes, with simulation, and dissimulation, void of honesty, void of upright dealing, void of all virtues....I judge surely that of all other I ought most to

²⁴⁶ Traheron, 7.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

lament her, as the most unfortunate woman that ever was.”²⁴⁸ Presenting Mary in these terms and listing her crimes of burning heretics, marrying Philip for greed, and her lack of regard for her subjects’ well-being, Traheron, revealed to his English readers that their queen was a ruthless despot and solely responsible for their misery and destruction.

That same year, an anonymous Protestant writer published *The Lamentacions of England* (1558), further portraying the English discontent with their queen and consort.²⁴⁹ This author argued that England experienced divine punishment from God for its disobedience with the harsh reign of Mary and the threat of potential bondage and slavery under Spain.²⁵⁰ He even claimed that England had been warned to repent their disobedience by the Marian martyr, Hugh Latimer, in 1549. According to the author, Latimer prophesied that God would send plagues the English for their ingratitude for the blessings of Edward VI’s reign and would send tyrants to reign over the country for their unrepentant hearts. And lo and behold, the author claimed that it had now come to pass.²⁵¹

One of the main crimes that this author laid at Mary’s feet was that she aligned herself with Spain, the birthplace of her mother, rather than her own native country. He wrote,

What a lamentable thing is it that although queen Mary being born in England, and had to her father a noble and true hearted prince and Englishman yet she folowith nothing his steps in true zeal to this realm, because she soke the most part off her blood and stomach off her Spanish mother, and therefore from time to time ever regarded her Spanish kindred, and permitted them, by giving them privileges, whereby they do carry and convey away, out of this realm...our godly and best commodities...to the great decay and impoverishment of the pour commons of this realm.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., 6.

²⁴⁹ Anon. *The Lamentacion of England* (Germany, 1558).

²⁵⁰ *The Lamencions.*, 3.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

It is clear from this excerpt that Mary's attempt to identify her reign and image as an English queen had failed to resonate with her subjects. Rather Mary's decision to marry a Spanish prince and thus become a Habsburg consort seemed to take greater precedence in the minds of the English, especially because of their xenophobic fears that the Spanish were going to usurp their sovereignty and property. What was particularly unique about this pamphlet was that the author made the connection that Mary favored the Spanish because of her Habsburg heritage through her mother, Katherine of Aragon and not because she was a vindictive or hateful queen toward her English subjects or that her passion for her husband blinded her to the miseries of her people. These Protestant writers highlighted her Spanish heritage and favoritism as a means to de-legitimize Mary and therefore transform her into an un-English queen.

This author also distorted the Catholic and Habsburg imagery of Marian propaganda in order to discredit her credibility and reign to her English subjects. As many common English men and women would be familiar with coins and royal pageantry, the author used Mary's efforts to align herself with her husband through coins, documents, and official symbols as an example of Mary's tyrannical nature and indifference to the plight of her subjects. The author wrote, "more over who faith not plainly see now that the prince of Spain hast obtained to have the name of the King of England and also is praised in our English coins to join our English arms with the arms of Spain. And his image with the queen's, the crown of England being made over both their heads....and the inscription about the same coins was with the name of Philipe and Mary

as appertainth.”²⁵² As discussed in the previous chapter, Mary and her government issued coins and images of Mary and Philip as joint rulers with their royal coat of arms and images portrayed with equal status. Rather than viewing these depictions of Mary’s marriage as a beneficial arrangement for England, the author portrayed them as a threat to English security and peace. Furthermore, he went on to predict that eventually Philip would completely annihilate Mary’s role and power in the country and begin to issue coins with just his image with the imperial crown of England, which would reveal his true intentions of wanting to acquire England’s wealth and land for his own design and purpose.

Not only did this author distort Marian propaganda in order to discredit her reign, he also compared her to biblical villains to undermine her role as God’s victor and savior of the realm. The author followed the same vein of thought as Bishop Hooper when he recognized the silhouettes of Mary and Philip as the biblical Ahab and Jezebel, which was also described in the previous chapter. The author wrote, “But that do continue in their prayers still to God, for his pour afflicted church of England, now dispersed and scattered abroad, as whose our lamentable complaints, God will avenge himself of his and our adversaries, our wicked rulers, and will bring some of them to as shameful an end, as he did that wicked woman, Queen Jezebel.”²⁵³ He compared Mary to Jezebel because in the Protestant purview, both queens were used by God to punish his people, exile and kill his subjects, and repress his true religion. In the eyes of this author and many of his Protestant friends, Mary was a version of the cruel and deadly Jezebel and

²⁵² *The Lamentacion*, 7.

²⁵³ *The Lamentacions*, 9.

hoped that she would meet the same end as her biblical counterpart and England could return to obedience to God and the true Protestant faith.

This archetypal image of Mary as Jezebel quickly spread throughout popular culture during this period and for the next four centuries. One of the most well-known pamphlets written in opposition to Mary's reign and female authority was John Knox's treatise, *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (1558).²⁵⁴ John Knox was an established Protestant preacher during the Edwardian period who fled the country upon Mary's accession in 1554. He went to Geneva to seek the counsel and guidance of John Calvin, pastored an English refugee church, and later went on to preach to a congregation of English exiles in Frankfurt, Germany.²⁵⁵ During his exile, Knox observed the Marian religious alterations and persecution of Protestants from afar and witnessed, what seemed to him, an infiltration of women in roles of supreme authority in Europe including Mary, Queen of England; Mary of Guise, Regent of Scotland; and Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland and betrothed to the future king of France. As a response to this dangerous rise of female authority in Europe, Knox wrote to warn the English and Scottish of the dangers of having a woman ruler based on the miseries and tragedies taking place under Mary I's reign.

While the previous author was content to only compare Mary with the biblical villain Jezebel, Knox took this idea a step further and proclaimed that Mary was Jezebel. From the very onset of his pamphlet, Knox wrote that Jezebel had exiled many Godly and zealous Protestant preachers from England and that their beloved country had been left

²⁵⁴ John Knox, "The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women" (1558). *Selected Writings of John Knox: Public Epistles, Treatises and Expositions to the Year 1559* (Presbyterian Heritage Publications, 1995).

²⁵⁵ Bowler, 139.

destitute by the “abominable...rule of a wicked woman.”²⁵⁶ Knox believed that it was his duty to warn English men that God viewed women in roles of authority as an abomination, or “more than a monster in nature” because it was a violation of the natural order he ordained.²⁵⁷ Knox wrote, “And therefore, I say, that of necessity it is that this monstrous empire of women (which amongst all enormities that his day do abound upon the face of the whole earth, is most detestable and damnable) be openly revealed and plainly declared to the world, to the end that some may repent and be saved.”²⁵⁸ Furthermore, Englishmen were in particular danger because they chose Mary to be their queen despite God’s warnings that women should not hold these positions.

The reasons that Knox claimed that the reign of women would be “a thing repugnant to nature,” was that women were mentally, spiritually, and emotionally inept to bear the burden of rule. He asked who could deny that the notion of women ruling over men would be repugnant to nature, which was comparable to the blind leading those who could see, the sick nourishing the strong, and the foolish giving counsel to those with reason. Knox claimed that “Nature, I say, does paint them forth to be weak, frail, impatient, feeble, and foolish; and experience has declared them to be inconstant, variable, cruel, lacking the spirit of counsel and regiment.”²⁵⁹ Women, according to Knox, were so obviously incompetent and unreliable in their natural state that it was above his own capacity to imagine the rule of women as reasonable or justifiable. He claimed that enlightened men such as Aristotle or Augustine, who wrote about the perils of women who bear authority, could have witnessed Mary riding to Parliament with a

²⁵⁶ Knox, 1.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., 3.

²⁵⁸ Knox, 4.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 6.

royal crown on her head, the sword and scepter in her hands and seated in the throne of judgment in the midst of men, would have been so astonished as to think that the whole world was transformed into the Amazons.²⁶⁰ According to ancient Greek myths, Amazons were female warriors who could not abide the authority of men to the point that they killed their own husbands and ruled themselves. It is significant that Knox compared Mary to the Amazon warrior women because he in essence claimed that Mary belonged to a barbaric, cruel, and tyrannical race that was against nature, man, and God.

What is clear from Knox's work that he viewed women as creatures incapable of reason, justice, or natural goodness. He assumed that if women were to be set in positions of power, their natural deficiencies would take over to the utter destruction of the realm. However, Knox did not believe that his ideas about women were false or manufactured but they were proven by history time and again. For instance, Knox wrote

would to God the examples were not so manifest to the further declaration of the imperfections of women, of their natural weakness and inordinate appetites! I might adduce histories, proving some women to have died for sudden joy; some for impatience to have murdered themselves; some to have burned with such inordinate lust, that for the quenching of the same, they have betrayed to strangers their country and city; and some to have been so desirous of dominion, that for the obtaining of the same, they have murdered the children of their own sons, yea, and some have killed with cruelty their own husbands and children.²⁶¹

It is clear from this excerpt that Knox's view of women was that they were incapable of controlling their natural passions and if they could not be trusted to rule over themselves, women should not rule over men or entire kingdoms. What is particularly striking about this passage is that Knox noted that there were women in history who were so overcome

²⁶⁰ Aristotle's, *The Rules of Law* (350 B.C.) wrote that women are removed from all civil and public office, so that they will not be judges, magistrates, or speak for others because her natural state is worse than man's. Because woman is the inferior being, she must be ruled over by man and should never presume to take over his authority.

²⁶¹ Knox, 7.

with lust that they betrayed their native country to strangers. While Knox did not outright accuse Mary of this crime, it can be assumed that Knox was making a clear connection with this English queen who seemed to have handed the keys of her country to her Habsburg husband. Based on Knox's assumptions about the nature of women, it can be determined that he would have viewed Mary's marriage to Philip of Spain and distribution of images as co-rulers as a likely and unfortunate result of the queen losing her reason to her passions by showing preference to her foreign husband over her country.

Knox continued to claim that another reason why women should not have real authority was because God created woman, in her greatest perfection, to serve and obey man, not to rule or command him. He went on to quote the Apostle Paul's words in the First book of Corinthians that "Man is not of the woman, but the woman of the man. And man was not created for the cause of the woman, but the woman for the cause of man; and therefore ought the woman to have a power upon her head. (that is, a cover in sign of subjection)."²⁶² Woman was created by God to submit to man and by trying to usurp that authority from him, she was, therefore, rebelling against God. As a result, Knox claimed that "they shall be dejected from the glory of the sons of God to the slavery of the devil, and to the torment that is prepared for all such as do exact themselves against God."²⁶³ Therefore, Knox claimed that by Mary usurping the throne of England and bearing the role of authority, she was rejected by God and became the "port and gate of the devil...the first transgressor of God's law."²⁶⁴

²⁶² Quote from 1 Corinthians 11:8-10 found in Knox's "The First Blast", 8.

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 10.

While Knox suggested that Mary had become the servant of the Devil, it is noteworthy that Knox, as a Protestant exile, did not make the connection of Mary also being the servant of the Antichrist as many of his Protestant predecessors had labelled her. This pamphlet was different from previous ones because his primary focus was not to dissect and accuse Mary of all her flaws and crimes, but to create a general outline of all the reasons why women as a sex were incapable or unfit to bear roles of authority. However, Knox did use Mary's reign as an example or template to prove his thesis, as well as to accuse the men of England of foolishness for placing her on the throne in the first place. Knox pointed out the shame of Englishmen for stooping to the obedience of a woman and rejoicing with bonfires and banqueting when that "cursed Jezebel" was proclaimed queen.²⁶⁵ He wrote "for what man was there of so base judgment, who did not see the erecting of that monster to be the overthrow of true religion, and the assured destruction of England, and of the ancient liberties thereof?"²⁶⁶ Not only was Mary at fault for assuming the role of Queen of England but Knox held the English people equally responsible for placing her on the throne and were liable for the destruction and calamity her reign would and did unfold. He claimed that they were so destitute of understanding and judgment that they bore the yoke of Satan's slavery through "his proud mistress, pestilent Papists and proud Spaniards. And yet they cannot consider, that where a woman reigns and Papists bear authority, that there Satan must needs be president of the council."²⁶⁷ While Knox did not primarily focus on the alteration of religion under Mary's reign like his Protestant predecessors, he did not neglect to

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 17.

²⁶⁶ Knox, 17.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

acknowledge that Mary was in league with Papists and therefore was under Satan's management and guidance to the utter destruction of England.

As Knox began his pamphlet labelling Mary as Jezebel, he also ended with the same title but offered hope for suffering Englishmen. He wrote, "Jezebel may for a time sleep quietly in the bed of her fornication and whoredom;...but neither shall she preserve herself from great affliction, and from the sword of God's vengeance, which shall shortly apprehend such works of iniquity."²⁶⁸ Because Knox claimed that Mary slept in "a bed of fornication and whoredom," it can be assumed that he saw her marriage to Philip and alliance with Rome as falling victim to her uncontrollable passions and lusts by whoring herself and England to foreigners and the Devil. According to Knox, Mary's ultimate crime was that she assumed to usurp political authority designated to man by God and therefore the grievances laid at her feet by previous Protestant pamphleteers such as marrying Philip, re-aligning with Rome, and burning Protestants were the product of her disobedience, womanly irrationality, and greed. However, God's justice would find Mary and England would be saved from her monstrous tyranny when they would repent of their foolishness and insubordination.

Knox's conviction about the incompetence of women and their natural role of submission to their husbands was not a foreign concept in sixteenth-century in Europe. According to historian Margaret Sommerville, popular culture contained many misogynistic ideals and social structures, and the majority of Knox's arguments and ideas would have resonated among many.²⁶⁹ For instance, Sommerville argues that early-modern theories about women's intellectual imperfections were seen as inevitably

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²⁶⁹ Knox, 21.

Margaret Sommerville, *Sex and Subjection: Attitudes to Women in Early-Modern Society*

associated with poor judgment and poor self-control. She claims that “just as her reason was weaker so her emotions were stronger, and this combination produced a dangerous cocktail.”²⁷⁰ Furthermore, Sommerville writes that it was a firmly rooted and widely held belief in sixteenth-century European culture that women were physically weaker, intellectually under-developed, and that women’s passions and emotions were stronger than reason. Therefore, because women were not seen to be rational beings, it was imperative for them to be ruled and dominated by their husbands or fathers. All of these theories fall perfectly in line with Knox’s reasons of why women should not be rulers. Knox, along with many other political theorists from the period, believed that women were physically, mentally, and emotionally second-rate, which suited them only for the role within the home and designed for subordination.²⁷¹ While it is not clear what the contemporary reaction to Knox’s treatise had on the English population, but it can be assumed that many of his ideas and theories resonated with their own misogynistic perceptions of women and could have also contributed to their discontent and questioning of Mary’s authority and leadership. For Knox and the English reader, Mary had proven herself to be ruled by her passions and not her reason, and therefore was not the gracious queen, savior, and benevolent benefactor that she hoped to portray to her people.

While Knox wrote this pamphlet as a response to Mary’s reign and the other female rulers in 1558, he could not foresee that Mary would die the same year. Her successor, Elizabeth I, would greatly despise this vehement message against women in roles of authority. Mary was weak and ill for much of the year in 1558 and succumbed to her illness on November 17 at the age of forty-two. Upon her sister’s accession, historian

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 12.

²⁷¹ Knox, 23.

Carol Levin explains that Elizabeth would not tolerate any form of criticism of her predecessor, or any other monarch for that matter.²⁷² Regardless of Mary's past crimes, Elizabeth understood that any type of seditious or critical writings against the former queen could be turned on the new queen. Therefore, Elizabeth never permitted any word of public criticism to be written or said about Mary, but behind the scenes she encouraged the sabotaging of her predecessor's reputation.²⁷³ Elizabeth's censorship of negative commentary could explain why Protestant pamphlets published in the decade after Mary's death were considerably more mild in their language about the Catholic queen than they were while Mary lived.

In 1559, there was a plethora of pamphlets published which celebrated the lives of the three hundred Protestant men and women that were burned during Mary's reign. The majority of these pamphlets were registers of the Marian martyrs listing their names, occupations, and hometowns, as well as rejoicing that God had ended the suffering of his faithful subjects by placing Elizabeth on the throne. One of these pamphlets was the martyrologist Thomas Brice's, pamphlet *A compendious register in metre conteining the names, and pacient suffyrngs of the membres of Jesus Christ*.²⁷⁴ Brice was a clergyman in the Church of England who stayed in England during Mary's reign, smuggling in Protestant writings from Europe into London and Kent. On the title page of this register, Brice explained to the reader that he would provide them with the names of the martyrs

²⁷² Carol Levin, *Heart and Stomach of a King*,

²⁷³ David Loades, 'Foxe and Queen Mary: Stephen Gardiner: Edmund Bonner,' section 1.4. in *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online* or *TAMO* (HRI Online Publications, Sheffield, 2011). (HRI Online Publications, Sheffield, 2011). Available from: <http://www.johnfoxe.org> [Accessed: 10.03.13].

²⁷⁴ Thomas Brice, *A compendious register in metre conteining the names, and pacient suffryngs of the membres of Iesus Christ, and the tormented; and cruelly burned within Englande, since the death of our famous kyng, of immortal memory Edward the sixte, to the entrance and beginning of the reign, of our soueraigne and dearest Lady Elizabeth of England, Fraunce, and Irelande, quene defendor of the faith* (1559)

who were “cruelly” burned and “tormented” between the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth I. It is significant that in the title, Brice neglected to name Mary I’s reign as the period in which the deaths took place, even though it would have been clear to the reader which monarch was responsible. However, while her name was not mentioned, the fact that Brice used the adjectives of “cruel” and “tormented” to describe the deaths of the Marian martyrs, can be viewed as the author’s true opinion about the former queen.

In Brice’s pamphlet, he explained that his main purpose was to provide the reader with the names of the men and women who were servants of Christ and document how they were miserably afflicted, tormented, imprisoned and died.²⁷⁵ By doing so, Brice claimed to be fulfilling his duty to God to show the truth about the “tyrannical tragedies, of the unmercifull ministers of Satan” during the period between God’s elected sovereigns, Edward VI and Elizabeth I.²⁷⁶ Again, Brice neglected to name Mary by name as the culprit but his description of those responsible for the deaths of the martyrs was significant, the tyrant and servant of Satan. These same terms were used to describe Mary in Knox’s and other pamphlets, which would not have been lost on the English readers.

One of Mary’s primary purposes for reviving the heresy laws and burning Protestants was to identify those individuals as dangerous dissenters and evil heretics trying to lead the faithful away from God’s true faith.²⁷⁷ However, the burnings had the opposite effect on the English populace and the Protestant martyrologists used this to their advantage. By humanizing the victims and praising them as heroes through the registers, Brice and other pamphleteers villainized Mary and the Catholic church as Satan’s servants sent to persecute God’s faithful. Brice wrote, “how that blood thirsty

²⁷⁵ Brice, 6.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., 7.

²⁷⁷ Duffy, *Fires of Faith*, 30.

generation, neither spared nor heeded that ancient age, which all men ought to honor, neither youth, nor middle age, neither wife, nor widow, young men, nor tender virgins; but the tyrant destroy and spill the blood of all.”²⁷⁸ By listing all the various types of individuals that the Marian church and government targeted as heretics, he revealed the callousness and cruelty of Mary, the tyrant, in the eyes of the English reader. Not only were innocent common men and women targeted, but Brice also identified how the “monstrous and unnaturall generation, what devil inflamed thy mind with such malicious mischief to torment and shed the blood, of such innocent lyvers, perfect preachers, and worthy councilors, learned ministers, diligent divines...in making them martyrs, to be the sooner with their Christ,...oh cruel heroes that could kill (through malice) such worthy men.”²⁷⁹ Brice condemned Mary and her government for putting to death God’s greatest servants, the Protestant preachers such as Latimer, Cranmer, Hooper, and Rogers. However, the author noted that because of their perseverance in the true faith, they did more for the kingdom of God through their death and were appointed with the same honors as the Biblical martyr, Steven. Therefore, Mary’s intention to demonize those who were burnt was supplanted by their heroic deaths.

Furthermore, Brice’s register was written as a poem that documented all the names and dates of the martyrs’ deaths. But after listing a few names and their death, Brice always finished the stanza with the phrase “We wisht for our Elizabeth.”²⁸⁰ After writing this phrase forty-one times and documenting the cruel deaths of three hundred men and women, Brice wrote in November 1558 that God answered their prayers and saved England with Elizabeth. “Our joy is full, our hope obtained, The blazing brands of

²⁷⁸ Brice, 12.

²⁷⁹ Brice, 13.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 19.

fire do cease, the slaying sword also restrained, The simple sheepe preserved from death, By our good Queen Elizabeth.”²⁸¹ God sent Elizabeth to England to save the country from the tyrant who persecuted the innocent and was covered in martyr’s blood and therefore Elizabeth became the redeemer and savior of the country.²⁸² This portion of the poem is particularly significant because Elizabeth not only took over as queen but she also usurped the former queen’s role as the defender of the faith, the savior of her people, and the healer of the nation. Brice took Mary’s propaganda of Catholic images as a savior and healer and bestowed it on her Protestant successor while Mary became the villain and source of destruction for the country.

Over the next year, at least six Protestant pamphlets were published that either included a martyr registers or documented Mary’s crimes as a murderer of the innocent such as *A Brief Register of Martyrs* (1559); John Awdelay’s *The Wonders of England* (1559); the *Breviat Chronicle* (1559); *A New Ballad* (1560); *Behold here a brief abstract of all genealogy*; and *A Catalogue of the Names of those Holy Martyrs who were Burned in Queen Maries Reign* (1560).²⁸³ Of these six pamphlets, two in particular bear some noteworthy commentary on Mary’s reign. The first of these is the anonymously published *Breviat Chronicle*. In this pamphlet, the author chronicled the notable events that took place during numerous reigns within England, including Queen Mary’s. What is particularly striking about the *Breviat Chronicle* is that the author noted that after the

²⁸¹ Ibid., 25.

²⁸² Ibid.

²⁸³ Anon. *A Brief Register of Martyrs* (1559) British Library. General Reference Collection C. 122.a.3.; John Awdelay. *The Wonders of England* (1559); Anon. *Breviat Chronicle contaynyng all the kynges, from Brute to this day, and many notable actes gathered out of divers chronicles.* (1559); R. M. *A Newe Ballade* (1560); Anon. *A Catalogue of the Names of those Holy Martyrs who were Burned in Queen Maries Reign. As Also, The particular places where, with the Years and Months, and several of the Days, when they suffered.* (1560)

martyrdoms of Hugh Latimer and Thomas Cranmer, “the .x. day of march appeared a notable comet or blazing star, and many children were monstrously born in England.”²⁸⁴

This statement could be interpreted one of two ways. The first is that Mary’s reign was considered to be monstrous which caused monstrous things to happen in the country. Or according to historians Andrew Cunningham and Ole Peter Grell, during the period of the Protestant Reformation, people saw the signs of a comet or the birth of monstrous children as a divine indicator of the reign of the Antichrist, tragedy, or the apocalypse.²⁸⁵

While there is no evidence that a comet fell during this period, the fact that the author would document that there were rumors of a comet or that monstrous children were born signifies that there was paranoia and fear among the English populace about the reign of Mary and her persecution of Protestants. In the pamphlet, the author did not include any personal judgments about the death of the martyrs and seemed to record the events without bias. However, his inclusion of the comet and monstrous children indicated that the author was aware that Mary’s reign had become unpopular and he may have included these events as a means to document the English people’s fears.

The second noteworthy pamphlet is the anonymously written *Beholde here a brief abstract of the genealogie of all the kynges of England* (1560).²⁸⁶ This pamphlet documented all the kings and queens of England to Elizabeth I with a brief description of their reigns and included images of each of them. The main events that this author described in Mary’s reign was that she allowed popery back into the country and married Philip of Spain. He did not note the persecution and death of the martyrs but he provided commentary on the fruitlessness and hurt her reign caused. He wrote, “Her reign, her post

²⁸⁴ *Breviat Chronicle*, 122.

²⁸⁵ Cunningham and Grell, 60.

²⁸⁶ *Beholde here a brief abstract of the genealogie of all the kynges of England* (1560)

and her government so rife in memory still with us remains that it to show [that] the time in vain is spent and to me it seems but needless pains.”²⁸⁷ It seems that the author acknowledged that the agony of Mary’s reign was still fresh on the minds of the Englishmen and his readers, and he did not need to repeat its terrors in his catalogue. But it does appear that the author understood that Mary’s government and policies she established during her reign were in vain and caused her subjects “needless pain.”

Furthermore, the image of Mary that he included continued to portray Mary in the terms that her government established through their propaganda campaign as a Habsburg queen ruling the country alongside her husband (figure #10). In this image, Mary is holding the spectre with Philip holding the sword and their opposite hands placed upon the orb and royal crowns upon their heads. In addition, Mary is portrayed wearing the jeweled necklace given to her by her husband. For the reader, this image of Mary alongside the description of her troublesome reign would translate to mean that her reign was defined by her Habsburg husband and her Popish devotion rather than her dedication to the English people. Again, it is clear from this pamphlet that Mary’s attempts to portray herself as a good Catholic English queen failed and was replaced by the Protestant interpretations and transformation of her as a foreign, cruel, and dangerous ruler.

In 1563, the martyrologist John Foxe published the first edition of his infamous book, *the Actes and Monuments*. Foxe was another Protestant exiled during Mary’s reign and documented all of the persecutions and deaths of his Protestant brothers and sisters during his absence. Of all the martyr registers published in the years after

²⁸⁷ *Beholde here, 27.*

Mary's death, Foxe's book by far had the greatest impact on Mary's reputation and image than any of the preceding works. As mentioned in the introduction, Protestant propagandists and English historians have used Foxe's work as a cornerstone for their judgments and interpretations of Mary's reign and person for the past five centuries. Even after Foxe's death in 1587, Protestant propagandists continued to publish *Actes and Monuments* with their own commentary and additions and his work later came to be known as "The Book of Martyrs."²⁸⁸ In these later editions, Protestant propagandists used Mary's negative reputation to inflame popular hostility against the Spanish Match in the 1620s, and the fears of Catholicism during the Thirty Years' War. They used the stories of burning of Protestants as cautionary tales to warn England of the dangers of being ruled by a Catholic monarch. Therefore, Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* became a chief propaganda tool in the hands of the Protestant majority to preserve their faith and power base as well as reignite fears of popery and Catholicism in order to eliminate the threat of Catholic insurrections in England.²⁸⁹

Foxe's work took the martyr registers to a deeper and more emotional level. The previous martyr registers, such as Brice's, provided names, dates, and occupations of those who died, but Foxe gave detailed and passionate accounts of their deaths and gave each martyr a voice and face for the reader to personally identify and sympathize with. During the years between his return from exile and the publication of his pamphlet, Foxe travelled to the execution sites across England and recorded details about the lives, occupations, personal experiences of the martyrs and eye-witness accounts of their

²⁸⁸ Loades, "Foxe and Mary Tudor"

²⁸⁹ Susan Doran. "Mary I through Protestant Eyes during the Reign of Elizabeth I." edited by Thomas Freeman and Susan Doran, *Mary Tudor: Old Perspectives and New Perspectives* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 48.

deaths.²⁹⁰ By doing so, Foxe was able to humanize the martyrs and allowed his reader, or the common Englishman, to identify with the cobbler, blacksmith, or housewife who became victims because of their devout Protestant faith. By emphasizing the humanity of the Marian martyrs, Foxe transformed Mary into a heartless and cruel tyrant who encouraged unspeakable crimes against the common man or woman of England.

Throughout his chapters on Mary's reign, Foxe wrote that Mary desired and was responsible for re-introducing popery, superstition, and idolatry alongside reigniting the Antichrist's, or the Pope's, authority in England.²⁹¹ However, for Foxe, the burning of Protestant martyrs appeared to be Mary's greatest crime. The wickedness, malice, and cruelty that filled the hearts of Mary's Catholic servants was seen in the tormented deaths of God's faithful was meticulously detailed for three hundred individuals. Of all the accounts Foxe documented, the deaths of the Guernsey martyrs in July 1556 appeared to be the most gruesome and tragic. Foxe explained that "among all and singular histories touched in this book before, as there be many pitiful divers, lamentable, some horrible and tragicall: so is there none almost to be compared to this cruel and furious fact of the homicide Papists, done in the Isle of Guernsey."²⁹² In this particular case, three women were falsely accused of stealing a silver cup from their neighbor and were later condemned as heretics when their true faith was discovered by the authorities. While this situation was a common occurrence among the majority of Marian victims, what was chiefly gruesome about their deaths was that one of the women was pregnant and gave birth to an infant boy amongst the flames. Foxe reported that the child miraculously fell outside of realm of the fire but a "cruell tormentor" threw the baby back onto the fire to

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

²⁹¹ Foxe, 984.

²⁹² Foxe, 1612.

die with his mother. Foxe reacted to this event by stating, “oh cruel papists, that ever such a foul murder upon the earth should be committed. The Lord himself will revenge it no doubt, to your perpetual shame, although in this world neither the complaint was greatly regarded, nor the cause condignly pondered, nor the cruel murder as yet revenged.”²⁹³ It is clear from Foxe’s account of these gruesome executions that Mary and her Catholic servants were perceived to be heartless, cruel, and unconcerned with the deaths of innocent women, let alone innocent children.

Another significant element of Foxe’s book is that not only did he provide detailed and sympathetic accounts of the deaths of the Marian martyrs, but he also included graphic and gruesome images of the burnings presumably to inspire feelings of repulsion for the death of the innocent and inspiration for their unwavering faith. While Foxe did not include these images with every martyrs’ death, he primarily included them for the most important ones, including the Guernsey martyrs (figure #11).²⁹⁴ In this image, three naked women are tied to a stake and shown to be burning to death amongst a large group of men passively observing the event. What is particularly striking about this image is that the woman in the center is shown with her stomach burst open and an infant flying out of her womb and into the flames as a man in the forefront is stoking the fire. Foxe’s readers would know by looking at this picture that the baby would land outside the bonfire safely but would be thrown back in to his unfortunate death. It can be assumed that this haunting image would inspire anger, repulsion, and disbelief that the Papists would be so cruel to burn a pregnant woman and then kill an innocent baby after

²⁹³ Ibid. 1613.

²⁹⁴ John Foxe, “A Lamentable Spectacle of three women, with a sely infant brasting out of the Mothers wombe, being first taken out of the fire, and cast in agayne, and so all burned together in the Isle of Guernsey.” *Actes and Monuments* (1563), 1613.

he was miraculously saved from flames. Furthermore, Foxe's account explained that the deaths of these three innocent women and the baby did not result in any care, concern, or retribution by those in authority. It can be supposed that Foxe included that statement to suggest that Mary and her government were unmoved or indifferent to the grisly deaths of the Guernsey martyrs and the innocent baby and did not take any steps to pursue justice for those that were guilty. Therefore, this account and image would further degrade Mary's reputation in the eyes of the English people as a ruthless, heartless, and indifferent ruler who allowed the deaths of the innocent and infants by the hands of her cruel papists and servants.

One of the most important aspects of Foxe's book was that it provided illustrations of the martyrs for the majority of the English population was illiterate. Historian David Cressy has explained that in sixteenth-century England, less than a third of the population was able to read.²⁹⁵ For the majority of the population, Cressy argued, were able to function and interact within society very successfully without the ability to read or write because there was "substantial overlap and interaction, in which visual, gestural, scribal, and print elements intermingled."²⁹⁶ Because there was substantial growth in the print industry, books that were once very expensive and rare, now were cheaply made and distributed through the invention of the printing press in 1450. One of the major ways for the majority of the English population, or the illiterate, to participate in written culture was through the woodcuts, broadsheets, and illustrations printed in the

²⁹⁵ David Cressy, "Literacy in context: meaning and measurements in early modern England," In *Consumption and the World of Goods*. Edited by John Brewer and Roy Porter, (New York: Routledge, 1994), 9241.

²⁹⁶ Cressy, 9358.

books and pamphlets.²⁹⁷ Through these illustrations, the illiterate could understand the basic messages that the author or illustrators were attempting to convey to the reader. Therefore, when the English man or woman saw Foxe's illustrations, such as the Guernsey martyrs, the author's message that God's chosen and faithful subjects were tormented and executed by Mary would be conveyed to them in a dramatic and impressionable manner.

While this example of the cruel persecution of Protestants must have had a profound impact on the English readers, it should be noted that the Guernsey women and infant recorded by Foxe were not mentioned in any other martyr registers previously published. For example, Brice does not mention the names of Katherine Cawches, Perotine Massey, and Guillemine Gilbert, the Guernsey martyrs, nor does he mention any situation in which a woman martyr gives birth to a baby during her execution.²⁹⁸ It is curious that an execution as fantastic and horrific as the birth and death of a baby during a government-sanctioned burning was not documented nor mentioned in any other Protestant pamphlets published during or after Mary's reign. Furthermore, the actual scenario of a woman giving birth to a baby while being burned alive and that her baby landed outside the fire unscathed seems to be quite far-fetched. Even from Foxe's first edition in 1563, the accuracy of this story has been called into question. It has been documented that these three women were executed for heresy in July 1556, but it is unclear whether or not an infant was involved in any way.²⁹⁹ What is important about the inclusion of these executions, however, is that the Foxe wished to present Mary and the

²⁹⁷ Sharpe, 78.

²⁹⁸ Brice

²⁹⁹ Loades, "Foxe and Mary Tudor"

Catholic Church as unjust and brutal which would have been transmitted to the reader through the image and story of the murder of a newborn baby.

Foxe's first edition of *Actes and Monuments* published in 1563 brought the horrors, cruelties, and injustice of the Marian persecution and reign to the forefront of the English people's mind. In just five years after Mary's death, the Protestant propaganda campaign to vilify and destroy Mary's reputation, undermine the Catholic faith, and secure Protestant sympathies had taken hold and laid the foundation for the "Bloody Mary" personification for the next five centuries. All of Mary's and her government's efforts to secure an image of a Catholic queen, healer, redeemer and loving Habsburg wife to the English public became completely overwhelmed by the Protestant propagandists' success at transforming her into a cruel, foreign, and bloody tyrant. The Protestants utilized Mary's perceived crimes of allowing foreign influence in the country through her marriage to Philip of Spain and realigning with Rome as tools to vilify their Catholic queen and make her a villain and threat England and every English person regardless of rank, gender, or faith. While the moniker "Bloody Mary" would not be coined for another century, Mary was portrayed throughout Protestant literature stained with the blood of the Protestants, the innocent, and the common English common man.

By 1572, Elizabeth I had secured her throne, successfully re-established Protestantism in England, and removed the threat of the Catholic northern gentry through the defeat of the Northern Rebellion in 1569. In order to commemorate her victories and visually legitimize her reign, Elizabeth commissioned the artist Lucas de Heere to paint a family portrait known as *An Allegory of the Tudor Succession* (figure #12). This portrait contains both mythological and actual figures with Henry VIII enthroned beneath a

canopy and the royal arms. On his left, Henry's Protestant and obedient children, Edward VI and Elizabeth I, kneel and stand respectively beside their father to receive his blessing. Beside Elizabeth are the mythological figures of Peace, trampling on a sword and shield, and Plenty, bare breasted and holding a cornucopia. It is significant that Elizabeth and Edward are portrayed with these figures because it signified to the English viewer that their reigns are identified with peace and are in stark contrast to their vilified sister, Mary, shown on the right. The opposite side of Henry portrayed his other daughter, Mary, and her husband, Philip of Spain, with the mythological figure of War positioned with a club in his hand ready to strike. These mythological figures set a stage of contrasts between war and death, which is associated with the Catholic Mary and her foreign Habsburg dynasty, and peace identified with the Protestant Edward VI and Elizabeth I.³⁰⁰ The English viewer of this portrait would understand that Elizabeth became the antithesis of her sister Mary. Elizabeth, with the help of the Protestant propagandists, had enveloped all the personifications and qualities of a peaceful, savior, and benevolent queen that her predecessor had unsuccessfully attempted to secure. Consequently, the foundation of the "Bloody Mary" reputation was secured and for the next five centuries, Mary I became the scapegoat for the threats of popery and Catholic threats, the author of Protestant persecutions and death, and the antithesis to the glory of the Elizabethan era.

³⁰⁰ Sharpe, 368-369.



Figure 9

Anon., *About the Origin of Monks. About the Origin of Antichrist* (1551). Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbuttel, Germany. Also found in Cunningham and Grell's *Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*, p. 29



Figure 10

Anon. *Behold here a brief abstract of all genealogie of all the kynges of England* (1560)

**A Lamentable Spectacle of three women, with a fely infant brastring
out of the Mothers Wombe, being first taken out of the fire, and cast in agayne,
and so all burned together in the Isle of Garnesey.
1556. Iuly. 18.**

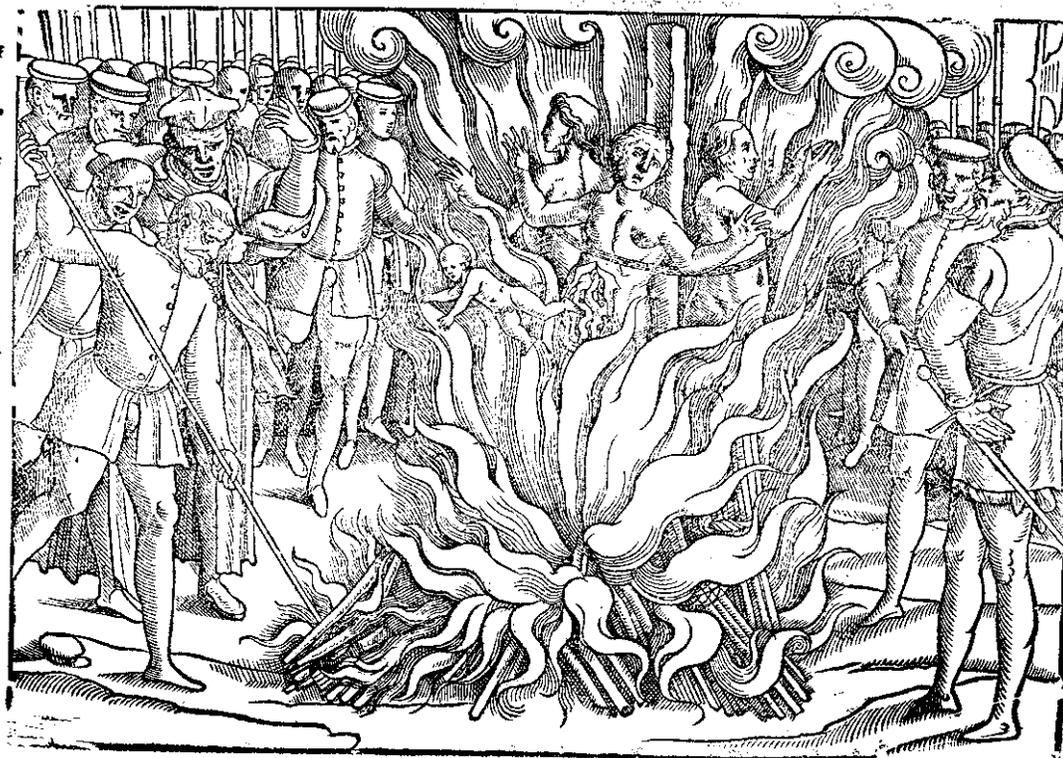


Figure 11

John Foxe, "A Lamentable Spectacle of three women, with a sely infant brastring out of the Mothers wombe, being first taken out of the fire, and cast in agayne, and so all burned together in the Isle of Guernsey." *Actes and Monuments* (1563), 1613.



Figure 12

Lucas de Heere. *The Family of Henry VIII: an Allegory of the Tudor Succession* (1572). National Museum of Wales.

http://www.museumwales.ac.uk/en/art/online/?action=show_item&item=737

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

In the year 1569, a band of northern nobles rose up in rebellion against Elizabeth I under the banners of the five wounds of Christ and with the purpose to preserve the Catholic faith against their Protestant queen. The Northern Rebellion or the “Earls’ Revolt” took place during a time of extreme uncertainty, tremendous change, and as historian Wallace MacCaffrey refers to as the “testing-time of the regime.”³⁰¹ While the rebellion was led by noblemen such as the Earl of Leceister, Robert Dudley, the Duke of Northumberland, the Duke of Westmoreland, and the Earl of Sussex to solve the succession crisis by placing the Catholic Mary Stuart Queen of Scots on the throne, historian K. J. Kesselring has argued that there was a significant popular and religious component to the rebellion.³⁰² She wrote that, “While elite political action triggered the rising, and helped enable the legitimate it in the eyes of the participants, the rebellion’s popular and religious element was integral to its causes, course, and consequences.”³⁰³ Kesselring also suggested that the Elizabethan’s religious settlement in 1559 was met with significant hostility by those committed to the old faith, yet they outwardly conformed to the religious reforms. However, when the northern nobles rebelled under the banner of the five wounds of Christ, Kesselring argued that many joined to restore the

³⁰¹ Wallace MacCaffrey, *The Shaping of the Elizabethan Regime* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 4.

³⁰² K. J. Kesselring, *The Northern Rebellion of 1569: Faith, Politics, and Protest in Elizabethan England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 3.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*, 8.

old faith in England based on the evidence of the rises of Catholic masses and destruction of Protestant worship tools throughout the northern regions.³⁰⁴

Elizabeth and her government reacted quickly against the uprising and the rebellion was put down by December 13, 1569 because of a lack of popular support and eventual retreat by the rebel forces. Elizabeth extracted a harsh retribution on those who rebelled through the execution of over six-hundred English rebels, including both noblemen and commoners, and thousands lost their property. Kesselring explained that, “combined with the heightening religious tensions and a firmer sense that obedience must be unqualified, ensured a violent attempt to repress the ‘rebellious instinct’ both physically and ideologically.”³⁰⁵ Elizabeth was committed to demonstrating her power and authority by visually, intellectually, and physically coercing the English people to obedience and to refrain from thoughts of rebellion in the future.

In the aftermath of the rebellion, the queen sanctioned Protestant propaganda that persistently linked Catholicism with international conspiracy and domestic treason. She commanded that the sermon, *The Homily Against Disobedience and Willful Rebellion*, to be read to both the noblemen and common people all across England.³⁰⁶ The primary message of the *Homily* was the insistence that disobedience to one’s ruler equaled disobedience to God and endeavored to show that subjects should not resist even an evil monarch because “a rebel is worse than the worst prince.”³⁰⁷ It also used the Biblical

³⁰⁴ Ibid., 25.

³⁰⁵ Kesselring, 119.

³⁰⁶ Kesselring, 141; Anon. *An homilie against disobedience and wyfull rebellion*, (STC 13680, London 1570) Early English Books Online.

³⁰⁷ *Homily*, 214.

examples of David who refrained from killing Saul because he was God's anointed king and that his judgment should come from God, not from a subject. Furthermore, the *Homily* showed that the result of disobedience to one's sovereign was that it left death, destruction, plague, poverty, and corruption in its wake. It asked, "Surely, that which they falsely call reformation is indeed not only a defacing or a deformation, but also an utter destruction of all common wealth?"³⁰⁸

However, while the *Homily* insisted on the evils of rebellion, the true sin of the Northern Rebellion was the Catholic rebels attempt to "make rebellion for the maintenance of their images and idols...and in despite of God, cut and tear in sunder his Holy Word."³⁰⁹ Not only was the Northern Rebellion sinful and futile, Elizabeth and her government attempted to show that the rebellion was proof that the old religion was a product of the Devil. Kesselring interpreted this section of the *Homily* as "the Devil generally used both ambition and ignorance to stoke troubles, and had done so throughout history with the assistance of the Bishop of Rome."³¹⁰ Finally, the *Homily* urged the English people to beware of those who rebelled under the banner of the five wounds of Christ but instead to put their hope in Christ who actually bore the wounds because "those who bear the image of the cross painted in a rage against those that have the cross of Christ painted in their hearts would only find ruin and destruction."³¹¹ In this sermon, Elizabeth denounced the papistry itself and equated the Catholic faith with rebellion, disobedience, and the Devil.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 234.

³⁰⁹ *The Homily*, 225.

³¹⁰ Kesselring, 152.

³¹¹ *The Homily*, 234-5.

What is striking about *The Homily of Disobedience* is that it maintains that any form of rebellion or disobedience is considered sinful, evil, and treasonous which is further manifested in Catholicism. As we have seen in the Protestant pamphlets and writings produced after Mary's death, rebellion against an evil ruler was not only encouraged but was divinely justified by the authors such as Bale, Olde, and Ponet.³¹² These writers chastised and blamed the English for their disobedience to God and the Protestant faith. However, there is a noticeable contrast between those Protestant writers and the Catholic writers during Mary's reign who, like Elizabeth, discouraged any form of disobedience to their ruler, such as Miles Huggarde, James Cancellar, and John Proctor.³¹³ The last pamphlet is particularly arresting because Proctor wrote it in response to Wyatt's Rebellion and claimed that it was not ever profitable to rebel against one's sovereign and that God only blessed those who were obedient.³¹⁴ This message can be seen as a mirror image to the Northern Rebellion and Elizabeth's response through the dissemination of the *Homily of Disobedience*. It is unclear whether or not Elizabeth was conscious of the similarities between these rebellions and responses to them but it is noteworthy that she followed in her sister's footsteps of sending the message of zero-tolerance for disobedience to her subjects.

Furthermore, the Northern Rebellion and the *Homily of Disobedience* not only helped secure Elizabeth's regime, but they engraved into the minds of English Protestants

³¹² Bale, *A Faithful Admonition*; Olde, *A short description of Antichrist*; and Ponet, *A Warnyng for England*.

³¹³ Huggarde, *An Assault of the Sacraments*; Cancellar, *The Path of Obedience*; and Proctor, *A historie of Wyates Rebellion*

³¹⁴ Proctor, 12.

that Catholicism would always be a threat because of its association with rebellion, danger, and foreignness. For the next few centuries, Catholics and popery would be viewed as a constant threat and antithesis to the glorious, Protestant, and imperial state of England that would become a world-dominant power. The seventeenth-century, in particular, witnessed periods of anti-Catholic crises such as the Armada of 16th century, the Gun-Powder plot of 1605, the Invasion Scares of the 1620s, the Spanish Match of 1623, the Irish Rebellion in 1641 and the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis of 1678-81. During these crises, people used the threat of popery and examples of the dangers of Catholic rulers as a means to preserve the English Protestant foundation of society. Historian Peter Lake also claims that popery became defined as any part of society that was considered to be ignorant, superstitious, otherness, anti-religion, tyranny, or anything “un-English.”³¹⁵ Because Mary I was Catholic, married to a Spanish prince, and an ally of the Pope, she became the scapegoat and embodiment of the threats of popery and foreign-ness against England. However, this manifestation of “Bloody Mary” was not just a creation of Elizabeth’s defeat of the Northern Rebellion but as we have seen, was founded in Mary’s propaganda campaign of representing her reign in Catholic and Habsburg imagery and distorted by reactionary Protestants.

When Mary ascended the throne in 1553, England was in a state of religious division and political turmoil. Her main desire was to heal the wounds of the country by re-establishing Catholicism and realigning with the Pope in Rome. Mary and her advisors understood that reclaiming England to the Catholic cause would be potentially

³¹⁵ Lake, *Anti-Popery*, 190.

controversial and upsetting to the English people and that they must tread lightly. The initial stages of accomplishing Mary's religious policies were met with relative ease and success as she dismembered the Protestant reforms of her brother, Edward VI, and re-established Catholic rituals and practices, such as Mass and setting up the altars once again. Furthermore, in order to gain the full compliance and support of her subjects for her beloved Catholicism, Mary and her government established a propaganda campaign that would create images of herself as a good Catholic queen, healer, and redeemer. By doing so, Mary hoped to make her religious policies appear safe, accessible, and palatable to her subjects who had been "brainwashed" and "disillusioned" during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI. By the beginning of the year 1554, Parliament had successfully repealed Edward's religious reforms and reports of the re-establishment of the Mass and other Catholic rituals were met with widespread success and compliance. At this point in her reign, it would seem that Mary had successfully re-established Catholicism and the Protestant Reformation would have simply become a memory.

However, the beginning of the year 1554 also ushered in a series of threats, fears, and potential dangers for the English people and Mary's religious reforms began to associated with these fears. During this year, Mary pronounced to her subjects that she intended to marry Philip of Spain on top of realigning England with Pope and re-establishing his authority in her kingdom. Marrying a Spaniard and allowing Papal influence in England, was perceived by the English people as a threat, bringing foreign invasion and the loss of their autonomy and property. While Mary saw these policy decisions necessary to further accomplish her task of securing Catholicism in England,

she underestimated her subjects, xenophobic fears as well as loyalty to a queen who would allow foreign power and influence to usurp her authority. However, she did understand that these decisions would not be popular and therefore Mary and her government used a similar propaganda campaign to intertwine her queenship and image to that of her husband to subside her subjects' fears and make her husband appear to be a less-threatening figure. As a result of her propaganda campaign, Mary permanently linked herself with Catholicism and foreigners. This image would become putty in hands of her Protestant adversaries to de-legitimize her reign and faith.

By February 1555, Mary was married to Philip of Spain, the Pope's authority was re-established, and Parliament had revived the heresy laws and the first of the Marian martyrs, John Rogers, was burned at the stake. At this point, Mary's propaganda campaign to make her marriage and Catholicism safe and welcome to her subjects was failing and her precious faith, along with her own image, had now become associated with foreignness, death, and fear. While the majority of the English people might have initially welcomed the return of the old faith at the beginning of Mary's reign, that was no longer the case. The deaths of nearly three hundred Protestant men and women of all stations, livelihoods, and ages in connection with the perceived threat of Spanish and Papal invasion and usurpation of English power, wealth, and property disillusioned the Catholic faith in the eyes of Mary's subjects .

During Mary's reign and in the years following her death, her Protestant adversaries recognized the fears the English people felt towards their Catholic queen and used her propaganda images as a Catholic queen and Habsburg wife as a weapon against

her and her faith. Protestant writers, both at home and abroad, turned Mary's image on its head and transformed her into a weak-willed, cruel tyrant and servant of the Antichrist. They laid the crimes of the Papal state and the Habsburg empire and the gruesome burnings of English men and women at the feet of Mary and blamed her for leading her country into destruction. This Catholic and Habsburg queen, for the Protestant writers, became the scapegoat for the religious division, political strife, and turmoil happening in England and further associated with the Antichrist and/or the Pope. When Mary died in 1558, this Protestant propaganda campaign was in full swing and continued to flood the country with stories and illustrations of Mary's Catholic and Habsburg crimes and the blood of her three-hundred martyrs.

My initial question of "where did the "Bloody Mary" image come?" can be answered by looking at Mary's propaganda campaign during her reign. Mary I, unintentionally, created the foundation of the "Bloody Mary" image when she permanently intertwined her image with Catholicism, the Habsburg Empire, and the Papacy. But it was not just the fact that she created these images but that they were being disseminated to her subjects at the same time as her decisions to marry a foreign prince, realign with Rome, and put to death ordinary Protestant men and women. Because her subjects already had xenophobic fears, they viewed her marriage and alliance with Rome as a threat to their person, property, and autonomy and therefore, they began to associate their queen as a threat to England and the godmother of the association between popery and arbitrary foreign power.³¹⁶ Consequently, Mary's Catholic and Habsburg propaganda

³¹⁶ Loades, *Mary Tudor*, 100.

campaign provided the ammunition for Protestants over the next four centuries to create the “Bloody Mary” image that has persisted to this day.

Finally, the failure of Mary’s religious policies and propaganda campaign can reveal to us a greater picture of the state of the Reformation in England at this time. Revisionist historians, such as Duffy and Haigh, have argued that England was a Catholic country up to the reign of Elizabeth I and would have persisted had Mary not died such an untimely death. They have argued that the majority of the English people were Catholic at heart and remained rooted in their faith despite their outward conformity to the Protestant reforms of Henry VIII and Edward VI. Furthermore, Mary’s accession to the throne was an answer to prayers and Catholicism revived and flourished under her reign and leadership. While the basic tenets of their arguments have merit, I argue that based on the resistance Mary faced and the persistence of Protestant propaganda during her reign suggests that Catholicism did not have the stronghold on the English people, especially in London, that the revisionist historians have claimed. The English people may have found solace in the familiarity of the revival of Catholicism in Mary’s reign, however, the threat of the burnings and the Spanish and/or Papal invasion and influence did not make it worth preserving. The words and warnings of the Protestant pamphleteers resonated with the English people because they had a first-hand look at the oppression and dangers that Catholicism could inflict on their country. While the older generations of the English people might have still felt attached to Catholicism, the younger generations had grown up under the Protestant reigns of Henry and Edward and would not have felt any obligation or nostalgia to the old faith to try to preserve it. Therefore,

the failure of Mary's religious policies and propaganda campaign reveals to us that the state of the Reformation during her reign was still in full swing and the Catholic faith was not to last.

Over the past four centuries, the myth of "Bloody Mary" has flourished and persisted in English culture and historical tradition. This Mary continues to play the role of the antithetical villain on the stage of the glorification of the Virgin Queen, Elizabeth I, and the rise of Protestant England as a world power. She is portrayed as a ruthless, blood-thirsty monster in London attractions, such as the London Dungeon, and the hysterical, barren women overshadowed by the beauty and splendor of her sister Elizabeth in Kapur's movie, *Elizabeth*. In the eyes of the English people to this day, Mary is a relentless papists and mass-murderer, stained with the blood of three-hundred Protestants on her hands. The real tragedy is that this unfortunate "Bloody Mary" image that has persisted over centuries was ultimately founded by the queen herself. And unfortunately, until the revisionist and post-revisionist historians work can begin to infiltrate society and popular culture, this "Bloody Mary" image will continue to haunt English culture.

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