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The Birth of a Queen

Essays on the Quincentenary of Mary I

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CHAPTER 9

Culture Under Mary I and Philip

Alexander Samson

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

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

In a famous 1981 essay, J.W.Martin argued that the Marian establishment failed fundamentally to understand the importance of print. He criticized their lack of imagination in exploiting polemical opportunities, such as John Cheke's recantation of his religious views, and pointed to their disinterest in "communicating with the public at large," typified by their lack of support for the able Catholic propagandist Miles Hogarde.[5] Trying to control the book trade and increase the distance between clergy and laity, far from being a retrograde step and a symptom of their backwardness, however, was a key element of their strategy for re-Catholicisation. Works of religious controversy, even when perhaps they defended Catholic viewpoints, were not welcomed under Mary in the same way as they had been in the previous reign. Damping down the kind of discussion criticized in the proclamation on religious differences could hardly be achieved by engaging in further incendiary polemic.[6] An outpouring of editions had followed the end of Henry's reign and the relaxation of the legislation regulating print. The number of titles printed in the years 1547–1550 was unsurpassed until after 1570. So although levels of production dropped under Mary, they were also lower for the first decade of the Elizabethan period as well.[7] Far from misunderstanding print, it seems the Marian authorities understood its dangers all too well: "The Marian regime was from the beginning determined to impose discipline on the book trade, rightly recognizing that its most prominent members were men who owed their commercial success to the Edwardian Reformation."[8] By September 1553, nine of the seventeen printers active at the time of Edward's death had closed down, including the five most prolific shops, responsible for 60% of the total output during those years. Nevertheless, there were no definitive cases of printers fleeing into exile, despite the obvious reformist affiliations of many of them.[9] Nor was there any notable decline in the numbers of printers active under Mary, the figure dropping marginally from twenty-nine to twenty-six. Richard Grafton, the alderman principally responsible for the royal entry welcoming Philip and Mary into London in August 1554, was one of the few who became inactive, no doubt due in part to his having printed the proclamation of Jane Grey as queen.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

> *M.* Wote you why I come to you.
> *G.* No verely, who are you?
> *M.* What means this haue you forgotten that of late you bought some of our Marchandize?[42]

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

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

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

> there was no part in Germanye, where the Lutherans wer not the most strong. Except Cleaues and Bauer, the which although thei professed to be catholiques yet they tempered so with the Lutherans in shewing of frendship to the one, and the other part in such sort, that they might be called rather newters, then catholiques.[47]

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

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

The relatively poor survival of drama from this period hampers definitive conclusions, but there were frequent dramatic performances at the court of Philip and Mary and elsewhere, for which some documentation has survived; despite the obstructive behavior of the Master of the Revels, Thomas Cawarden, whose evangelical leanings were a source of tension throughout the reign.[51] Already in the autumn of 1553, there were performances of plays like *Genus Humanus*, the biblical *Jacob and Esau*, and *Gammer Gurton's Needle* (at Christ's College, Cambridge), and probably the infamous *Respublica*, generally attributed to Nicholas Udall, who was appointed principal court dramatist on December 13, 1554 and with whom Mary had collaborated on his translation of the *Paraphrases* of Erasmus in 1548.[52] Udall authored the first comedy written in English, *Ralph Roister Doister*, although the dates of its composition and first performance are disputed, probably pre-dating Mary's reign. Trinity College, Cambridge saw Christmas performances in 1553–1554 of two Latin plays *Anglia Deformata and Anglia Restituta* and *Synedrium*. There were masques for the royal wedding in the summer of 1554, which according to Hadrianus Junius, the foremost Dutch humanist after Erasmus, and author of a very lengthy Latin epithalamium, *Philippeis, seu, in nuptias divid Philippi* (1554), involved four nymphs addressing Philip in distinctive emblematic costume after the wedding. Junius spent at least six months in England around the wedding and the poem was eventually published in London on behalf of the "Republic of Letters or Republic of Poetry," another example of the transnational nature of the republic of letters. Receiving only thirty-six gold crowns in recompense from Philip, his next publication was dedicated to Mary I alone. Philip, it appeared, was disinterested in long-winded Latin panegyric.[53] Other plays strongly linked to Marian England include the infamous *Wealth and Health*, drawn perhaps from Thomas Starkey's *Dialogue of Pole and Lupset*, which featured the parasitic Flemish drunkard Hans Beerpot. There were frequent court masques throughout the reign including masques of Eight Mariners; Six Hercules or Men of War; Eight Patrons of Galleys; Six Venuses or Amorous Ladies; Women like Goddesses/Huntresses; Six Turkish Magistrates; Conquerors; Almains, Pilgrims and Irishmen; as well as at least seven other untitled ones. There were further "Dialogues and Plays" by Udall over Christmas 1554–1555; *Jack Juggler* (another attribution to Udall, who, as Martin Wiggins has written, is "the main clearing house for all mid-Tudor plays of unknown authorship"); a play at Trinity College, Cambridge *De crumen perdita [The Lost Purse]*, apparently about someone who loses their purse and perhaps finds it again; William Baldwin's[54] *Love and Live* perhaps performed Christmas 1555–1556; *Impatient Poverty*, whose closing prayer to a regnant queen with a consort suggests it is from the period; *A Sack Full of News*, which was due to be performed at the Boar's Head without Aldgate but taken off, although the actors were released the following day; *Dialogue on Idleness*; *Dialogue on Maidens*; and *Dialogue concerning Wisdom and Will* by John Fisher, and Jasper Heywood's translation of Seneca *Troas*.[55] No account of culture under Philip and Mary can ignore Lady Jane Lumley's translation from Greek, the first by a Tudor woman, of Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis*. Jane was the eldest daughter of the privy councilor, Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, to whom Mary had sold Nonsuch palace in 1556, where, if there was a performance of *Iphigenia*, it probably took place.[56] The translation emphasizes the pathos of women's sacrifice in marriage, a theme resonant with perhaps her own recent wedding, Jane Grey's manipulation by her father-in-law, or even perhaps Mary I's own decision to marry for the common good.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Notes

1. Conyers Read, *The Tudors: Personalities and Practical Politics in 16th Century England* (New York: Freeport Books for Libraries, 1968, 1st ed. 1936), p. 144. See also E. H. Harbison, *Rival Ambassadors at the Court of Queen Mary* (New York: Books for Libraries Press, repr. 1970), Preface, vii.
2. See for example Alexandra Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (London: Ashgate, 2014), 264 and her article, "'Domme Preachers?': Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Culture of Print," *Past and Present* 168 (2000), 72–123: "there is a strong case for suggesting that the piety of the post-Reformation Catholic community was no less bibliocentric than its Protestant counterpart," 109.
3. The work of Mike Pincombe and Cathy Shrank, incarnated in the Tudor Symposium, amongst others, has been central to giving the mid-Tudor age its "shine" back: see Mike Pincombe, ed, *The Anatomy of Tudor Literature* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 1 and his state of play article co-authored with Cathy Shrank, "Doing Away with the Drab Age: Research Opportunities in Mid-Tudor Literature (1530–1580)," *Literature Compass* 7 (2010), 160–76.
4. Reflecting on James Simpson's complication of this idea in *Reform and Cultural Revolution*, Thomas Betteridge, "The Henrician Reformation and Mid-Tudor Culture," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 35 (2005), 91–105, 93.
5. J. W.Martin, "The Marian Regime's Failure to Understand the Importance of Printing," *Huntingdon Library Quarterly* 44 (1981), 231–247, 237–8 and 244.
6. The proclamation blamed sedition on "evil-disposed persons, which take upon them, without sufficient authority, to preach and interpret the word of God after their own brain in churches and other places, both public and private, and also by playing of interludes, and *printing of false fond books and ballads, rhymes, and other lewd treatises in the English tongue, concerning doctrine in matters now in question and controversy touching the high point and mysteries of Christian religion*," in P. L. Hughes and J. F. Larkin, eds, *Tudor Royal Proclamations: The Later Tudors (1553–1587)*, vol. II, 6.
7. John King, *English Reformation Literature: The Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 84–9 and Joyce Boro, "All for Love: Lord Berners and the Enduring, Evolving Romance," in Mike Pincombe and Cathy Shrank, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature, 1485–1603* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 99.
8. Peter Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London, 1501–1557*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), vol. 2, 825.
9. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company*, vol. 2, 756 and 808–11, contesting Christina Garrett, *The Marian Exiles 1553–1559: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938), 142–3.
10. Jennifer Loach, "The Marian Establishment and the Printing Press," *English Historical Review* 101 (1986), 135–148. See also her "Pamphlets and Politics 1553–1558," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* XLVIII (1975), 31–45.
11. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company*, vol. 2, 832–5.
12. Loach, "The Marian Establishment and the Printing Press," 144.
13. E. J. Baskerville, *A Chronological Bibliography of Propaganda and Polemic Published in English Between 1553 and 1558 From the Death of Edward VI to the Death of Mary I*, (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1979), 6–7.
14. Eamon Duffy, *Stripping the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400–1580* (London: Yale University Press, 1992), 534.
15. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company*, vol. 2, 776–7 and Duffy, *Stripping the Altars*, 526–7.
16. Loach, "The Marian Establishment and the Printing Press," 139.
17. The key texts on this change are John Edwards and Ronald Truman, eds, *Reforming Catholicism in the England of Mary Tudor: The Achievement of Friar Bartolomé de Carranza* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005); Eamon Duffy and David Loades, eds, *The Church of Mary Tudor* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); William Wizeman, *The Theology and Spirituality of Mary Tudor's Church* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); and Eamon Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).
18. See the register of sermons in Millar Maclure, *The Paul's Cross Sermons, 1534–1642* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958), 195–200.
19. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company*, vol. 2, 831.
20. The act is reproduced with a translation in Appendix J of Blayney, *The Stationers' Company*, vol. 2, 914 and 1022.
21. With the possible exception of *Syr Eglamoure of Artoys* (London: John Walley, 1550?) and excluding the sentimental romance translated by John Bourchier, Lord Berners, *The castell of loue* (London: John Turke, 1548), see Joyce Boro, ed, *The Castell of Love: A Critical Edition of Lord Berners' Romance* (Tempe: Arizona Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2007) and "All for Love: Lord Berners and the Enduring, Evolving

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

22. Edward Wilson-Lee, "Romance and Resistance: Narratives of Chivalry in mid-Tudor England," *Renaissance Studies* 24 (2010), 482–95, 484.
23. See below, xxx.
24. Wilson-Lee, "Romance and Resistance," 484.
25. Wilson-Lee, "Romance and Resistance," 491–2.
26. He communicated in Castilian, while Mary replied in French. {Cesare Malfatti, ed, *The Accession, Coronation and Marriage of Mary Tudor…*, 83–4.}
27. Alexander Samson, "Outdoor Pursuits: Spanish Gardens, the *huerto* and Lope de Vega's *Novelas a Marcia* Leonarda," in Alexander Samson, ed, *Locus Amoenus: Gardens and Horticulture in the Renaissance* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 124–50, 134–6.
28. Andrés Laguna, *Pedacio Dioscorides Anazarbeo* (Antwerp: Juan Latio, 1555), sig. 2v. The cultural politics of vernacular competition between England and Spain in the Elizabethan period is the subject of a recent doctorate by Hannah Crummé, "The Political Uses of the Spanish Language in Elizabeth England, 1580–1596," University of London PhD, 2015.
29. Thomas Tusser, *An hundreth good pointes of husbandrie* (London: Richard Totell, 1557), title page. STC 13489.5.
30. Juan Luis Vives, *The office and duetie of a husband*, trans. Thomas Paynell (London: John Cawood, 1555), sig. A3v. STC 24855.
31. Betty S. Travitsky, "Reprinting Tudor History: The Case of Catherine of Aragon," *Renaissance Quarterly* 50 (1997), 167–9, 171–2 and see also Judith Richards, "Public Identity and Public Memory: Case Studies of Two Tudor Women," in Stephanie Tarbin and Susan Broomhall, eds, *Women, Identities and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 195–210, 196.
32. Loach, "The Marian Establishment and the Printing Press," 144.
33. See Thomas Betteridge, "Maids and Wives: Representing Female Rule during the Reign of Mary Tudor," in Susan Doran and Thomas Freeman, eds, *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspetives* (NewYork: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011), 145–52.
34. STC 923.5 and 24318.
35. Agustín de Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Peru* (Antwerp: Martin Nuyts, 1555), dedication.
36. Biblioteca Nacional Madrid, MS 9937: Florian de Ocampo, *Sucesos Acaecidos, 1550–1558 and 1521–1549*, fol. 133v.
37. Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, *The Decades of the newe worlde or west India, conteynyng the navigations and conquestes of the Spanyards*, trans. Richard Eden (London: William Powell, 1555), sig. aii r–v. Borough's companion Richard Chancellor after visiting the court of Ivan IV, returned with the first Russian ambassador Osip Nepeya.
38. Diogo Homem, *Queen Mary Atlas*, BL Add. MS 5415A and Peter Barber, ed, *The Queen Mary Atlas* (London: Folio Society, 2012).
39. ESTC S771.
40. See Hannah Crummé, "The Politics of Spanish in Elizabethan England," 94–101.
41. *A Very Profitable boke to lerne the maner of redyng, writyng, & speackyng english & Spanish* (London: John Kingston and Henry Sutton for John Wight, 1554), sig. Cv.
42. *A Very Profitable boke*, sig. Cv.
43. *A Very Profitable boke*, sigs. Aii, Cii and Di.
44. *The boke of Englysshe and Spanysshe* (London: Robert Wyer, 1554?), sigs. Aii–iii, Ci and Dii.
45. *The boke of Englysshe and Spanysshe*, sig. Aiii and Biii.
46. *The comentaries of Don Lewes de Auela, and Suniga, great Master of Acanter, which treateth of the great wars in Germany made by Charles the fifth Maximo Emperoure of Rome, king of Spain, against John Frederike Duke of Saxon, and Philip the Lantgraue of Hesson with other gret princes and Cities of the Lutherans, wherin you may see how god hath preserued this worthie and victorious Emperor, in al his affayres against his enemies translated out of Spanish into English* (London: Richard Totell, 1555), title page verso. One of the major court tournaments of the reign celebrated the marriage of Derby's son, Henry, to Margaret, Lady Cumberland, in the Chapel Royal, Whitehall Palace, on February 7, 1555. Strange had been named a gentleman of the privy chamber to Philip. He issued a challenge on November 25 to fight Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, the Duke of Alba, "at the barriers" on December 4, which was not taken up. BL Add. MS 33735, fol. 6v.
47. *The comentaries of Don Lewes de Auela, and Suniga*, sig. Aiii v.
48. James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, "Some Correlations of Spanish Literature," *Revue Hispanique* 15 (1906), 58–85, 83.
49. An AHRC funded project, *The Origins of Early Modern Literature*, has gone some way to reconstructing the literary culture of this period, see: http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/origins/. [Accessed June 23, 2015]. A brief look at the data shows in the five years before Mary's reign 25 items, 17 from her reign, but only 10 from the five years after it, reflecting the overall patterns noted above in the sections on print in general.
50. *The Fardle* was dedicated again to the important councillor, the Earl of Arundel, Henry Fitzalan.

51. Court entertainments are well-handled in W. R. Streitberger, *Court Revels, 1485–1559* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1994), Chapter 9: Our Master of the Revels "for the tyme beinge," 1553–1559.
52. On *Respublica*, see the excellent contributions of Michael Winkelman, *Marriage Relationships in Tudor Political Drama* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), Chapter 3—*Respublica*: England's Troubles about Mary, 67–86 and Thomas Betteridge, "Staging Reformation Authority: John Bale's *King Johan* and Nicholas Udall's *Respublica*," *Renaissance and Reformation Review* 3 (2000), 34–58.
53. Chris Heesakkers, "The Ambassador of the Republic of Letters at the Wedding of Prince Philip of Spain and Queen Mary of England: Hadrianus Junius and his *Philippeis*," in Rhoda Schnur, gen. ed, *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Abulensis: Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies* (Tempe: Arizona Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2000), 325–332.
54. Baldwin was also the author of *Beware the Cat*, whose anti-Catholic undertones probably meant it was not published until 1561. He may also have been the author of another early work of prose fiction *A lyttle treatyse called the Image of Idlenesse* (London: William Seres, 1555/6). STC 25196. See R. W. Maslen, "William Baldwin and the Tudor Imagination," in Pincombe and Shrank, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature*, 291–306.
55. This incredibly brief digest of dramatic activity is extracted from the indispensable and magisterial catalogue by Martin Wiggins with Catherine Richardson, *British Drama, 1533–1642: A Catalogue* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), Volume 1: 1533–1566, 260–327. See also Albert Feuillerat, ed, *Documents relating to the Revels at Court in the Time of King Edward VI and Queen Mary* (Louvain, 1914), 148–252.
56. Marion Wynne-Davies, "The good Lady Lumley's desire: *Iphigenia* and the Nonsuch banqueting house," in Walthaus R, Corporaal M eds, *Heroines of the Golden Stage: Women and Drama in England and Spain: 1500–1700* (Barcelona : Reichenberger, 2008), 111–128.
57. Mike Pincombe and Cathy Shrank, "Doing Away with the Drab Age," 164.
58. The exception is the thorough history of the mid-Tudor ballad by Jennifer Hyde, "Mid-Tudor Ballads: Music, Words and Context," Unpublished PhD, Manchester University 2014, Chapter 4—"Liege Lady and Queen"—Discourses of Obedience in the Reign of Mary I, 150–80. On occasional pamphlets see the account of one year by Cathy Shrank, "1553," in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Volume 1—Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, ed. Joad Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 548–556.

59. Bodleian Library, Ashmole MS 48, alluded to in King, *English Reformation Literature*, 217. Contents are described in William Black, *A Descriptive, Critical and Analytical Catalogue of Manuscripts Bequeathed… by Elias Ashmole* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1845), 83–90. Nor have I ever seen any reference to the satirical verses about Philip in BL Cotton MS Nero B vi 246.
60. John Heywood, *The Spider and the Fly* (London: Thomas Powell, 1556), sig. Nn iv v.
61. Heywood, *The Spider and the Fly*, sig. Ss iii v.
62. Heywood, *The Spider and the Fly*, sig. Ss iii r.
63. These views are summarised in the brilliant essay on the poem by Alice Hunt, "Marian Political Allegory: John Heywood's *The Spider and the Fly*," in Mike Pincombe and Cathy Shrank, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature, 1485–1603* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 337–55. See Richard Axton and Peter Happé, *The Plays of John Heywood* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1991), Introduction; Judith Henderson "John Heywood's *The Spider and the Fly*: Educating Queen and Country" *Studies in Philology* 96 (1999), 241–74; and James Holstun, "The Spider and the Fly and the Commonwealth: Merrie John Heywood and Agrarian Class Struggle," *English Literary History* 71 (2004), 53–88.
64. Hunt, "Marian Political Allegory: John Heywood's *The Spider and the Fly*," 341.
65. Heywood, *The Spider and the Fly*, sig. Ss iv r.
66. See Judith Kennedy, ed, *Barnabe Googe: Eclogues, Epitaphs, and Sonnets* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989).
67. See Alan Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments* (Dobbs Ferry: Sheridan House, 1987), 200–201. For a recent discussion of the tournaments, see Sarah Duncan, "'He to be Intituled King': King Philip of England and the Anglo-Spanish Court," in Charles Beem and Miles Taylor, eds. *The Man Behind the Queen: Male Consorts in History* (NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 56–80.
68. Richard McCoy, "From the Tower to the Tiltyard: Robert Dudley's Return to Glory," *The Historical Journal* 27 (1984), 425–435.
69. See Alan Bryson, "Order and Disorder: John Proctor's *History of Wyatt's Rebellion* (1554)," in Pincombe and Shrank, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature*, 323–36.
70. Andrew Gordon, *Writing Early Modern London: Memory, Text and Community* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), "Henry Machyn's Book of Remembrance," 11–59.
71. Gordon, *Writing Early Modern London*, 22.

72. Marie Axton and James Carley, eds, *"Triumphs of English": Henry Parker, Lord Morley Translator to the Tudor Court. New Essays in Interpretation* (London: British Library, 2000), esp. 44–52.
73. Andrew Taylor, "How to hold your tongue: John Christopherson's Plutarch and the Mid-Tudor Politics of Catholic Humanism," *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature* 41 (2014), 411–31, 412 and 419–20.
74. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company*, vol. 2, 841.
75. See my "Luis de Granada en Inglaterra: traducciones católicas y protestantes de la literatura devota española, 1558–1634" in Luis González Fernández, ed, *La transmission de savoirs licites ou illicites dans le monde hispanique péninsulaire (XII au XVII siècles)* (Toulouse: Université de Toulouse, 2011), 383–398.
76. Corinna Streckfuss, "England's Reconciliation with Rome: A News Event in Early Modern Europe," *Historical Research* 82 (2009), 62–73.
77. Streitberger, *Court Revels*, 385.
78. Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 316.

CHAPTER 10

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

Carole Levin

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

John Foxe[1]

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

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