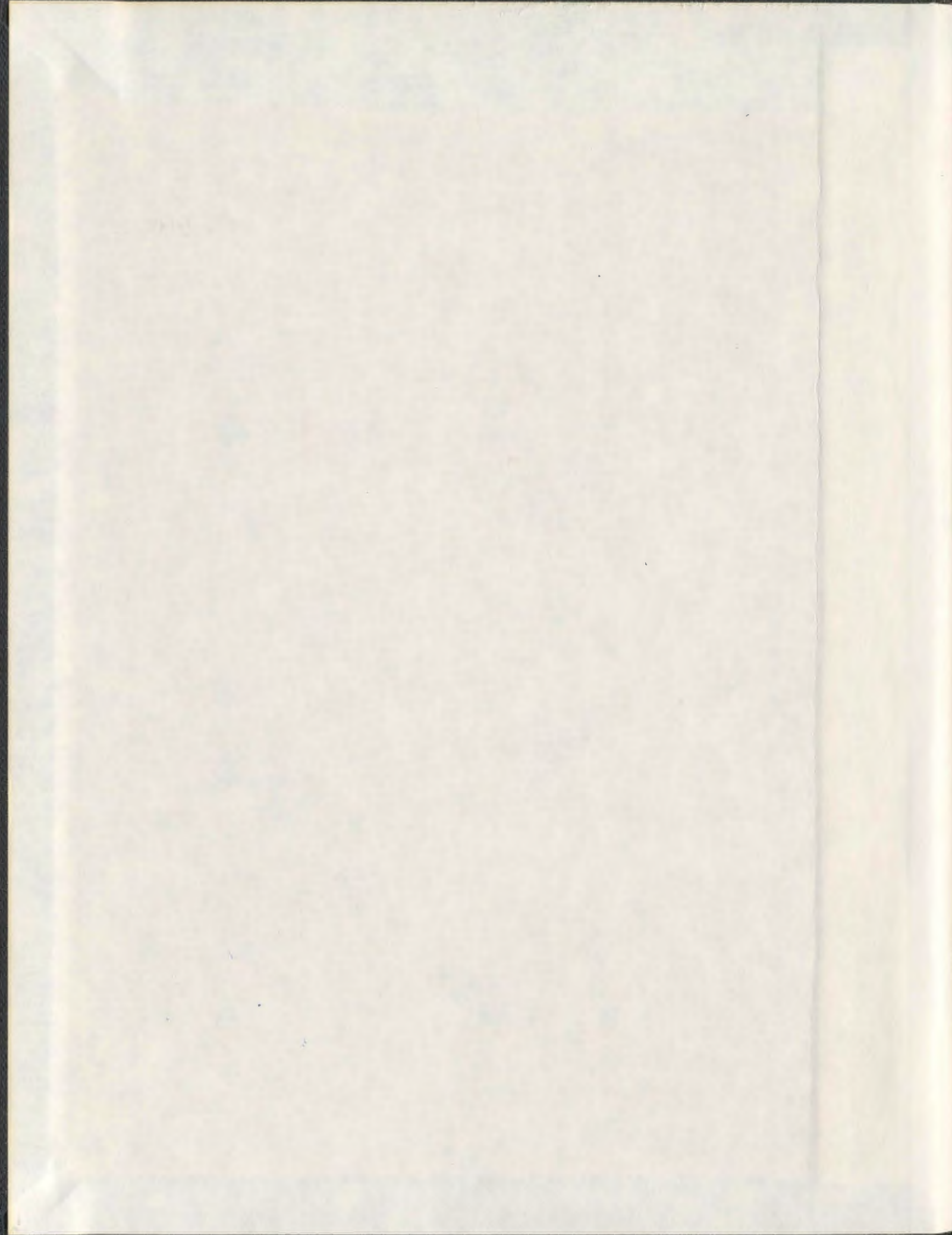


THE DAUGHTER OF TIME:
THE AFTERLIFE OF MARY TUDOR,
1558-1625

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**The Daughter of Time:
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by

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Dedication

*In loving memory
of my grandfather,
Leo Colbert
(22 July 1902-22 July 1987)*

"For he was great of heart."

Abstract

This project is the first sustained study of the posthumous reputation of Mary I in the early modern period. It examines how the late queen regnant of England, who ruled from 1553 to 1558, was remembered during the reigns of her two successors, Elizabeth I (1558-1603) and James I (1603-25). Because of her notorious reputation as the Catholic queen connected to the burning of the Protestant martyrs, men and women whom she considered heretics, she is often called "Bloody Mary." This epithet, however, obscures the complexity of her posthumous representations. While her religious zeal is usually her most recognizable characteristic, she is also associated with foreign Catholic powers, specifically those of Spain, the homeland of her husband, and of Rome. Even constructions of her as persecutor are complex. Sometimes she is presented as both cruel and vindictive, but not uniformly. Involved in the martyrdoms by her position as queen, she is frequently distanced from complete and primary guilt for them by the institutional responsibility of the Catholic Church and by the sheer number of people who are blamed. Her unsatisfactory marriage and her inability to produce an heir are also preoccupations of her posthumous representations, and these topics facilitate the fashioning of her as a failed and unhappy woman and as the object of divine retribution.

Mary's generally negative posthumous reputation has tended to overshadow more positive figurations of her, which are explored in Chapter 1. Correlating with favourable images of the living queen, these Catholic ones present a virtuous Mary Tudor, committed to the faith in which she lived and died. Chapter 2 discusses the text which

many commentators credit with the blackening of Mary's reputation, the *Acts and Monuments* of John Foxe, in which she is presented, at various times, as disloyal, stubborn, unhappy, disappointed, and misguided. His construction of Mary is inevitably shaped by his concern to show the sufferings of the godly martyrs and to prove that the true and invisible Church is Protestant. The queen, consequently, is implicated in a Protestant-Catholic dialectic, and so the descriptions of her deathbed and domestic life are contrasted with those of the martyrs. Mary's putative pregnancy is, for Foxe, a symbol of a corrupt Catholic regime. In terms of the Protestant persecutions, she facilitates the conditions under which they occur, and she is actively involved in the death of Thomas Cranmer and the torment of her sister, Elizabeth. In many ways, her representation corresponds with aspects of Foxe's characterization of an earlier English monarch, Richard III. The final chapter explores six Jacobean history plays based on Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*. These reflect and propagate the construction of Mary in the martyrology. In these plays, Mary remains a powerful symbol of the danger of international Catholicism and becomes a means to interrogate religious and political issues in the past and in the present.

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Introduction

The Late Queen of Infamous Memory: Remembering Mary Tudor

Give me my robe, put on my crown, I have
Immortal longings in me.
(Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, 5.2.280-1)

Mary Tudor's reputation as "Bloody Mary," which does have a basis in historical fact, has persisted in the writing of the history of her reign and her life.¹ Nearly three hundred Protestants were burned as heretics under her regime,² a fact that is, in terms of many of her posthumous representations, inescapable.³ Historiographers and polemicists, whether Elizabethan or later, who castigated Mary for her interference with what they believed was the inevitable progress and triumph of Protestantism in England, would undoubtedly be pleased that their view of a cruel and misguided monarch has persisted. What compounds the negativity of her afterlife, constructed in historiography, biography, letters, drama, and poetry, is a combination of bad luck and bad press, so the preponderance of constructions of the late Queen Mary have usually described her reign, in Hobbesian terms, as "nasty, brutish, and short" (89; ch. 13).⁴ Her reign was marred by periods of severe bad weather, crop failure, famine, and epidemic, and the inroads made in returning England to the Catholic fold,⁵ which many historians now acknowledge, were swept aside with the succession of Protestant Elizabeth in 1558.⁶ The relative brevity of her reign (Loades, *Tragical* 211; Tittler 36) and her inability to produce a Catholic heir of her body (Duffy and Loades xi) contributed to the impermanency of her religious innovations, which could never be viewed with equanimity by those who subscribed to

the idea that a Protestant England was right and inevitable. Her domestic life was disappointing because it did not bring her the happiness of a settled and reciprocally affectionate marital relationship or the comfort of children (Loades, *Tragical* 214).⁷ In such a climate and with the winning side producing the written history, Mary Tudor could never be anything but a loser.

Comparisons between the two Tudor queens regnant also reflect badly on the older sister.⁸ Although in the last twenty-five years there has been increasing scholarly recognition of the similitude between aspects of Mary's representation as queen and that of her sister,⁹ the narrative of a troubled five-year reign could never compete with the larger canvas of the nearly forty-five years during which the more suitably Protestant Elizabeth wore the crown. The triumphs of Mary's seizure of power in the face of the succession crisis of 1553 and the defeat of the Wyatt rebellion, as well as the less obvious successes involved with her negotiation of the terms of power for a reigning queen,¹⁰ have tended to pale by comparison with the achievements of her more glamorous heir. But it was under Mary, and not Elizabeth, that parliament defined the nature of female monarchy in England.¹¹ The act reads that "the Regall Power of this Realme is in the Queenes Ma'tie as fully and absolutely as ever it was in any of her most noble progenitors, Kinges of this Realme" (qtd. in Loades, *Life* 1).

As evidenced by the flurry of books produced close to the four hundredth anniversary of her death, the posthumous representations of Elizabeth I do not lack for commentators.¹² The same cannot be said for her sister. Mine will be the first sustained

study of its kind and draws upon the scholarly attention that has recently been given to the queen who is often dismissed as a minor Tudor (Beem 65). The purpose of this project is not revisionist in the sense that certain recent works on Mary as queen, the return to Catholicism, and aspects of her regime can be so considered.¹³ In fact, for most of the authors with whom I deal, Mary is no less than the Catholic tyrant that many people would expect to find in these pages. But my argument is counterbalanced by the inclusion of Catholic reactions to Mary's death and by a careful examination of some of her posthumous representations in Protestant texts, specifically in the *Acts and Monuments* of John Foxe and in the Jacobean history plays that find a source in that martyrology. While these Protestant texts construct negative avatars of Mary Tudor, these representations are often more complex and nuanced than might be expected.

The texts which are discussed in greater detail in the following chapters are preoccupied with and, in some cases, dominated by, the matter of religion, and so it is a central theme of this study. Ken Jackson and Arthur F. Marotti, writing in 2004, comment on the reemergence of religion as a concern in studies of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English literature, a field in which for the last quarter century or so the theoretical schools of New Historicism and Cultural Materialism have been in the ascendant:

When the New Historicist scholar Stephen Greenblatt recently published a book on Purgatory as well as an essay and two book chapters on the Eucharist, clearly something new was afoot in early modern English studies. Religion was once

again at the center in interpretations of early modern culture. Not that religion has ever disappeared as a subject of inquiry in the field . . .

Perhaps it is safer to say that interpretation of religious material and contexts never really ceased in early modern literary study but rather that they had just been pushed somewhat to the side by most New Historicists and cultural materialists, who pursued other topics and, when they dealt with religious issues, quickly translated them into social, economic, and political language. (167)¹⁴

While many modern commentators are in the process of reassessing Mary's reign without the blinkers of Protestant providentialism and outside, as far as is possible, the long shadow created by her sister, they inevitably recognize what Foxe and others did, that religion is fundamental to any appraisal of her reign. It is also integral to the writings about and reactions to her death, as well as to her posthumous representation in early modern histories and imaginative literature. I am in no way suggesting that Mary Tudor was one-dimensional, a kind of royal religious figure with no interest beyond the rood screen of a church, nor am I suggesting that other issues, like gender, are unimportant in understanding her reign, but faith and religious observance were essential to her personal identity and to her exercise of monarchical power.¹⁵ Discursive constructions of the queen are informed by and implicated in religious rhetoric, both Catholic and anti-Catholic. Focussing on religion in this way acknowledges its importance to her character, her reign, and her literary and historical legacy.

Although religion is a preoccupation of this study, I do not distinguish between kinds of Protestantism or variations within Catholicism. Certainly, to use the catch-all terms, "Protestant" and "Catholic," is problematic, as Lucy E. C. Wooding, in *Rethinking Catholicism in Reformation England*, acknowledges:

But the Catholic and Protestant traditions existed side by side in England through the formative years of the Reformation, and to see them as polarities in a single conflict is to parody their relationship. Both were diverse and living creeds, constantly adapting to the changing circumstances of the sixteenth century.

Catholic and Protestant traditions were not diametrically opposed, although they had some partisan supporters who might have wished it. They were interrelated at many different points in their development, drawing on the same humanist background, sharing the same enthusiasm for the rediscovery of Scripture, using some of the same emphases in their views of faith and its popular manifestations.

(13-14)¹⁶

But even Wooding cannot escape using "Catholic" and "Protestant" as a kind of antonymic pair, with the following caveat: "The terms 'Catholic' and 'Protestant' are used throughout, . . . but only to indicate a commitment on the part of the individual, rather than an acceptance of a distinct set of beliefs. In the early years of Reformation there was no such thing as unequivocal religious orthodoxy" (3). It is significant to note that while modern historians may try to be more precise in religious identifications, writers like Foxe maintain Catholicism and Protestantism as extremes, like the false and

true Church, and often obscure the differences between people nominally of the same faith.¹⁷ The terms “Catholic” and “Protestant” were particularly meaningful for people in Mary Tudor’s time, as Diarmaid MacCulloch notes: “The new regime was triumphalist in its Catholicism, indeed consciously used the word ‘Catholic’ as a party term; and it is no coincidence that the term ‘Protestant’ also first became naturalized in England during the reign of Mary, to be used by conservatives and evangelicals alike” (554). Many of the texts with which I deal emerge from the dialectical paradigm of a monolithic “us” versus a monolithic “them,” so using as descriptive nomenclature “Catholic” and “Protestant,” suggestive of both religious uniformity/conformity and opposition, is particularly appropriate.

Throughout her life, Mary existed on one side of this spiritual divide. According to the prolific Marian historian, David Loades, Mary’s faith is essential to what is known of the Tudor queen: “Mary was a Catholic. The one thing that is, and always has been, clear about Henry VIII’s elder daughter is that she was loyal to the old faith” (“Personal Religion” 1). A survey of Mary’s life proves the centrality of religion, as well as a context for the posthumous representations explored in the chapters that follow. She was born in February 1516 into a staunchly Catholic family, and her education, undertaken under the supervision of her mother, Katherine of Aragon, was appropriately humanist.¹⁸ It was the priority of Mary’s teachers to instill in her the qualities of a devout Catholic woman. Loades writes that “Piety, chastity and humane letters were the objectives of those who guided her lessons from the very first . . .” (*Life* 33). Such concerns are also

evident in Juan Luis Vives's *De Institutione Feminae Christianae* (1523), which Katherine commissioned. Vives's emphasis is on the preservation of chastity, and to develop and safeguard that virtue he suggests, as a critical part of his curriculum, various readings from the Church Fathers and the Bible, as well as carefully selected classical texts (Elston 18). Such texts often form "essential preparation for a governor" (Richards, "Renaissance Queen" 31).

There was little in Mary's early life that could have prepared her for the advent of the Protestant Reformation in England and for her father's role in fostering its development. Unfortunately for Mary, Henry VIII's desire to produce a male heir for the Tudor dynasty and the ascendancy of Anne Boleyn created a double fissure in the princess's life: the severing of England from the Roman Catholic Church and the divorce of her parents. From the early 1530s, when the King's Great Matter transformed both his nation and his family, to Henry's death in 1547, Mary's life was shaped—or perhaps marred—by forces over which she had little control and which were linked to the religious issues of the time. For Mary, the by-products of the acrimonious divorce of Katherine and Henry were personal and political, including a distressing, permanent separation from her beloved mother, which lasted until the end of Katherine's life in 1536, and a humiliating reduction of her status from princess and heir apparent¹⁹ to royal bastard.²⁰ She was compelled to compromise her conscience and assent to her father's ecclesiastical supremacy in 1536 (Richards, *Mary Tudor* 61-2). It was only then that a long period of estrangement from Henry was terminated (Richards, *Mary Tudor* 63-4).

Mary's religious position from 1536 to her father's death in 1547 is difficult to assess. While she later maintained that she remained loyal to Rome during this period, she was a close friend of Henry's last queen, the evangelical Catherine Parr. In Catholic Europe, she was considered her father's rightful successor to the crown, but she did nothing to interfere with the inheritance of her Protestant brother, much to the dissatisfaction of Charles V (Loades, "Personal Religion" 14).²¹

In many ways, the Edwardian Reformation was far more radical than that which transformed the Henrician Church, which still, despite the schism with Rome and papal authority, retained rites and beliefs that were recognizably Catholic (Duffy 448-9).²² During Edward's reign, Mary was seen as a symbol of traditional, if not Catholic, faith. According to Loades, her faith at this time cannot be denominated as Catholic because it lacked those signs of what could be considered a truly Catholic affiliation:

Her public position was perfectly clear. She stood for the religious settlement that her father had bequeathed . . . No mention was ever made of the unity of Christendom, nor of the papal authority, nor of the dissolved religious houses. It is misleading to speak of Mary during these years as a catholic. There is no evidence at all that she communicated with the *Curia* either directly or indirectly . . . There is no doubt that her religious stand was popular . . . To a government set upon protestant reform, Mary was an obstacle and a threat, but she was a domestic threat—at least to all appearances. (*Life* 170)²³

The focus of Mary's religious nonconformity was the Mass.²⁴ In simple terms, Mary,

during the Protectorate of the Duke of Somerset, was permitted the celebration of the Mass, but eventually the attitude of the king and his council hardened, so that first Mary's household and then the princess herself were banned from attendance. It was an irritating and contentious issue for both the boy king and his government, and it caused a rift between Edward and his older sister. Although the controversy over the Mass ended, with a whimper and not the expected bang, and Mary again "enjoyed the consolations of religion in the privacy of her own chamber" (Loades, *Life* 166), the prohibition was not officially overturned and, consequently, the threat to her religious observance remained while her brother was alive.²⁵

But if Mary's religion during the late 1540s and early 1550s cannot be called Catholic, but simply traditionalist, opposed to the reforms associated with Edwardian Protestantism, it manifested itself as more obviously Catholic after she managed to seize power from those who would deny her the throne (Richards, *Mary Tudor* 130-3). Her accession was a personal victory over the specifically Protestant forces arrayed against her, including the Duke of Northumberland, the head of Edward's council, who is sometimes considered the instigator of the attempted usurpation. The nature of her successful rise to power in 1553, which Loades refers to as an "*Annus Mirabilis*" (*Life* 171), was a kind of holy transmutation that convinced the queen of God's approval for her endeavours: "Mary believed her triumph, the triumph of one excluded from the succession, the clearest sign of divine favour, and that belief marked all her purposes thereafter" (Brigden 197). An almost contemporary Latin account, Robert Wingfield's *Vita Mariae Angliae Reginae*

(1554), regards her “power play” as “sacred Mary’s righteous undertaking” (254). Even though many of those who rallied to Mary’s cause during the succession crisis believed that the new queen would make no alteration in religion, some of the East Anglian gentry who supported Mary were Catholic and presumably would welcome the return of the old religion (Tittler 9). There was a very real sympathy for traditionalist religion that existed in the years after Henry’s break with Rome, which is well documented in Eamon Duffy’s *The Stripping of the Altars*, and many of her subjects accepted gladly a return to the kind of faith held and practised by the new monarch. In fact, after the proclamations of Mary as queen were made throughout the land, “It was at once clear that Catholicism would be restored, and some communities proceeded to Counter-Reformation without tarrying for any” (Duffy 527).

Not all Mary’s subjects wanted the return of a religion they saw as corrupt and corrupting, or were prepared to conform to, or even tolerate, its rituals. If Mary Tudor believed that a popular rejection of the Protestant Jane Grey and her supporters presaged an uncomplicated return to what she considered the true faith, she was mistaken (Loades, *Reign 17*):

popular Catholic sympathies remained strong in many areas. For her part, Mary merely assumed that the majority of her subjects were still fundamentally Roman Catholic and had been led astray by a minority which had previously enjoyed government support. In her view, the true Protestants were not only a minority, but were themselves dominated by a hard core of desperate and determined heretics,

bent on perpetuating the grip of Satan upon the rest. It followed from this that a restoration of the Catholic faith would require little more than the removal of these hard-liners and a comprehensive provision of opportunity for resumed Catholic practice. (Tittler 23)

This summary supports the view that Mary believed there was a considerable political element involved in the survival of Protestant heresy. Underlying this belief was the idea that those in power during Edward's minority used the (dis)guise of Protestantism to achieve political advantage and ascendancy, which would naturally diminish and disappear when replaced by a Catholic regime (Loades, *Life* 193). Mary misunderstood the nature of English Protestants because, in settling for explanations that relied on political hegemony and religious extremism, she denied to them the element of faith, which motivated and justified *her* actions (Loades, *Life* 193). Although significant problems for a successful Catholic restoration were the recalcitrance of committed Protestants within the realm and the opposition of those who fled to the Continent and attempted to undermine Mary's religious policies and regime from exile, there were other obstacles that in fact had little to do with the unwillingness of her subjects to embrace a more traditionalist religion. For instance, there was an insufficient number of clergy to implement fully the changes in official religion in places such as Kent (Duffy 562), and much of the apparatus of Catholicism, which included items such as vestments and vessels, as well as architectural features in churches, like altars, rood screens, and statuary, had been destroyed, defaced, dispersed, or put to other use (Duffy 545-6).

With the assistance of the episcopacy and the government, Mary struggled from her accession to her death to reestablish Roman Catholicism within a wayward English Church, profaned by schism and heresy during the reigns of her father and her brother. To that end and not without great controversy, even among those committed to traditionalist faith, she reconciled her realm with the papal see, although Church lands, confiscated under Henry VIII, were not restored (Richards, *Mary Tudor* 169-73). During her reign, the Mass was reinstituted, other outlawed ceremonies were reinstated, and married priests and bishops were removed from their livings. Even her marriage to Prince Philip of Spain was contracted with the religious welfare of her people in mind (Tittler 14-5).²⁶ In a confidential interview with the imperial ambassador, Simon Renard, soon after her accession, Mary, in her position as queen regnant, recognized the necessity of marriage, yet voiced a personal preference to remain single, a desire that her sister Elizabeth would echo often after 1558 (Loades, *Life* 187).²⁷ Tittler acknowledges that Mary sought a husband in order to establish some sort of family life, which had been denied her after her parents' divorce (3).²⁸ This desire for a match based on some form of attachment or affection is supported by Mary's famous confession of falling "half in love" (Loades, *Life* 203) with the portrait of the handsome Spanish prince.²⁹ Of equal or greater importance than the prospect of happy domestic arrangements were various political benefits, one of which was stabilizing the throne of England's first queen regnant; as John Guy suggests, "By marrying early in her reign, she could expect to deflect the attacks of those who opposed female rule on principle" (51).³⁰ When Mary undertook the marriage negotiations

with Charles V, Philip's father and for many years her trusted advisor, religion was a key motivation for both parties. For the emperor, there were certainly wholly political advantages to connecting England to Spain's vast European territories, not least of which was the positive expectation of neutralizing or counterbalancing French hostility (Tittler 15). However, as an additional, religious reason, "Charles longed to bring England back into the Catholic fold, and he was especially anxious that his own son should take the credit for that achievement" (Tittler 15). Philip's identity as a Catholic prince, one prepared, as in the Netherlands, to defend the faith from the forces of the Anti-Christ, was undoubtedly a significant attraction to a queen bent on restoring the old religion within her realm. It was a quality she recognized explicitly in her will, which is discussed below.

Mary's marriage was not the only way she attempted to safeguard the reestablishment of Catholicism in England. It was the role of any queen, even a queen regnant, to secure her dynasty through procreation, and children would undoubtedly contribute to the domestic felicity Mary hoped her marriage would create. However, appended to these political and personal concerns was the wish to secure a Catholic England through the inheritance of another steadfast Catholic, the son or daughter of Mary and Philip.³¹ John Foxe records a speech in which the queen stated that her primary motivation for marriage was the desire for a child who could succeed her:

And as touching my selfe, I assure you, I am not so bente to my will, neither so precise, nor affectionate, that either for mine own pleasure, I wold chuse where I lust, or that I am so desirous, as needes I would haue one. For God I thanke him, to

whome bee the praise therefore, I haue hetherto liued a Virgin, and doubt nothing, but with Gods grace am able so to liue stil. But if as my progenitors haue done before, it might please God that I might leaue some fruit of my body behinde me, to be your Gouvernor, I trust you would not onely reioyce therat, but also I know it would be to your great comforte. (10.1418; 6.414-5)³²

When Mary wrote her will, she was anticipating the birth of her first child and feared, in an age rife with the death of women in childbed, “the great danger which by Godd’s ordynance remaine to all whomen in ther travel of children” (Loades, *Life* 370);³³ what probably compounded her fears for her own survival were her relatively advanced age and her history of gynaecological problems.³⁴ She was consequently careful to include in the document provisions for her offspring in the event she died in childbirth. She names “the heyres, issewe and frewte of [her] bodye” to succeed to the “Imperiall Crowne of Englund and Ireland,” with the recommendation that her “most Dere and well beloved Husband” be considered as a suitable candidate to govern both the child and the realm during the minority of the heir. According to his wife, Philip was particularly suited to fulfil this duty:

And also desyryng [my subjects] . . . that sens yt hath pleased hys devyne Majesty, far above my merits to shew me so great favour in this world, as to appoynte me so noble, vertuous, and worthy a Prince to be my husband . . . whose endeavour, care and stodie hath ben, and chefely ys, to reduce this Realme unto the Unyte of Christ’s Church and trewe Religion, and to the anncyente and honourable fame and

honor that yt hath ben of, and to conserve the same therein; And not dowting but accordyng to the trust that ys repos'd in hys Maj^{ty}, by the laws of this Realme, made concernyng the Government of my Issewe, that hys Highnesse will discharge the same to the glory of God, to hys own honour, to the surety of my said Issewe, and to the profit of all my Subjects . . . (376-7)³⁵

Mary's concern for the preservation of the religious changes she had made is evident in these arrangements for her heir and her husband. She manifests such concern again in the last days of her life, when she seemed convinced, as the codicil to her will indicates, that there was no hope of any baby and that she, "fealyng . . . sicke and week in bodye" (381), was in danger of dying. At this time she sent to Elizabeth and enjoined the princess to maintain a Catholic England.

The most controversial means by which Mary sought to sustain English Catholicism was through the execution of heretics. The arguments of historian G. R. Elton, writing in the 1950s, exemplify the conventional and, to a certain extent, enduring opinion of Mary's reign, judged a "disastrous failure" (*England* 223), and her religious changes, pejoratively referred to as the Marian reaction. The program of execution is considered a function of brainless zealotry:

These martyrs, celebrated by John Foxe in his *Acts and Monuments*, deserve no doubt no more and no less sympathy than the victims of Henry VIII or Elizabeth, but their importance is vastly greater. Mary burned few as compared with continental practice, but for English conditions and traditions her activities were

unprecedented and left an ineradicable memory. More than all the denunciations of Henry VIII, the fires of Smithfield and the like places all over southern England created an undying hatred of the pope and of Roman Catholicism which became one of the marked characteristics of the English for some 350 years. This in itself is an adequate comment on the activities of these earnest and good and rather stupid fanatics. . . . (*England* 220)³⁶

More recently, other historians have provided a corrective to such views. Patrick Collinson, writing about the persecution in Kent, asks the pertinent question, "if there had been no Foxe, no *Actes and Monuments*, would the martyrs have lived on in folk memory, as they seem to have done in Sussex, where the Pope is still burned in effigy in Lewes every 5 November?" ("Persecution" 332). He concludes, differently than Elton, that the victims in Kent needed Foxe to sustain their afterlives (333).³⁷ Other historians try to situate the Marian persecution in its historical context, which sometimes facilitates a more balanced appraisal than Elton's work. Tittler furnishes a reminder that the number of English martyrs was a relatively small proportion of the total number of Protestants persecuted and killed for their religious beliefs throughout Europe during the sixteenth century (33). Guy, in a short, popular history of Tudor England, is more emphatic in providing a counterargument to the traditional Foxean view of the Marian persecution:

It is true that Mary burned a minimum of 287 persons after February 1555, and others died in prison. But the leading Protestant martyrs, Bishops Hooper, Ridley,

and Latimer, and Archbishop Cranmer, were as much the victims of straightforward political vengeance. . . . Secondly, we should appreciate that many of the Marian "martyrs" would have been burnt as anabaptists, or Lollards, under Henry VIII. By sixteenth-century standards there was nothing exceptional about Mary's reign of terror. . . . (58)

Like Elton, Richards underscores the anomaly of the burnings in terms of English history. But she also shows that Mary's attitude towards uncompromising heretics was not unusual; it was one she shared with believers on both sides of the confessional divide, including Thomas Cranmer, Protestant archbishop of Canterbury and a prominent Marian martyr (*Mary Tudor* 193-5). The Mary that Richards presents is no hardened fanatic. The queen firmly believed that "the most desirable outcome was to persuade 'heretics' to recant, repent and then return to the true church," and she initially directed the Privy Council to proceed "without rashness" (*Mary Tudor* 198).³⁸ Richards is careful to describe the political motives at work, like the termination of a religious opposition that inherently had political dimensions or results, and to show that the punishment of the heretics, which followed a legal formula, was technically a "prosecution" (*Mary Tudor* 195).³⁹ The championship of Mary by Richards is not even much challenged by the sheer numbers of Protestants sent to the pyres. If the regime was unprepared for the volume of heretics, as well as by their unwillingness to compromise their faith through the expected and traditional Nicodemite reaction of "equivocation and evasion" (*Mary Tudor* 198), then Richards contends that there were few options except to continue with the

persecution:

The failure to find another response to such unprecedented persistence in profound error, as the regime saw it, has frequently been criticised. But once embarked on its course, it is difficult to see how the regime could abandon their punitive policy without apparently conceding its own defeat. Conversely, to a modern mind, the chilling rider to such persistence is that the declining numbers of those burned towards the end of the regime may suggest the campaign was having some effect. (*Mary Tudor* 198)

The Stripping of the Altars, which contains Duffy's markedly positive assessment of Marian Catholicism, merely glances at the persecution. He argues exhaustively that the reestablished Church not only exploited the remnants of, and the concomitant desire to return to, a traditionalist faith and observance, but that it also selectively drew upon the reformist models of education and printing with which the people were familiar (524-64). However, he is uncharacteristically laconic about the Protestant executions themselves. Rather disingenuously, he writes, "a study of the restoration of traditional religious practice is not the place for a survey of the pursuit of heresy, and I shall not attempt to consider the burnings here" (559). For Mary, the restoration of Catholicism and the matter of heresy were not separate issues. By trying to root out the heresy that she was convinced threatened the true faith, Mary was acting in a protective manner commensurate with her Catholic conscience and her strong sense of duty to her people. At its most basic level, then, the persecution was the queen's misguided attempt to

preserve her Church from the depredations of its Protestant enemies (Loades, *Tragical* 12; "Personal Religion" 27-9).

The death of Mary in 1558 ended the hegemony of the Catholic Church in England, so the queen's innovations are often regarded as an elaborate exercise in futility. But to judge the Marian restoration as a useless turning back of the clock, as unwelcome interference with the advances of the Protestant Reformation, or as the frivolous, solipsistic indulgence of a religious fanatic is a distortion. Certainly, many scholars have shown that the Marian Church was able to tap into a real, widespread longing for a more traditionalist faith (Duffy 524-64) and that, far from trying to reinstitute a wholly medieval or pre-Reformation Catholicism, it anticipated some of the changes that were to become features of the continental Counter-Reformation (Duffy and Loades xvii).⁴⁰ Indeed, Marian Catholicism implemented some of the lessons learned from two decades of reformist work in England to make the old faith more palatable and accessible to the people. Nevertheless, the successes the Marian Church experienced before November 1558 were negated by the singular act of a Protestant following Mary to the throne. In the end, the fledgling Marian Church, in spite of any progress made, must ultimately be considered a failure.⁴¹ My use of the word "failure" here is not intended to invalidate Mary's sincere commitment to Catholicism or her attempt to lead her people from excommunication and damnation, what she believed were the real perils of schism and heresy, nor does it cancel some of the achievements that can be attributed to her religious policies. Yet Mary's Catholic restoration was as far beyond her control as many of the

events of her life before her accession. As much of Mary's life was overshadowed by the vagaries associated with kingly power, exercised by her father and brother, so the reconciliation with the Catholic Church was doomed through the succession of Protestant Elizabeth.

This dominance over Mary continues even after Elizabeth's death. An interrogation of the factors influencing the afterlife of the second English queen regnant reveals that, even in death, Elizabeth is more fortunate than her sister. In a couplet attributed to Andrew Marvell and published in 1689's *State Poems*,⁴² "A Tudor, a Tudor! wee've had Stuarts enough; / None ever Reign'd like old Besse in the Ruffe" (149-50), the poet expresses dissatisfaction with and fatigue for the Stuart dynasty through an invocation of the past reign of Elizabeth I, informally referred to as "old Besse" and remembered wearing a distinctive and old-fashioned article of clothing.⁴³ Although there is no regard for the *gravitas* of queenship in these lines, there is a certain degree of fondness and a sense that a strong image of Elizabeth has survived. Remembering the last Tudor monarch is somewhat more complex and contested than this brief glance at a couplet suggests, yet it is true that she haunts the seventeenth century, as nostalgia for her reign and her person emerged shortly after her death in 1603.⁴⁴ Even the forces of the Cromwellian interregnum ironically held the queen in high esteem.⁴⁵ Certain conditions, which have no correlation with the circumstances that existed upon her accession, initially fostered Stuart nostalgia for Elizabeth, including the desire to make dynastic connections with the late queen (Perry 153-4, 155-65; Watkins 14-35), the perceived

weaknesses and problems associated with James I (Perry 177-87; Watkins 35, 36-55), and the popularity of the Prince of Wales (Perry 166-72; Strong 187-91). Another condition, alarm at the king's apparent soft line on Catholicism (Pinciss 59-60), cannot really be equated with the religious reversal that occurred with the succession of 1558. The nature of Elizabeth's reign further facilitated a generally favourable afterlife in literature and history. As well as leading a country during notable events worthy of memorialization, like the defeat of the Armada, Elizabeth was also more fortunate than Mary in having four decades longer to develop positive public perceptions of her queenship.⁴⁶ The very specific representation recalled by the couplet reinforces the enduring nature of her image, one she did much to cultivate and propagate during her reign. Mary did not share her sister's acumen for what one commentator has referred to as "public relations" (Tittler 38).⁴⁷ In fact, her husband, Philip, never popular in England, was more aware of the significance of his royal image in a way that Mary never was (Loades, *Tragical* 11, 215).

Elizabeth, unsurprisingly, is one of the reasons why Mary was remembered in the years after her death. For instance, Mary is the queenly persecutor in several narratives, both dramatic and otherwise, that focus on Elizabeth as a Protestant princess imperilled by a Catholic hegemony. Mary as a discursive construction is also useful for providing an accessible contrast for her sister. Mary's utility in these kinds of representations of the half-siblings serves to highlight Elizabeth's significance to the process of remembering (Dobson and Watson 45) and to downplay or downgrade the earlier queen's own importance. Mary plays a peripheral role to Elizabeth's starring one, an imbalance

reflected in her younger sister's continuing prominence in the twenty-first-century popular imagination. Loades's summary of the afterlife of Mary Tudor to nearly the present touches on this theme of inconsequentiality, but he argues that until the nineteenth century, she was considered important:

The early Protestant writers John Foxe and John Strype never made the mistake of thinking that Mary did not matter; but to them (and particularly to Foxe) she was a dire warning of what could happen when a lawful ruler was seduced by the Devil. Foxe's legacy lay less in learned history and more in popular prejudice. Mary herself was not his target, but the Catholic Church was, and centuries of popular anti-Catholicism sprang from Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*. Because of her marriage to the Spanish Habsburg Philip, Mary also became the godmother of the association between popery and arbitrary (foreign) power. For about three hundred years she was a hated figure for liberal Anglicans and evangelicals alike, and when the storms had died down, she found herself dismissed as insignificant. More recently, a tendency towards broadly based social and economic history, and a rejection of "reign-based" history, have also tended to undervalue the period.

(*Tragical* 8-9)

Loades defines Mary here as a symbol of wrong religion, one which accumulated the additional connection with foreignness.⁴⁸ As such, Mary is crucially implicated in the English national identity. As Loades, with Duffy, writes elsewhere,

The historiography of the Marian Church, like that of the reign as a whole, has

been not so much chequered as stereotyped. . . . By 1600 Protestantism had become an entrenched aspect of England's national identity, and the historiography of Mary's reign had settled into the pattern which it would retain almost to the present. To the majority who defended the establishment, Mary was at best the victim of Spanish manipulation, at worst a wicked tyrant who had tried to defy the "manifest destiny" of a Protestant realm. To those who sought to justify her actions, on the other hand, she presented a hardly less formidable problem. How could so resolute a defender of God's truth have been so cruelly abandoned? (Introduction xi)⁴⁹

Ironically, England's first queen regnant is alienated from the identity of the realm she once ruled. Her religious otherness and connections with foreignness make her incompatible with fundamental aspects of Englishness.⁵⁰ Furthermore, her reign is an interruption and a hindrance to the natural, inexorable, and proper progress of Protestantism in her former realm.

Marotti's description of the English national identity foregrounds the crucial presence of the adversarial other:

English nationalism rests on a foundation of anti-Catholicism. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries English identity was defined as Protestant, so Roman Catholicism, especially in its post-Tridentine, Jesuit manifestations, was cast as the hated and dangerous antagonist, most fearfully embodied in a papacy that claimed the right to depose monarchs. Politically intrusive popes' visions of

international order directly conflicted with the kind of political autonomy implicit in the ideology of the newly emerging nation-state. (*Religious Ideology* 9)

If England is Protestant, then Catholicism is the other against which it demarcates itself. The conflict between virtuous Protestantism and iniquitous Catholicism is intrinsic to constructions of Mary in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* and the Jacobean history plays, where, with isolated exceptions, she is unsympathetically represented. In these works, she is, above all, an exponent of wrong religion and, consequently, a focus for anti-Catholic sentiments. The Catholic queen advocates heretical beliefs, like the doctrines of transubstantiation and purgatory, and the utility of praying for the souls of the dead. She is also cruel, a characteristic which is obvious in those texts that handle Mary's accession and/or her early reign. Any conflation of Catholicism and the religio-political triumph implicit in her accession is quickly upset by equating religious reversion with imperiousness and stubbornness. Mary repudiates any promise to maintain the alterations associated with the Edwardian Reformation and punishes those who try to make her adhere to her word. In fact, her failure to honour her oaths is a feature found in Foxe and in *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, first published in 1607, by Thomas Dekker and John Webster.

Mary's moments of outright cruelty and vindictiveness in these texts are usually infrequent, which is probably a little surprising to those who know her best as "Bloody Mary." In Thomas Heywood's *I If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody* (1605), she orders the punishment of Dodds, and in the *Acts and Monuments* it is the queen who

actively pursues the tormenting and ultimate destruction of Thomas Cranmer. In a more generalized way, she is the facilitator of evil, though often not its initiator or its instrument. Particularly in the dramatizations of incidents in her reign, she is usually distanced from the corruption and villainy of her bishops, like Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, and of her officers, like the Constable of the Tower in *I If You Know Not Me*. Even in Foxe, Gardiner and Bonner receive the bulk of Protestant invective for their roles in the persecutions, and the blame is spread liberally throughout the text.⁵¹ In the plays, as in Foxe, persecution takes three main forms: the harrying of Protestants like Elizabeth, who, although they feel they are in danger, escape death; the execution of political prisoners, like Lady Jane Grey, who, because they are Protestants, become martyrs for the faith; and the burning of the Protestant martyrs. However, those who are most closely associated with the active pursuit and victimization of Protestants are principally Gardiner and Bonner, as well as others who hold some office in the Catholic regime.

For Foxe, the Marian hegemony is inextricable from persecution, a preoccupation that is also found in several of the Jacobean history plays. But a second disturbing element of the regime, emphasized in the commentaries on national identity quoted above, is its openness to other foreign powers and the vulnerability which may have derived from such exposure. When this theme is discussed, Mary is usually represented as the architect of the threat through her determination to reconcile her kingdom with Rome and her pursuit of a marriage with a Spanish prince. The danger of an international

Catholicism centred in Rome became especially urgent after Elizabeth's excommunication because it seemingly permitted English Catholics to depose and/or assassinate their monarch (Richards, *Mary Tudor* 5).⁵² On this topic much of the allegory of *The Whore of Babylon* (1607) hinges, though the source of most of the peril the Elizabeth figure experiences is not the dead queen who represents Mary, but the Whore herself. The preeminent and more immediate danger in these texts is from Spain. Although Mary began her reign as a virgin queen, she did not remain so for long. Elizabeth's virginity was conflated with the flourishing of peace in her realm: her untransgressed body was not simply comparable to England's untrespassed borders; in a certain sense, it was considered the source (Hackett 115). Mary ascended the throne as a virgin, but in opening her body to Philip in marriage, she was giving Spain access to the nation itself.⁵³ Although Mary wisely limited the authority the Habsburg prince could wield within her realm, much to Philip's chagrin, the perception of the alliance as a conduit for unwanted foreign influence and as a danger to a sovereign country remained. *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, in particular, reflects the public prejudice against the match.⁵⁴ Yet the texts that focus on the marriage itself, *I If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody* and the *Acts and Monuments*, use it to explore more than xenophobia. It facilitates the presentation of Mary as a disappointed and barren wife. In Protestant historiography and imaginative literature, the queen's two bodies are in equipoise, for Mary's unsuccessful monarchy is matched by an unsatisfactory domestic life.⁵⁵

Mary Tudor as champion of a corrupt religion, as tyrant, and as failed queen and woman are constructions common to Protestant historiography and imaginative literature. In spite of the contention by Loades and Duffy that her posthumous representation also presented problems for Catholic writers, in the reports of her death made by Monsignor Alvise Priuli and the funeral sermon delivered by John White, Gardiner's successor to the bishopric of Winchester, she is the epitome of the saintly monarch, dying in the faith of the one true Church and memorialized by its members. Absent also from the report of her funeral by Henry Machyn is the kind of vilification associated later with Foxe (Gibbs 281). This concern with a virtuous Catholic queen is echoed in a later recusant text, Henry Clifford's *The Life of Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria* (c.1613-6), which I include in the chapter on Mary's death. Though this work violates the generally chronological organization of my dissertation, I situate it with texts that are contemporaneous with the queen's passing and funeral because it is ostensibly based on an eyewitness account of the deathbed. Explicit in these Catholic texts, as in later Protestant ones, is a queen charged with ideological meaning, and for these writers that meaning is unambiguous: Mary is a committed and exceptional Catholic queen.

A study of these Catholic texts is not intended to be discontinuous from the examination of the Protestant works that follow. On the contrary, the response to White's controversial funeral sermon is a clear signal that in England Mary Tudor's posthumous reputation would be shaped primarily by Protestants. This project traces that transfer of the late queen's memorialization from the partial control of her co-religionists to the

power of those whom she considered heretics. The mapping of the boundaries of this change and certain textual points that exhibit Protestant management of Mary's posthumous reputation correlates with the macrocosmic religio-cultural shift that occurred in England after 1558, so that Marian representations parallel the ideological repositioning of England. When monarchs die, any control they asserted over their image is lost, though spouses, children, friends, enemies, or others might have a vested interest in its perpetuation or transmogrification. Certain accounts of Mary's life and death from late November 1558 to the beginning of 1559 handle the queen's reputation with the delicacy and sympathy that many committed Catholics would feel appropriate to a queen who not only died in the faith, but also reestablished it, albeit precariously, in a heretical realm. However, these versions could not be sustained in a Protestant England. A Protestant queen succeeded the Catholic one, and so sympathetic treatments are quickly preempted, to a large extent, because of the religious direction of the new regime. My choice of texts, therefore, is intended to convey this monumental fracture, even, in a sense, to mimic it, but they are never disconnected, reflecting as they do the very *process* of religious and political change.⁵⁶

This examination of the posthumous reputation of Mary during the reigns of her two successors does not present a comprehensive textual survey. Although I discuss some fairly obscure texts, my primary interest is not in gathering every one that refers to the late queen during this period. Rather, my objective is to trace, through selected representative texts, the systematic establishment of English Protestant control of Mary's

image, which overwhelms dissonant depictions, like those of Priuli. My choice of texts is organized as a triptych, an artistic format for related images with appropriately religious resonances. Of relevance to my own work are this form's general characteristics. A triptych suggests an overall thematic, chronological, or topical unity through the connections between the panels, yet this interdependence is not congruent with homogeneity, a reason why the detached parts can exist and be admired as separate works of art. Unlike the diptych, which traditionally hinges in the centre, the triptych has a middle panel, often larger than the others and more prominent because of its centrality.

In the first panel of my Mary Tudor triptych, I examine texts that discuss Mary's deathbed experience, as well as those related to her funeral. Most of these works, with the exception of *The Life of Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria*, date from the weeks immediately subsequent to the queen's death in the late autumn of 1558. The focus then moves to the ways in which the dead queen was remembered by her own countrymen in the six-and-a-half decades after her death. My principal Protestant text, the middle panel of my triptych, is Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, which was instrumental in promoting the queen's negative posthumous iconography. In fact, many historians consider the martyrology the ur-text for the identification of Mary Tudor as "Bloody Mary."⁵⁷ While the ways he treats the dead queen are anticipated in earlier texts like John Knox's *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (1558) (Garcia 80) and are more complicated than is often suggested, Foxe remains seminal to the popularizing and solidifying of Mary's posthumous bloody reputation. Although four

editions of the martyrology were published during Foxe's lifetime, I use, with only a few exceptions, the latest and longest version, dating from 1583. The third panel is more obviously attached to this central Foxean part than the first one is. Here, I turn to dramas first performed during the reign of James I (1603-25) that use the *Book of Martyrs* as a source—though usually not the only one—and so are sometimes termed Foxean history plays. My concentration on the Jacobean history plays which find inspiration in the *Acts and Monuments* demonstrates the survival and further popularization of Foxe's image of Mary. By following the direction set by Foxe onto the stage, I can illustrate how Mary existed in cultural memory. For many people of the period, Mary Tudor was a historical figure "packaged" by John Foxe.

Many of the selected texts have been studied primarily by historians and not scholars of literature. Marotti, a professor of English, carves out space for his own work that is separate from a historian's. In *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy*, he acknowledges the indebtedness of his work in the field of literature to various historians of early modern religion, but he does see a fundamental difference between his interests and theirs: "my focus is less on historical 'facts' (who did what and to whom) than on language, fantasies, and perceptions (or misperceptions)" (3). The way Queen Mary is presented is a matter of interest to the historian and to the literary scholar, though from different perspectives. For the historian, there is evidence of current politics that can be teased out from the way that a historical figure is reconstructed, fictionalized, or dramatized. For literary critics, the problem is somewhat different as we are looking at a

tension within a proposed reality, whether it is presented as part of a fiction or not.

Although Thomas Dekker writes in the *Lectori of The Whore of Babylon*, "I write as a

Poet, not as an Historian, and that these two doe not liue vnder one law" (497),

Elizabethan and Jacobean writers, like Sidney, foregrounded the possibility that the

presentation of historical personages and events have indeed a fictional and mythic

quality.⁵⁸ Though I come from the literature side of things, I find myself in that

borderland of history and literature. In the end, I am primarily concerned with the

aesthetic dimension of the problem, the way narrative and other genres can absorb and

provide a pleasing and engaging structure to historical actuality, and thereby shape that

actuality into a verisimilitude that passes for reality. The act of remembering, thus,

involves the construction of that verisimilitude.

Mary Tudor is an interesting case study because much of her posthumous reputation has been affected less by the historical reality of her life than by her discursive avatars. Although my first chapter discusses correspondence and a biography which probably would not have had an extensive dissemination, much of this project is concerned with the ways in which the image of the dead queen was handled in expectation of a wider exposure: her funeral sermon, a martyrology written in English for the English Protestant community, and plays. The scholarly tide is definitely turning—in fact, one might argue that it has already turned—in the reexamination and rehabilitation of her reign, but such activities cannot and should not erase the very particular way she existed for many people of the early modern period. If her repute after 1563 owes much

to her appearance in the *Acts and Monuments*, as evidenced by the number of playwrights who based their dramatizations of Mary on the opponent of the godly found and popularized in Foxe, then my opening chapter presents a Catholic counterbalance in its study of an anti-Foxean queen. With the exception of Clifford's *Life of Jane Dormer*, the works examined pre-date Foxe, yet they, like the martyrology, present the queen in a specifically religious way. The significant difference is, of course, that the Catholic writers of the opening chapter view the late Catholic queen as a virtuous crusader for the true faith, the antithesis of "Bloody Mary."

Notes

1. See Charles Beem (65) and Eamon Duffy and David Loades (xi).
2. This is the number supplied by Loades, who further emphasizes that most of the victims of the persecution were not "high-profile" Protestant men like Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, but male and female commoners, identified as members of the labouring and artisanal classes ("Personal Religion" 28). See also Fredrica Harris Thompsett (185-6) and Robert Tittler (33).
3. Judith M. Richards argues that the Protestant persecutions were seminal to the way Mary is remembered: "Above all, she was the ruler who burned heretics. . . . But almost all other aspects of her reign were usually subsumed into that one issue, the persecution of Protestants and the restoration of a religion that most later English historians deplored" (*Mary Tudor* 4).
4. See Beam (64-5) and Loades (*Tragical* 212). Beam uses the same phrase from *Leviathan* (sans quotation marks) to describe Mary Tudor's reign.
5. For a discussions of the relative success of Mary's religious innovations, see Duffy (524-64) and Duffy and Loades (xiii-xiv, xvi-xviii).
6. See Loades (*Tragical* 209-10). For a slightly different assessment of the demise of the Marian Church, see Duffy and Loades (xxiii-xxv). They attribute the failure to factors beyond the transfer of power from a Catholic queen to a Protestant one, which they consider a valid argument, "but . . . not necessarily true" (xxiii).
7. A letter from John Bradford to the Earls of Arundel, Derby, Shrewsbury, and Pembroke, which is quoted at length in Loades's second biography of Mary, accuses Philip, eleven years younger than his wife, of marital infidelity: "but in the mean space he must have three or four in one night to prove which of them he liketh best; not of ladies and gentlewomen, but of baker's daughters and such poor whores" (*Tragical* 150-1). It is not unreasonable to believe that Philip would have been unfaithful to the older woman, whom he had been in the habit of calling "*muy cara y muy amanda tia* ('dear and beloved aunt')" (109). Loades counters this charge to a degree by arguing that such licentiousness would be incompatible with the character of the very pious king, but he also suggests that the long periods of separation from his wife perhaps led to unfaithfulness (11). He confirms that "Philip was not short of other women if he felt that way inclined," a fact supported by the diplomatic correspondence (151). Philip reputedly told a servant "that the queen was not very good '*para la sensualidad de la carne*' (that is, sexually)" (128). Richards reports that "Philip's enjoyment of female company was well known. Mary acknowledged that his time as a widower had not been chaste, but she was misinformed if she really believed, as she said, that he was 'free of the love of any other woman.' He

had a much-loved mistress, a Spaniard who remained unmarried . . . and who was to die extremely wealthy in 1590" (*Mary Tudor* 157). When discussing Mary's relationship with the sexually experienced Catherine Howard, her father's fifth wife, Loades claims that "Mary had no experience at all, and although her appetite remains a matter of speculation, ostensibly she regarded the whole business with distaste" (59). In spite of their sexual incompatibility, there were moments of happiness in the marriage, but Mary was separated from him for protracted periods and, therefore, bereft of his personal and political support in England. Mary's primary concern was her own realm; Philip's foremost interest was not the island over which he was king—he did not speak the language or understand its ways—but the Spanish imperial interests for which his birth and upbringing had prepared him (109, 214). See also Tittler (22).

8. See Beem for the traditional placements of Mary and Elizabeth in Whig historiography (65). See also Loades (*Tragical* 11-2).

9. See Beem (98-9), Helen Hackett (34-7), and Richards (*Mary Tudor* 2-3, 136, 138-9, 238). John N. King suggests that "A 'sacred cult' of Elizabeth did exist, but it stemmed from the 'cults' of her father, Henry VIII, and her sibling monarchs Edward and Mary . . . The eclectic iconography of her time was employed to advance the religious settlement that the queen imposed, which combined Protestant theological doctrine with some forms of Catholic ritualism" (*Iconography* xvi).

10. Beem argues that "Mary I accomplished the gendering of kingly power in the guise of a queen, representing herself to her subjects as monarch within conventional perceptions of sixteenth-century womanhood" (63). See also Richards (*Mary Tudor* 238-42).

11. Richards analyzes how Mary modified aspects of the traditional coronation celebrations to fit her status as a queen regnant. When she travelled through the streets of London on the day before the coronation ceremony, she appeared as a queen consort: she rode in a litter instead of on a horse, and her dress and unbound hair resembled the traditional style of a king's wife (*Mary Tudor* 136). Much of what is known of the ceremony itself suggests that the coronation of a queen regnant did not differ significantly from that of a king (137-8). Richards also describes how the parliament of April, 1554, interpreted female monarchy in light of Mary's betrothal to Philip (*Mary Tudor* 156-7). Richards also covers the coronation in "Mary Tudor as 'Sole Quene'?: Gendering Tudor Monarchy."

12. These works include *England's Elizabeth: An Afterlife in Fame and Fantasy* (2002), by Michael Dobson and Nicola J. Watson; John Watkins's *Representing Elizabeth in Stuart England: Literature, History, Sovereignty* (2002); parts of *The Myth of Elizabeth*, edited by Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (2003); section three in *Queen Elizabeth I: Past and Present* (2004), edited by Christa Jansohn; and Julia M. Walker's *The Elizabeth Icon, 1603-2003* (2004). A slightly later study is *Resurrecting Elizabeth I in*

Seventeenth-Century England (2007), edited by Elizabeth H. Hageman and Katherine Conway.

13. Revisionist works on Mary's exercise of power include Elizabeth Russell's "Mary Tudor and Mr Jorkins" (1990); Richards's 1997 articles, "Mary Tudor as 'Sole Quene'?: Gendering Tudor Monarchy" and "To Promote a Woman to Beare Rule: Talking of Queens in Mid-Tudor England," as well as her contribution to *"High and Mighty Queens" of Renaissance England: Realities and Representations* (2003), "Mary Tudor: Renaissance Queen of England"; and Charles Beem's chapter on Mary in *The Lioness Roared: The Problems of Female Rule in English History* (2006). Monographs and collections of essays that challenge the traditional view of Marian religion include Eamon Duffy's *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400-c. 1580* (1992; 2nd ed. 2005); Lucy Wooding's *Rethinking Catholicism in Early Modern England* (2000); *Reforming Catholicism in the England of Mary Tudor: The Achievement of Friar Bartolomé Carranza* (2005), edited by John Edwards and Ronald Truman; *The Church of Mary Tudor* (2006), edited by Duffy and David Loades; and William Wizenman's *The Theology and Spirituality of Mary Tudor's Church* (2006). Beem considers two of David Loades's books on Mary to be revisionist studies (206n), *The Reign of Mary Tudor* (1979; 2nd ed. 1991) and *Mary Tudor: A Life* (1989), to which should be added his more recent biography, *Mary Tudor: The Tragical History of the First Queen of England* (2006), although none presents the queen in a particularly favourable light. A true challenge to the historical view of "Bloody Mary" is Richards's recent full biography, *Mary Tudor* (2008). According to Beem, other works that reassess Mary's reign, particularly her parliaments (205n), are Jennifer Loach's *Parliament and the Crown in the Reign of Mary Tudor* (1986); Michael Graves's *Early Tudor Parliaments* (1990); and Tittler's *The Reign of Mary Tudor* (1991). For more on the scholarly reassessment of Mary, see Richards (*Mary Tudor* 1-2, 9-11).

14. For similar remarks, see Marotti's preface in *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern England* (xiii).

15. See Loades (*Life* 322-31; "Personal Religion" *passim*).

16. Thomas Betteridge also examines the pitfalls of relying on the inherently and historically unstable classifications of "Protestant" and "Protestantism" (*Tudor* 17-28).

17. For a survey of Foxe's attempts to conceal unorthodox beliefs among the Kentish martyrs, see Patrick Collinson's "The Persecution in Kent" (*passim*).

18. Richards refers to Mary's parents as "the best-educated and most cultivated couple ever to have occupied the English throne" (*Mary Tudor* 29). She discusses Mary's education in some detail later in Chapter 3 of the biography. Loades foregrounds the importance of Mary's humanist education to her Catholic belief. He writes that "All the

information which can be recovered about Mary's personal piety suggests two things: the intensity of her devotion to the sacrament of the altar, and the learned and reflective humanism in which she had been reared" ("Personal Religion" 25).

19. In discussing the advantages Mary possessed over her rival for the throne, Jane Grey, Richards recognizes the significance of her early status as the only living heir of her father: "Pragmatism and the sanctity of inheritance rights were also important for determining who ruled in England. And at the pragmatic level the idea of Mary as heir apparent had been familiar to Englishmen since the mid-1520s when she rode off to Ludlow Castle, as two acknowledged Princes of Wales had done before her" (*Mary Tudor* 124-5). For more on Mary's status as Henry's acknowledged heir before his divorce from Katherine and on related problems, see Richards (*Mary Tudor* 38, 41-2, 42-4).

20. See Richards (*Mary Tudor* 49-62) for a more detailed discussion of these matters.

21. Richards also tries to dispel the "view that Mary was always a conservative Catholic, committed to all the old ways, especially to the centrality of papal authority" (65, cf. 65-9).

22. Duffy writes that "The death of Henry VIII in January 1546/7 freed the reforming party from the restraint of a King who, for all his cynicism and hatred of the papacy, remained attached to much of the traditional framework of Catholicism" (448). He further includes a report of the "parishoners of Stanford in the Vale [who] dated the 'wicked time of schism' not from Henry's reign, but from 1547, when 'all godly ceremonyes and good usys were taken out of the Church'" (532). For more on Catholicism during the reign of Henry VIII, see Megan L. Hickerson (1-2) and Wooding (4-10).

23. See also Loades ("Personal Religion" 16-8).

24. Loades suggests that Mary's "belief in the sacrament of the altar was a different matter altogether. This was a profound faith which could not be compromised, either in adversity or prosperity. All the emotional frustrations of her life were channelled into the devotion of the Lord's body, and it made her both holy and perilous" ("Personal Religion" 29). See also Richards (*Mary Tudor* 62).

25. For a succinct summary of the controversy, see Loades ("Personal Religion" 15-17). This topic is also treated in his two biographies of Mary (*Life* 157-70; *Tragical* 72-3, 75-8, 80, 81, 86-91, 93). Richards covers this issue fully, including its political dimensions, both domestic and international (*Mary Tudor* 89-108).

26. As Richards notes, the Protestant pamphlets relating to Mary's marriage to Philip recognized a fundamental religious truth: "Above all, since the devoutly Catholic Mary

was marrying the devoutly Catholic Philip . . . that marked the end of all the hopes—both religious and political—of Edwardian Protestants, let alone their dreams of an Anglo-Scottish union of two peoples, to share and spread evangelical religion and a common language, against a Europe still mainly ruled by Catholics” (*Mary Tudor* 146).

27. See also Richards (*Mary Tudor* 143).

28. For evidence of the happy family life that a young Mary enjoyed, see Richards (*Mary Tudor* 34, 40).

29. Richards does not romanticize the relationship: “for some 18 months the marriage of Philip and Mary was much less disastrous than other such unions in sixteenth-century Europe” (*Mary Tudor* 158). The marriage was not without its happy moments. Richards describes their early married life as “The Prosperous Year of Philip and Mary” (162). Domestically, Philip demonstrated his regard for his new bride by spending time with her and giving her gifts (162), and Mary’s belief that she was pregnant gave her much contentment (174, 176). But Richards counters the Venetian ambassador’s report that Mary dissolved into floods of tears upon Philip’s departure from England in August 1558 with the reminder that the account specifies that there were no witnesses to her sorrow: “The balance of probabilities then, is that she coped with Philip’s departure rather better than the Venetian ambassador believed” (181). Richards begins the section entitled “Mary Without Philip” in a similar vein. She writes, “Despite the enduring tradition that Mary was inconsolable after Philip’s departure, court life went on very much as before; nor did she give any sign that she knew of the affairs Philip reportedly began as soon as he was back on the continent” (182).

30. On Philip’s suitability as a spouse for England’s first queen regnant and Mary’s reasons for marrying, see Richards (*Mary Tudor* 142-4, 146; “Sole Quene” 905).

31. For the importance of a Catholic heir for Mary and her religious plans for England, see Richards (*Mary Tudor* 141-3; “Sole Quene” 906-7) and Tittler (14).

32. All quotations from the *Acts and Monuments*, unless otherwise indicated, refer to the 1583 edition, which can be found at *Foxe’s Book of Martyrs Variorum Edition Online*. They are cited by book and page number. These have been cross-referenced with the Cattley edition, which is cited by volume and page number.

33. References to Mary’s Will are to an appendix in Loades’s *Mary Tudor: A Life* (370-83).

34. Loades traces the onset of Mary’s gynaecological issues to an illness in April 1531, which may have also marked the beginning of puberty (*Tragical* 30). He links later health problems to stress and an irregular menstrual cycle (38-9) and suggests that her first phantom pregnancy may have been the early manifestation of uterine cancer (142).

Richards, however, offers a corrective to Loades's argument. She writes that after 1542, "despite some intermittent illness, including colic, there are no clear indications of menstrual problems, despite recurrent references to the impact of her womb on her health. In an era when some 500 conditions, many of which also occurred in males, were attributed to the malfunction of a woman's womb, this is not a very helpful analysis." Mary suffered occasionally from what was called her "usual ailment," which may have been menstrual, but specific recurring health problems included seasonal allergies and headaches (*Mary Tudor* 225).

35. Philip's status as father of the heir to England preoccupied the parliament of November, 1554, when Mary first believed herself pregnant. As Richards recounts, "the final act ensured that should a child be born to Mary, and should her own death follow, sixteenth-century understandings of God's law and English law about paternal rights ensured that Philip would become *de facto* ruler of England" (*Mary Tudor* 176).

36. Elton's conviction in the importance of the Protestant martyrs endures in his writing. In 1977, he states,

Thus the positive efforts at a Counter-Reformation made no significant impact, with the result that what men came to recall of the Marian Church was the active persecution of heresy initiated in January 1555. . . . The burnings of Mary's reign remain the thing best remembered about it; and they would have done so even without the enormous effect created by John Foxe's great historical study of them. (*Reform* 386)

37. See also Richards (*Mary Tudor* 195).

38. Here, Richards is using a variant of Mary's only known recorded statement on the persecution: "Touching the punishment of heretics . . . methinketh it ought to be done without rashness, not leaving in the meantime to do justice to such as by learning would seem to deceive the simple, and the rest so to be used that the people might well perceive them not to be condemned without just occasion . . ." (qtd. in Loades, "Personal Religion" 28). Loades's source is cited as BL, Cotton MS Titus C.vii, f. 120 (28n), while Richards's is the *Calendar of State Papers, Mary I*, No. 140.

39. In *The Life of Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria*, a text that will be discussed in detail in Chapter 1, Henry Clifford emphasizes the legal and political aspects of the Protestant persecutions:

Yet the Protestants were still busy against her and gave her no quietness. They libelled against the Government of Woman, published discourses and invectives against religion, and conspired her deprivation to advance her successor. All these seditious actions had for their ground the religion then not fully six years old; a religion of mere liberty, most pleasing to gallants, void of all austerities. They cried her down because so many were burnt in her time; but she caused no

new laws to be made against heretics but only recalled such as were used and of force in God's Church since the Christian religion was established in England. And when in any did concur the faults of heresy and treason, or felony, her will was that the law should proceed, heresy being directly offensive and immediately against God. (92-3)

40. Loades argues elsewhere that "Pole and his Spanish helpers were keenly aware of the new devotional fashions and theological emphases that were sweeping the Continent, but transmitted these ideas to the English Church only very incompletely" (*Tragical* 218). See also Wooding (10-5, 114-80) and Duffy (524-64) for the relationship between the Marian Church and reform, both Catholic and Protestant.

41. "Failure" is an insistent word in Loades's second biography of Mary Tudor, and he calls her "most critical defeat" the inability of Marian Catholicism to develop stalwart supporters in Parliament, who could have stalled or prevented the reestablishment of Protestantism in the realm in 1558 (*Tragical* 210). He attributes its defeat to, among other factors, the force of "Elizabeth's will," the unfavourable reaction to and distaste for the sustained program of persecutions, and Catholicism's connection to the foreign power of the papacy in Rome (210). For an earlier history of Mary's reign that focuses on failure and tragedy, see Elton's "Mary and the Failure of Reaction" (*England* 214-23).

42. The source of this passage, cited by lines, is "A Dialogue between Two Horses," which is included in Volume I of *The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell* (191-6). The editor, H. M. Margoliouth, says that the composition is "probably Marvell's" (317). However, Nigel Smith assigns it to the "List of Poems of Uncertain Attribution" (462). This list also incorporates another selection from *State Poems*, "Britannia and Rawleigh," which contains the following paean to the late Queen Elizabeth:

The other day fame'd Spencer I did bring
In Lofty Notes Tudors blest reign to sing,
How Spaines prow'd power her Virgin Armes contrould
And Golden dayes in peacefull order rould,
How, like ripe fruit, she dropt from of the Throne
Full of Gray Hairs, good deeds, endless renown. (42-7)

43. Woolf uses this couplet as the epigraph of his essay on nostalgia for Elizabeth, "Two Elizabeths? James I and the Late Queen's Famous Memory." In his brief discussion of it, he recognizes that there exists with the element of nostalgia a satiric edge (167).

44. For discussions of nostalgia, see Anne Barton, Dobson and Watson, Curtis Perry, Hugh Trevor-Roper, Watkins, Woolf ("Two Elizabeths"), and Ziegler ("Second Phoenix").

45. See Trevor-Roper's "Oliver Cromwell and his Parliaments" (345-91) and Woolf's discussion of this essay ("Two Elizabeths" 167-8).
46. Tittler believes time is crucial to any assessment of Mary's reign: "The short duration of the reign is important in the process of evaluation because so many of Mary's policies lay unfinished or unfulfilled at her death" (80).
47. Loades judges Mary's "lack of image consciousness" as problematic to her exercise of monarchical power. He writes that "Mary was absolutely convinced of her own royalty, but at a loss to know how to express it" (*Tragical* 215).
48. For an extreme view of Mary's identification with and sympathies for Spain, see Elton (*England* 214-23).
49. Richards writes that "In the centuries following her reign, there have always been some Catholic apologists for her rule, but their accounts were usually no more analytic or detached from the author's religious affiliation than were those of vehemently Protestant historians" (*Mary Tudor* 5).
50. Loades suggests that "She hardly understood the concept of Englishness" (*Tragical* 215).
51. Mary's responsibility for the persecutions will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2. However, a footnote in Loades's "The Personal Religion of Mary I" is worth repeating here: "Foxe was concerned to demonize the Catholic clergy, and therefore consistently emphasized their role in the persecution instead of the queen's. Most of the bishops were very reluctant persecutors" (28n).
52. In their summary of notable historical moments in the religious strife that marked sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, the four editors of *Catholic Culture in Early Modern England* note that "Protestant-Catholic hostility was exacerbated by the 1570 Papal Bull excommunicating the queen" (1). Marotti's essay "Plots, Atrocities, and Deliverances: The Anti-Catholic Construction of Protestant English History" in *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy: Catholic and Anti-Catholic Discourses in Early Modern England* focuses on three seventeenth-century events which expose the danger that Catholics posed to their Protestant enemies: the Gunpowder Plot, the Irish Rebellion, and the (fictional) Popish Plot of Titus Oates. The published account of the Gunpowder Plot, from which Marotti quotes extensively, traces this threat "to the mid-Elizabethan period and the 1570 bull of Pius V excommunicating Elizabeth, making this the foundation of Catholic subversion and treason" (136).
53. Although Susan Dunn-Hensley's focus is on Mary Stuart and not on Mary Tudor, she conflates the Scottish queen's sexualized body with rebellion and other political problems. Mary's whorish behaviour, connotative of a sexual fall, preceded a political

fall, her deposition as queen regnant of Scotland. Although Mary Tudor's sexual behaviour could never be equated with the sort of promiscuity of which the queen of Scots is accused, Dunn-Hensley's point that Mary Stuart's "physical body possessed political significance" (101) is apposite here. While it might seem significant that Mary Tudor was called a Jezebel by Protestants, this comparison foregrounded wrong religion, cruelty, and idolatry, characteristics she shares with her biblical avatar, and not promiscuity (Garcia 81-3; Tribble 101-2).

54. For discussions of Philip's position as king of England and husband of a queen regnant, of his reaction to his subordinate status, of popular feeling against the match, and the unpopularity of Spaniards among the English at this time, see Beem (84-5), Loades (*Tragical* 116-7, 210-1), and Richards (*Mary Tudor* 145, 147-9). Richards provides a useful summary of the Wyatt Rebellion that emphasizes the significance of the queen's marriage (*Mary Tudor* 149-53).

55. For a discussion of the theory of the monarch's two bodies, see Ernst Kantorowicz (*passim*). Frances Yates applies this concept to Elizabeth's female monarchy in *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century*.

56. For a summary of the treatment of Mary's posthumous reputation, see Richards (*Mary Tudor* 4-10).

57. For the centrality of Foxe to Mary's posthumous reputation, see Beem (1, 65), Duffy and Loades (xi-xii), Loades (*Life* 339-41; *Tragical* 8), Richards (*Mary Tudor* 5-6), and Tittler (34).

58. Thomas Healy argues that in spite of the statement about the separation of poetry and history in the *Lectori*, "*The Whore of Babylon*'s prologue indicates that Dekker is trying to educate the reader in a manner similar to that of the chroniclers" (163-4). In her discussion of M. T. Jones-Davies's work on Dekker, Marianne Gateson Riely refers to the playwright as a "responsible social historian" (13). Later, she claims that the evidence of *The Whore of Babylon* attests to his being "a meticulous historian, according to the lights of his day" (14, cf. 51-6). She does not, however, ignore Dekker's deliberate shaping of history for dramatic effect (16).

Chapter 1: The First Panel

Remembering “this innocent and unspotted Queen”: The Death and Funeral of Mary Tudor

What we call the beginning is often the end
And to make an end is to make a beginning.
The end is where we start from.
(T.S. Eliot, *Four Quartets*: “Little Gidding,” 5.1-3)

The controversial nature of Mary Tudor’s reign, as well as the long shadow cast by Foxe, Knox, and others, means that positive views of her have traditionally been undervalued, obscured, or forgotten. Yet the queen was the subject of enthusiastic, even ecstatic, compliments in the literature produced during her own lifetime, as a brief survey of four ballads shows.¹ Her rightful seizure of the throne, which displayed the new queen’s decisive action, is described by one T. W.² as a “victorie” (line 75) in his contemporary ballad, “A ninuetyue agaynst Treason.”³ He recalls the genuine rejoicing in the capital after Mary is proclaimed queen:

Which thyng was done the .xix. day of this moneth of July,
The yere of God .xv. hundred fyfty addynge thre,
In the Cytie of glad London, proclaymèd most ioyfully,
Where cappes and syluer plenteously about the stretes dyd flye:
The greatest ioy and most gladnes that in this realme myght be,
The trumpettes blewe vp all on hye our Marie’s royall fame.
Let vs, therfore, styll gloryfy and prayse his holy name. (66-72)

If, as Hyder E. Rollins suggests, the poet was perhaps a Protestant,⁴ then such delight is

remarkable indeed. But T. W. is not alone in his praise of Mary. William Forrest, a Catholic priest and a member of the queen's chaplaincy, whom Rollins considers a skilful musician (8), was also lavish in his admiration for Mary, which is recorded in "A new ballade of the Marigolde."⁵ The poem begins with a catalogue of flowers that, while lovely, are not regarded as highly as the marigold, a plant with the extraordinary capacity to withstand extremes of weather: "Shee sheweth glad cheare in heate and colde, / Moche profityng to hertes in care,— / Such is this floure, the Marigolde" (38-40). The second outstanding feature of the flower is its connection to the sun, for "with Sonne [it] dooth open, and also shut" (42). Forrest uses this characteristic to teach a religious lesson,

To Christ, God's Sonne, our willes to put,
And by his woorde to set our futte,
Stiffly to stande, as Champions bolde,
From the truthe to stagger nor stutte. . . . (44-7)

Forrest then turns from the plant to the queen, whom he calls, in a play on her name, "Marigolde." She, like the flower, can withstand turbulence, "For her enduryng patiently / The stormes of such as list to scolde / At her dooynges . . ." (53-5), and her steadfastness to the Lord mirrors the marigold's relationship to the sun. In the queen's case, her faith has brought her earthly rewards:

In singler Vertue shee hath growne,
And seruyng God, as she well ought;
For which he had her in his thought,

And shewed her Graces many folde,
 In her estate to see her brought,
 Though some dyd spite this Marigolde. (67-72)

There is an insistence in this ballad that the new queen has opposition. Even though the poet assures the readers that God has "Her Enmies so to bring to hande" (76), his advocacy of obedience and holding "As membres true with her" (102) suggests unease and the possibility of further unrest. In spite of these glances at past and perhaps future danger, the poem remains firmly epideictic:

Her conuersacion, note who list,
 It is more heauenly then terraine,
 For which God doth her Actes assist;
 All meekenesse doth in her remaine.
 All is her care, how to ordayne
 To haue God's Glorie here extolde;
 Of Poore and Riche, shee is most fayne.
 Christ saue, therefore, this Marigolde. (81-8)

Another ballad by a Catholic priest, Leonard Stopes, is also a panegyric for Mary. "An *AVE MARIA* in Commendation of our most Vertuous Queene," like Forrest's broadside, explores the possibilities of the queen's first name, but in this case, the connection to the Virgin Mary is more prominent through the title and by heading each stanza with a single word from the "Hail Mary" prayer. Stopes, also like Forrest, looks to

God as the engineer of Mary's rise to the throne because "He, through his power and Princely fauour, / Hath blanckèd her foes, to their great shame" (63-4). The poet-priest particularly lauds those aspects of her regime that so outraged later Protestant commentators. After calling her "the mirroure of mercifulnesse" (5), he compares her to Biblical avatars like Judith, in her ability to "withstande" the "great Holofernes of hell" (8), and "Hester" (Esther), for "the enuious Hamon to kyll is her care, / And all wicked workers to wede them out clene" (11-2). Mary's Holofernes and Haman are Protestant heretics, and so the comparisons with female Biblical figures who act as their people's saviours lead naturally to a compliment inspired by her role as ardent champion of Catholicism:

Of sectes and of schysmes a riddaunce to make,
Of horrible errorrs and heresies all;
She carckes & cares & great trauell dooth take,
That vertue may flourish and vice haue a fall. (13-6)

The militaristic imagery developed in the ballad, which extends the sense of Mary as the defender of England, with "her army . . . alwayes at hande" (22), does not negate other, more benign ideas, for there is anticipation of queenly motherhood. Stopes prayerfully requests the "Fruyte of her body God graunte vs to see" (77) and the "Wombe that she beareth by God be it blest, / From daunger of childing whē God he shal sende" (89-90). That the headings of the poem's final stanzas (17 to 24) correspond with the invocation, "BLESSED Is THE FRUYTE OF THY WOMBE IESUS," cannot be accidental in such a

context.

The prospect of imminent royal maternity is the topic of a fourth broadside ballad, "Nowe singe, nowe springe, oure care is exil'd / Oure vertuous Queene is quickned with child,"⁶ prompted by the tidings of Mary's first pregnancy in the autumn of 1554. As in some of the other ballads, there is an acknowledgement that the transition of government from Edward to Mary has not been without its troubles. The anonymous poet writes, for instance,

Howe manie greate thraldomes in englan[d]e were scene

Before that her highnes was pwblysed quene:

The bewtye of englāde was banyshèd clene,

with wringing & wrongynge, & sorowes betwen. (9-12)

Much of the poem is devoted to the excitement about the impending arrival of the Catholic heir. Indeed, in the poet's view, the news is transformative; the subjects who were opponents of the Spanish match are once again harmonized with the rest of the realm:

And suche as enuied the matche and the make,

And in their procedinges stoode styffe as a stake,

Are now reconcilèd, their malis dothe slake,

And all men are wilinge theyr partes for to take.

Our doutes be dyssoluèd, our fansies contented,
 The mariage is ioyfull that many lamented;
 And suche as enuied, like foles haue repented
 The Errours & Terroures that they have inuēted. (17-24)

Common to these poems about Mary is the idea of God as commander of the queen's fate, which the poet uses here: "But God dothe worke more wonders then this, / For he is the Auther and Father of blysse: / He is the defender, his workinge it is . . ." (25-7). The connection between the Almighty and the royal family, consisting of "her highnes" (33), "Her noble spouse, our fortunate kynge" (34), and "that noble blossome that is plāted to spring" (35), is intensified when the poet assigns characteristics more reminiscent of the Holy Trinity to them:

Blysse, thou swete Iesus, our comforters three,
 Oure Kynge, our Quene, our Prince that shalbe;
 That they three as one, or one as all three,
 Maye gouerne thy people to the plesure of the. (37-40)

Even though they predate the Protestant burnings and exhibit, in most cases, a Catholic bias, these poems present a favourable view of Mary and her religion. The celebratory theme may seem exceptional, given the historical persistence of Mary as monstrous or bloody, but they indicate that such encomia were part of the writing about the then living queen. Praise is also a prominent feature of her posthumous representation in selected texts by Catholic writers: Alvise Priuli's correspondence

(1558), John White's funeral sermon (1558), and Henry Clifford's *The Life of Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria* (c. 1613-6). My focus in this chapter is not on recusant constructions of Mary generally, but on texts that are associated with her death. For writers like Priuli, Clifford, and White, Mary is a virtuous monarch, whose death confirms her godliness. It is they who carry forward the extolling of the queen regnant common in the previously discussed broadside ballads.

Because these Catholic constructions of Mary Tudor in death are hagiographic, they obviously differ markedly from Protestant descriptions of her life and deathbed. The sacramental ritual of the Catholic Church surrounds and supports the dying queen, who suffers none of the torment over the loss of Calais later ascribed to her by Foxe. Hers is the calm of the devout Catholic facing, with quiet confidence, the prospect of meeting her Saviour. In the texts by Priuli and White, there are expressions of regret that Mary's death signals the end of the reestablished Catholic hegemony within her realm. Where Protestant writers see the timely end of a persecutor and the Church for which she stood, Catholics anticipate a reversal of fortune. Instead of the *topos* of Protestant providence, a force which contrives the dispatch of an enemy and the defeat of traditionalist religion, there is, for the Catholic writers, an acknowledgement of the role of grace and the function of God's will.⁷

In order to provide some context for the accounts of the death and the funeral, I first turn to a small selection of correspondence to and from Philip, which traces Mary Tudor's health problems throughout 1558. The year started on a positive note because

she, for the second time since her marriage, was showing signs of pregnancy, although these later proved false. Philip, from Brussels, wrote to Cardinal Pole on 21 January in appreciation for the glad tidings:

I have received two letters from you written in your own hand and dated 4 January, in which you send me news of the pregnancy of the Queen, my beloved wife, which has given me greater joy than I can express to you, as it is the one thing in the world I have most desired and which is of the greatest importance for the cause of religion and the welfare of our realm. I therefore render thanks to Our Lord for this great mercy he has shown us . . . (CSPS 382/340)⁸

By the following month, Gómez Suárez de Figueroa, the Count of Feria, the imperial ambassador and a friend of Philip, was reporting from London that "Her Majesty is well, although some days she complains of the melancholy she often feels" (CSPS 406/361). By May, Mary's health had obviously declined, as Feria notes: "She is somewhat better than she was a few days ago, but she sleeps badly, is weak and suffers from melancholy; and her indisposition results in business being handled more slowly than need be" (CSPS 425/378). In the penultimate paragraph of the letter, Feria states bluntly that "She now realizes that her pregnancy has come to nothing . . ." (380). Thus, the melancholia is probably related to Mary's recognition that she was again mistaken about her symptoms and that there would be no baby (Loades, *Life* 305). By the fall, she was gravely ill, although she occasionally rallied, as Christophe d'Assonleville told her husband early in October. Later in the month, Philip was sufficiently concerned to order the Count of

Feria, with whom the queen was quite familiar, back to England, although he was unable to make the journey himself. Philip was preoccupied at that time with the political and personal aftermath created by the death of his father in September, as well as with negotiations with the French involving Calais and other matters (Loades, *Life* 306).

The possibility of Mary's death raised a number of political concerns for Philip, as is indicated in the draft of a letter to his sister, the Princess Dowager of Portugal, Regent of Spain, which was begun before his receipt of the news of his wife's death. Before he learned of Mary's fate, he had already suffered a double bereavement with the deaths of his father and his aunt, but his anticipated problems in England centred less on the imminent demise of his wife than the possible political ramifications of the loss of his English ally. He writes,

The Queen, my wife, has been ill; and although she has recovered somewhat, her infirmities are such that grave fears must be entertained on her score, as a physician I sent to her with Count Feria writes to me. All these happenings are perplexing to me, and I am obliged to ponder much on the government to be provided for the Low Countries, and also on what I must do in England, in the event either of the Queen's survival or of her death, for these are questions of the greatest importance, on which the welfare of my realms depends. (CSPS 502/440)

Count Feria's dispatch of 14 November 1558, not included in the *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish*, confirms that Mary was near death. He describes, in Spanish, her

condition to Philip in very grave terms: "There is, therefore, no hope of her life; but on the contrary, each hour I think that they will come to inform me of her death, so rapidly does her condition deteriorate from one day to the next" (328). Indeed, at several places in the dispatch, he speaks of Mary as if she were already dead, and his focus is very much on the succession of Elizabeth and the promotion of a positive connection between the heir and his master. Mary died a mere three days after the dispatch was sent, and the first mention of her death in the *Calendar* is included later in the extracts to Philip's draft letter to the Princess Dowager of Portugal, which record his tepid reaction to the loss of his spouse. Again, political matters take precedence over any personal grief he may have experienced, for he writes that "The Calais question cannot be settled so soon, now that the Queen, my wife, is dead. May God have received her in His glory! I felt a reasonable regret for her death. I shall miss her, even on this account" (CSPS 502/440).⁹ Although England in that year experienced a particularly virulent outbreak of an illness similar to influenza, from which Cardinal Pole died, there is no indication of the specific cause of Mary's death.¹⁰ Neither Priuli nor Clifford provides this information, but their texts contain descriptions of the deathbed and other personal details that many of the previously discussed correspondence lacks.

Unsurprisingly, many of the reports of Mary's death exhibit a preoccupation with religion. In the early modern period, the deathbed was a kind of public venue and, consequently, the site of scripted and unscripted performance.¹¹ In what Philippe Ariès refers to as the "tame death" (28), the dying, the principal actors, could expect their

deaths to be witnessed by family, friends, neighbours, and other members of their community. Enhancing this sense of death as performance was the status of the queen regnant herself, a person whose life was lived on a public stage and whose death, even if sudden, would not occur without the presence of the members of her household or her chamber. Death as an event involving the fulfilment of rituals performed by the dying before an audience should not be understood as negating the genuineness of faith or the sincerity of actions associated with the deathbed; for people of this time, both royal and commoner alike, there was a belief that a “good” death required the completion of certain rites and pronouncements, which were recognized in the *ars moriendi* literature. Tasks for the dying might include the preparation of a will or the settling of worldly debts, financial and otherwise, and/or the making of arrangements regarding the funeral. Most importantly, for a Catholic, dying in the faith entailed receiving the sacrament of extreme unction, which several accounts of Mary’s death dutifully record.¹² The queen, to the last, played the role of the devout Catholic.

The belief that death as a performance, which can be either well or poorly done, could render a final commentary or verdict on the nature of one’s life, was being challenged in the early modern period. However, it had by no means disappeared.¹³ In *Macbeth*, for example, the death of the former Thane of Cawdor stands in stark contrast to his traitorous acts against Duncan, his king. The manner of his last moments and execution, as related by Malcolm, indicates he is a student of the “good” death, one who understands the value of his final performance:

But I have spoke
 With one that saw him die; who did report
 That very frankly he confess'd his treasons,
 Implor'd your Highness' pardon, and set forth
 A deep repentance. Nothing in his life
 Became him like the leaving it. He died
 As one that had been studied in his death,
 To throw away the dearest thing he ow'd,
 As 'twere a careless trifle. (1.4.3-11)

Death as a vehicle for repentance or even possible redemption, exemplified by the former thane's execution, is also integral to the deathbed performance of Henry VII, Mary's grandfather. In his funeral oration for the king, John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, affirms the significance of the dying's comportment when he states that "in the ende is all togyder, a good ende and a gracyous conclusyon of the lyf maketh all . . ." and "In ony wyse make a good conclusyon of thy lyfe" (270). The bishop recalls the piety and penitence demonstrated by Henry in the weeks leading to his death: his weeping after confession, the "so grete reuerence" (273) with which he received communion, and his humble kissing of the "lowest parte the fote of the monstraunt" instead of "the selfe place where *the* blessyd body of our lorde was conteyned" (274). The mode of Henry's "departynge," after hearing the "masse of the gloryous virgyn the moder of cryste" (274)

and meditating upon, embracing, and kissing the crucifix, provides the necessary evidence for Fisher's positive assessment of the kingly performance: "Who may thynke that in this maner was not perfyte fayth, who may suppose that by this maner of delynge he faythfully beleued not *that* the eere of almighty god was open vnto hym & redy to here hym crye for mercy . . ." (274).¹⁴ According to Priuli and Clifford, Mary's deathbed performance, which contained many of the same elements as her grandfather's, was similarly exemplary and, hence, confirmed a steadfast faith and a soul destined for paradise. She is constructed in their accounts as an uncanonized saint.

A series of letters in Italian collected in the *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, provides a contemporary account of the death of the queen that focuses on the extraordinary similitude between the final days of Mary and her cousin, the Archbishop of Canterbury.¹⁵ The author, Priuli, was, for many years, a close friend and companion of Pole, as well as a member of the archbishop's household. In fact, Thomas F. Mayer, a recent biographer of Pole, characterizes their relationship as a kind of marriage.¹⁶ It is unsurprising, therefore, that Priuli made attempts to protect Pole's posthumous reputation, which included a plan to produce an edition of the archbishop's collected works in order to forestall an anticipated barrage of criticism (Mayer, *Reginald Pole* 356). Whether this desire to safeguard Pole extends to the letters is not discussed by Mayer, though Pole is presented very favourably in these accounts.

Priuli wrote four rather repetitive letters of varying lengths relating the news of the deaths. These are addressed to his brother Antonio, a banker; to Pole's Roman agent

Antonio Giberti; to Don Juan de Vega, *soprapresidente del Consiglio regio*; and to Bartolomé Carranza, the Archbishop of Toledo.¹⁷ Each missive begins with the news of the two deaths, as an excerpt from the second letter, dated 27 November, illustrates:

the Queen passed away on the 17th instant, about seven hours after midnight, and the Cardinal at seven o'clock after noon of the same day, affording a resemblance both at the close of their illness as at its commencement. The similarity did not merely consist in these respects, for they also gave mutual and manifold signs of their piety, communicating frequently with great devotion, and two days before their end they each received the sacrament of extreme unction, and by their amelioration on the following day proved that this holy medicine operated not only on their souls, but also on their bodies. (CSPV 1287/1556)

Here and in the other letters, the details of the deaths of queen and archbishop mirror each other, even to the gentle way they die, which elsewhere is likened to sleep.¹⁸ Although many Catholic deaths would include the sacramental features which Priuli includes, he strengthens the connections between Mary and Pole by drawing careful attention to the uncanny similarities in timing, which in a later letter is extended from their deathbeds to their funerals. When writing to the Archbishop of Toledo, Priuli not only pairs the funerals of Mary and Cardinal Pole, but also clarifies the reason for his earlier contention that their sicknesses had a similar "commencement": "The Queen was buried on the 14th instant here, in St. Peter's [Westminster], and the Cardinal was interred at Canterbury on the following day. It was remarkable that he became ill on the same day that the Queen

sickened, and, as I said, they died on the same day" (CSPV 1292/1566).¹⁹ The faith that sustains Mary on her deathbed and that is exposed through her participation in sacramental activity and through the serenity of her passing would perhaps alone support a provisional assignment of the title "sainted Queen" upon her, but the manifestation of the divine suggested by the preternatural pairing of the deaths of Mary and Pole, who as a "sainted soul" (CSPV 1286/1550)²⁰ is her male, priestly counterpart, further confirms her holiness.

In Priuli's world, the symmetry between the deaths of Mary and Pole is the result of divine influence, a kind of otherworldly ordering of events indicated through phrases like "it has pleased God so to increase the malady of both" (CSPV 1286/1549) and "it pleased God to call unto Himself the right reverend Cardinal Pole" (CSPV 1291/1565).²¹ The outcome of the working of God's pleasure in this case is not coincidence, but rather a confluence of times and incidents that sets the pair apart in a spiritual sense. As if the correspondence of their deaths alone was insufficient to distinguish them as people of remarkable faith, Pole's own deathbed pronouncement contributes to this effect. He dilates upon the strange doubleness of his and his royal cousin's lives after he is told of her death:

On hearing it, after remaining silent for a short while, he then said to his intimate friend, the Bishop of St. Asaph, and to [Priuli], that in the whole course of his life nothing had ever yielded him greater pleasure and contentment than the contemplation of God's providence as displayed in his own person and in that of

others, and that in the course of the Queen's life, and of his own, he had ever remarked a great conformity, as she, like himself, had been harassed during many years for one and the same cause, and afterwards, when it pleased God to raise her to the throne, he had greatly participated in all her other troubles entailed by that elevation.

He also alluded to their relationship, and to the great similarity of their dispositions (*gran conformità de animo*), and to the great confidence which her Majesty demonstrated in him, saying that besides the immense mischief which might result from her death, he could not but feel deep grief thereat, yet, by God's grace, that same faith and reliance on the Divine providence which had ever comforted him in all his adversities, greatly consoled him likewise in this so grievous a final catastrophe. (CSPV 1286/1550)

This summary of some of Pole's last words connects the cardinal to the queen through the "great conformity" of their characters and experiences. More importantly, however, it demonstrates the operation of providence in both their lives, which in turn enhances the saintliness of Mary and Pole, in a more conspicuous way than Priuli's multiple descriptions of their deaths. So profound is Pole's belief in providence that although troubled by the Catholic queen's death and the consequent forecast of "mischief," presumably a reverting of the realm to Protestantism, it is at the root of his feelings of consolation and is a marker of steadfastness and devotion, especially in the face of the adversities that Pole mentions. Priuli constructs Pole and Mary as partners and as

atypical martyrs, who have suffered for their faith but do not die for it. Assigning them roles as martyrs is founded on the perception of their trials in life. According to Loades, "Mary's faith had, in her own eyes at least, been tested in the fire. . . . There has never been the slightest chance that she would have been called upon to make the supreme sacrifice at the hands of Protestant bigots, but that was her self-image, and the view which was widespread in Catholic Europe" ("Personal Religion" 26). The description of Pole as martyr also complies with the bifurcation of his "lives into two basic *personae*, prince and prophet, as well as a variant of the second, martyr" (Mayer, *Reginald Pole* 5). Priuli constructs Pole actively shaping his shared legacy with the queen, which fits with his life-long participation in self-fashioning:

like most Renaissance literate people, his life was constructed through the medium of texts and rhetoric. The "myth of sanctity" obscuring the "real" Pole was ineluctably rhetorical, intending to serve persuasive purposes. "Pole" arose through a process in which its author tried on in writing a series of identities, often several at once, until the original Pole (so to say) established a consistent image and maybe even a consistent personality. To judge from the sway he (or they) established over those closest to him, Pole and "Pole" enjoyed success. This was not a one-way street. "Pole" and his sway depended on collaborative effort, again as in the case of most Renaissance individuals. This holds literally true of his writings, most of them composed by a team, and his (auto)biographies arose in similar fashion, with similarly rhetorical purposes. (*Reginald Pole* 2-3)

Priuli, the collaborator who must announce the death of his friend, was undoubtedly aware that the authority invested in deathbed speech and revelation, as well as Pole's position as cardinal and archbishop, would afford great significance to his final comments and that they would be an integral part of any account of his deathbed. There is something deliberate in Pole's construction of such exemplary representations of himself and the queen from his deathbed. To praise his monarch in this manner, to provide evidence of her sanctity, to express personal grief for her death in words and tears, although not insincere, seems rather calculated, particularly when evaluated in the context of his comments about himself.

A second important historical source for Mary's death is *The Life of Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria*, which contains not a direct, eyewitness account, but a report derived, either partially or wholly, from an eyewitness source. Jane Dormer was a gentlewoman in the queen's privy chamber, who married, in late December 1558, the future Duke of Feria while he still held the title of count.²² Her life story was written by Henry Clifford, a trusted member of her household and her great admirer. Although *The Life of Jane Dormer* is often used as a historical source and while the biographer appears to have had relatively close contact with his subject—he says that he was present at her deathbed and arranged her funeral—a simple and accurate transfer of information between Clifford and the duchess should probably not be universally assumed. For life writers of the period, objectivity and verisimilitude were qualities of less interest than the conveying of what Judith Anderson terms “biographical truth,” which eschews certain facts in preference to

mythologizing, misrepresentation, or historical revision in order to present, paradoxically, a more “accurate” biography.²³ Although an assessment of the historical accuracy of *The Life of Jane Dormer* is beyond the scope of this chapter, its obvious Catholic bias—Catholics are uniformly good, while most Protestants are bad or misguided or both—often stretches credulity. The devoutly Catholic duchess’s memories of her royal mistress, specifically Mary’s death, are filtered through the medium of her Catholic biographer, who uses the vehicle of the *Life* as an attempt to right what he perceives are the injustices done to the queen’s memory. At one point he makes this agenda explicit after recounting the scandalous relationship between Princess Elizabeth and Thomas Seymour. He states that “The reason why I write this is to answer the voice of my countrymen in so strangely exalting the Lady Elizabeth, and so basely depressing Queen Mary” (87). Because the primary outlet for Clifford’s blatantly Catholic agenda is his praise for his late, virtuous mistress, his unsophisticated valorization, which finds expression through a foregrounding of her intimacy with Mary, among other things, may create a certain lack of precision. Moreover, the material may be further complicated or compromised by other sources. In the preface addressed to Charles Dormer, Earl of Carnarvon and Lord Baron of Wing, Clifford credits “approved histories,” “the relation of such persons against whose worth and credit no exceptions may morally be given,” and the evidence of what he has “known, seen and heard” (2) to prove the reliability of his work. Possibly also interfering with accuracy is the significant lapse in time between the death of Mary in 1558 and 1616, the year when Joseph Stevenson considers the

manuscript was being composed or revised (xiv).²⁴ Whether entirely accurate or not, *The Life of Jane Dormer* mirrors details found in the correspondence discussed above.

Clifford's *Life* is a hagiography, in which the faithful, particularly Catholic women, are paragons of Christian devotion, charity, and fortitude. These quasi-saints include the duchess and her grandmother, as well as Mary, although the queen occupies but a small portion of the text. It contains, as is fitting for such a work, an account of a Dormer relative beatified by the Church. Sebastian Nudigate (or Newdigate) was the duchess's great-uncle, a Carthusian monk of the London Charterhouse, who was martyred under Henry VIII for his refusal to accept the Act of Supremacy unconditionally. Yet for Clifford and assuredly for his patroness, Mary Tudor is also holy and so is referred to in the text as a "blessed queen" (69). Her saintliness is partially achieved through good works, a common feature of hagiographic accounts. Her visits to Cardinal Pole at Croydon, according to Clifford, are exceptions to a general policy against progresses, which is implemented for the benefit of the people, "avoiding by all means to trouble and grieve her subjects in time of hay and corn harvest . . ." (64). While at Croydon, Mary would visit the homes of her poor subjects, "sit down very familiarly" (64), and talk with them. In particular, she would ask "if the officers of the Court did deal with them, as such whose carts and labours were pressed for the queen's carriages and provisions" (64). Clifford provides a specific example of the queen's interceding for a collier who was not paid for his service. The motif of female kindness and generosity, incidents of which Clifford meticulously details, becomes a means for establishing the exemplarity of the

Catholic queen and other women in the text. So does their behaviour when facing various trials. In fact, right conduct in the face of such adversity and persecution, a *topos* of both Catholic and Protestant hagiographies of the period, could be used to signify forms of saintliness, as it does in Clifford's text. The supreme model for courage under fire is Nudigate during his torture in the Marshalsea and the Tower of London, his trial, and his execution. Obviously, little comparison can be made between the hanging, drawing, and quartering suffered by Nudigate, and the kinds of ordeals, which include spousal cruelty, divorce, and early widowhood, experienced by most of the Catholic women in the text, with the notable exception of Mary Queen of Scots, whose execution by beheading differs significantly from the barbarous treatment endured by the martyr. However, Clifford clearly links fortitude to the quasi-saintliness exhibited by the Dormer women, by Catherine of Aragon, and by Mary Tudor herself. To prove the courage of the latter, he recounts a slightly comical anecdote involving a confrontation with her great enemy, Anne Boleyn. A "reverence" that Mary makes while attending Mass with the then queen is mistaken as a gesture of courtesy and friendship, and so Anne sends a message of reconciliation to her. This Mary rejects most vociferously, reiterating her belief that the only queen was her mother and that the reverence made was a form of genuflection "to the altar" (82). As Clifford tells it, "The Lady Anne was maddened with this answer, replying, that one day, she would pull down this high spirit" (82). He also describes Mary's tribulations during the reign of Edward VI over the matter of the Mass and the other alterations in religion. When ordered "to shut her oratory or keep close her chapel"

(83), she "wrote to the Protector, admonishing him and the rest of the Council to look well what they did, not to abuse the king's minority in altering the laws, will, and ordinances of his and her father King Henry . . ." (83-4). What Clifford regards as her courageous non-compliance results not in public persecution, but in the removal and punishment of her chaplains. The biographer summarizes Mary's life and reign in terms of an ordeal which she endured with Christian fortitude and for which she was rewarded, at least in this life, with little happiness: "From the time of her Mother's troubles, this queen had daily use of patience and few days of content, but only those that she established and restored the Catholic Religion to her kingdoms. While she was queen, in those few years, she suffered many conspiracies, and all out of malicious humours to God's truth" (70-1).

Clifford's microcosmic spiritual biography of Queen Mary contains many of the familiar topics of early modern life writing, including a detailed description of the subject's death. Mary's deathbed performance, as described by Clifford, reinforces his portrait of a virtuous and compassionate monarch, often wronged and beset by troubles. Even when she is very ill, she still cares about the welfare of her subjects, as an anecdote which begins the account of her death demonstrates. In this case, her selfless concern is directed not to the poor, but to Jane, her gentlewoman and inferior:

Jane having some indisposition, her Majesty would not suffer her to go in the barge by water, but sent her by land in her own litter, and her Physician to attend her. And being come to London, the first that she asked for was Jane Dormer,

who met her at the stairfoot, told her that she was reasonably well. The queen answered "So am not I," being about the end of August, 1558. So took her chamber, and never came abroad again. (69)

The arrangements that she has made for her gentlewoman's marriage further prove her generosity to Jane. The nuptials had been postponed not through royal imperiousness or selfishness, which Elizabeth's reactions to the marital plans of her female attendants frequently exhibited, but because of Philip's absence in Flanders, "which occasioned the want of great gifts and rich endowments wherewith the Queen had determined and promised to honour the marriage . . ." (69-70). Mary's worry over such a matter humanizes the often demonized queen. Though Clifford does not blame Philip for abandoning his wife in her sickness, the queen's concern about the postponement of the Feria marriage emphasizes the lack of close family members to sustain her on her deathbed. But Mary is not without support at this time. While "Her sickness was such as made the whole realm to mourn," Mary endures her suffering with "most Christian patience" (70); while others grieve, the queen comforts. These contrasts serve to illustrate Mary's fortitude in the last trial of her life.

The events immediately preceding Mary's demise, as they appear in *The Life of Jane Dormer*, perfectly follow the script of the Catholic "good" death. From her deathbed, Mary gives religious instruction, to trust in God and His mercy. In her role as queen, she orders both her council and her servants "to stand fast in the Catholic religion" (71), a futile command as it turned out, but one that she had worked throughout her reign

to accomplish. Through the agency of Jane Dormer, Mary also attempts to secure a Catholic succession. According to Clifford, Mary sends her gentlewoman to visit Elizabeth in the days leading up to her death. In what appears to be a private conference, Mary's heir is affirmed, although Clifford tellingly does not explicitly name Elizabeth as the intended successor. Such obfuscation on the biographer's part fits with his recital of Mary's belief that Elizabeth was not the daughter of Henry VIII, but rather the offspring of "Mark Sweton" (the musician Mark Smeaton), whom she closely resembled.²⁵ Consequently, this "embassage" to Elizabeth for the purpose of settling the succession marks a significant change of heart for Mary in the text, but is a necessary preparation for a peaceful death. During Jane's audience, Elizabeth is given certain "rich and precious jewels," probably as an outward sign of the queen's favour, and exhorted to "uphold and continue Catholic Religion" (72). As further preparation for a "good" death, Mary plans to put her other affairs in order. To that end, she attempts to safeguard her household and to discharge her debts when she enjoins Elizabeth, through her emissary Jane, "to be good to her servants" and "to pay what might justly be required" (72).

As evidence of Mary's exemplarity, her death itself is a study in serenity grounded in unshakable faith and careful preparation for her salvation. Clifford furnishes many specific details of 17 November 1558, the source of which, he states, was the duchess herself. On the morning of her death, Mary hears Mass, as is her daily habit, and makes the appropriate responses throughout. Clifford notes specifically that her answer to the priest's pronouncement of the *Agnus Dei* is audible to those around her. He uses this

piece of information as evidence that she retains “the quickness of her senses and memory” (71) to the last, a sign of God’s favour, and that she is sufficiently cognizant, penitential, and humble to solicit divine mercy and peace in anticipation of her death.

That Mary is in a state of extraordinary grace is established by the timing of her death:

Afterwards seeming to meditate something with herself, when the Priest took the Sacred Host to consume it, she adored it with her voice and countenance, presently closed her eyes and rendered her blessed soul to God. This the duchess hath related to me, the tears pouring from her eyes, that the last thing which the queen saw in this world was her Saviour and Redeemer in the sacramental species; no doubt to behold Him presently after in His glorious Body in heaven.

A blessed and glorious passage. *Anima mea cum anima ejus.* (71-2)

There appears here a suggestion that Mary Tudor almost stage-manages her expiration to Catholic order. Her meditation becomes a preparation for the active submission of her soul, supported by the construction “she . . . rendered,” during the critical moment of Communion, which, the duchess quickly emphasizes through both verbal and nonverbal means, is an excellent way to die. She is, moreover, convinced, seemingly by the nature of the queen’s death alone, of Mary’s rapid entry into heaven.

Other means, both integral and peripheral to the narrative of Mary’s death, are used to highlight the blessedness of her passing. On her deathbed, the queen tells those assembled of “what good dreams she had, seeing many little children like Angels play before her, singing pleasing notes, giving her more than earthly comfort” (70); the

recounting of these dreams consoles her attendants and facilitates the teaching of a religious lesson, "ever to have the holy fear of God before their eyes, which would free them from all evil, and be a curb to all temptations" (70). Though the didacticism the dreams support allows Mary to be shown as a careful teacher and a selfless comforter of the distressed, even *in extremis*, the nature of the dreams themselves are a clear signal of grace.²⁶ Furthermore, they confirm a portrait of queenly maternity, which Clifford seems eager to establish in the text and which offsets, to a certain extent, Mary's inability to produce children, a blot on her otherwise exemplary (royal) womanhood. As a kind of rhetorical erasure of the barren queen, the dying Mary is soothed, like many mothers, by a company of children, albeit angelic tots who inhabit her dreams. The "visitation" of these figures reminds the reader of Mary's care of other children, those she met during her trips to Croydon. Clifford distinguishes between the queen's visits to "poor neighbours," households with adults only, and to those "charged with children" (66). To the families with children, she was especially assiduous with her charity and advice: "she gave [the parents] good alms, comforted them, advising them to live thriftily and in the fear of God, and with that care to bring up their children; and if there were many children she took order they should be provided for, placing both boys and girls to be apprentices in London . . ." (66). Clifford ensures that the reader does not miss the significance of Mary's dreams by contrasting them with visions experienced by her successor as she awaits death forty-five years later.

It is a strategy of epideictic texts to demonstrate, through comparison, that the subject surpasses classical, biblical, or historical exemplars; similarly, setting Mary and Elizabeth in binary opposition inevitably enhances the presentation of Mary as a godly monarch, and Clifford makes much of the differences in their mothers, births, educations, religious practices, and reigns. Thus, Elizabeth's deathbed, far from being a place of serenity, is associated with "a distracted sadness and deep melancholy" (98). The focus on the divine that marked Mary's character in death is absent for Elizabeth, who in her final illness never said "'God help me!' or any prayer or aspiration calling on God or asking His mercy" (100) and who angrily ordered the "Archbishop of Canterbury and some other prelates" (99) from her bedside. Unlike Mary, too, Elizabeth's senses, symptomatic of divine displeasure, are impaired by her illness. However, the most startling contrast in the two deathbed scenarios involves visions. For the ungodly Elizabeth there is no comforting dream of angel-infants singing and gambolling, but instead two distinct and horrific visions that indicate that her final destination is damnation in hell.

The first appears as flame, a synecdoche of hellfire itself: Elizabeth "told a lady, one of the nearest about her person, that she had seen a bright flame about her, and asked her if she had not seen visions in the night" (98-9).²⁷ The use of pronouns is ambiguous in this passage, so that it is unclear whether the flame surrounds the queen or her interlocutor, but the significance is the same in both instances: Elizabeth is troubled by visions of fire as she approaches death. Robert Burton's description of those who believe

themselves damned is relevant here:

The last maine torture and trouble of a distressed minde, is not so much this doubt of Election, and that the promises of grace are smothered and extinct in them, nay quite blotted out, as they suppose, but withall Gods heavy wrath, a most intollerable paine and grieve of heart seaseth on them, to their thinking they are already damned, they suffer the paines of hell, and more then possibly can be expressed, they smell brimstone, talke familiarly with divells, heare and see *Chimeraes*, prodigious, uncouth shapes, Beares, Owles, Anticks, blacke dogges, feinds, hideous outcries, fearefull noyses, shreekes, lamentable complaints, they are possessed . . . (439)²⁸

The second vision is also disturbing and portends damnation. During a private conversation with the Lord Admiral, Elizabeth discusses a recent torment, which manifests itself as physical constriction and induces a fundamental change in character: "she shook her head and with a pitiful voice said to him 'My Lord, I am tied with a chain of iron about my neck.' He alleging her wonted courage she replied; 'I am tied, and the case is altered with me'" (99). While Mary Tudor's happy dreams are connected with religious conviction and a scrupulous observance of Catholic rites, Elizabeth's final melancholic state—and the related visions—arise from "Her negligence in serving Almighty God" (98), a failure which her words and deeds in her last days reinforce. Undoubtedly related to Elizabeth's final torment is her betrayal of Catholicism. Clifford reports that

She was persuaded by her new councillors to resume the spiritual power and jurisdiction. And it is probable that she was persuaded, seeing what she had vowed in the sickness of Queen Mary to the Commissioners that examined her, and what she told the Duke of Feria, and what she protested to ambassadors and divers others at several times often, as is noted by Catholic writers, who related divers particulars, as that she showed devotion to the Holy Cross, to our Blessed Lady and to the Saints. When she died she had next her body a crucifix of gold, hanging before her breast, so that Doctor Barlow said she died a Papist. Yet it seems that these men who could erect a new religion followed their own persuasions, and by little and little turned all upside down; and by them she was drawn to make such grievous laws against Catholics as never prince before her did make against any malefactor whatsoever. And this is witnessed by the multiplicity of statutes yet extant, the death of so many priests and the affliction of innumerable subjects for that cause. (94)²⁹

Ironically, it is Elizabeth, not Mary, who is characterized as treacherous and as a persecutor of true religion. In this context, the nature of her last torment seems appropriate.

There is an additional suggestion that witchcraft is at the root of Elizabeth's suffering. After the anecdote about the torture device of the iron chain, Clifford mentions a sinister discovery "in the bottom of the queen's chair [of] a card (the Queen of Hearts)

with an iron nail knocked through the head of it, which the ladies durst not then pull out, thinking it to be some witchcraft" (99).³⁰ Although the biographer does not draw an obvious line of cause and effect between the find and the queen's torment, they are linked through the use of the iron implements and the immobility, the spectre of witchcraft further emphasizing the dying Elizabeth's religious negligence and her soul's peril. The exhibition of irreligion, the perturbation created by visions connotative of future infernal punishment, and the suggestion of witchcraft constitute the less-than-subtle amassing of evidence to heighten the saintliness of Mary. The two queens' polarized deathbed performances foster equally polarized assessments of character and destination in the afterlife: for Clifford, Mary is the virtuous monarch who will be rewarded with a crown in heaven, while her successor's vice will be punished in hell.

Neither Priuli's nor Clifford's texts provide much information about the time between the death of Mary and her burial, but they both recognize that power resides now in her successor. If, as Susan Frye contends in connection with Elizabeth, various factions and personalities compete to produce representations of a monarch,³¹ then the transition of power associated with the death of a reigning king or queen changes, yet does not end, these terms. Even though the body of the defunct monarch continues to retain, even accrue, power of its own, the privileged position within this representational contest now belongs to the heir, who is usually given control of the royal remains. However, this binary relationship between living and deceased monarchs, usually expressed by the duality of *Le roi est mort, vive le roi*, is necessarily limiting and is

further complicated by the nature of the funerary ritual itself and those who attend it. In *The Theatre of Death: The Ritual Management of Royal Funerals in Renaissance England, 1570-1625*, Jennifer Woodward discusses the tangled nexus of interconnections which arise at the death of a monarch:

The organisers manipulate funeral ritual, moulding its form and symbolism to suit the political needs of the moment. They are, however, also constrained by ritual, compelled to stage performances that will meet the expectations of the funeral's participants and observers and forced to employ symbolism that is sufficient in quantity and affective quality to ensure the homogeneity of behavioural response required for the manifestation of order. Power is not confined to the ruling elite that organizes the royal funeral. (13)

The commonplaces of the royal funeral, including multivalent power, the manipulation of ritual, public expectations, and funerary symbolism, are visible in the controversy surrounding the obsequies of Edward VI. Following the dictates of her conscience, Mary wanted to bury her brother with all traditional rites (Loades, *Life* 193). Perhaps she hoped that a Catholic funeral, in much the same way as an effective deathbed performance, could revise aspects of Edward's life as lived. In this way, the celebration of Catholic obsequies could retrospectively gloss over Edward's heresies and/or creatively and tentatively re-situate him in death as the Catholic king he never was in life. The queen's ambassadors and others objected on the grounds that Edward was, according to the teachings of the Catholic Church, a heretic and, hence, Mary was dissuaded from her

original plan. The substitution of reformed for Catholic rites provided a means of promoting that "homogeneity of behavioural response" to which Woodward refers: it appeased Catholic sensibilities while, conversely, also removing one of the obvious targets for Protestant ire and unrest (Loades, *Life* 194). Nevertheless, clear signifiers of the new regime's commitment to traditionalist religion were not lacking. Mary's selection of Bishop Day as preacher was not without controversy because he sabotaged "the spirit of the occasion by a sermon which an observer bitterly said 'prepared the way for papistry just like an advance raiding party'" (MacCulloch 547). A service for the dead was said for the king in Mary's chapel on the night prior to the funeral. Either at the same time as this service or on the very day of Edward's interment, Stephen Gardiner presided over a solemn requiem Mass, which Mary may have attended, in the Tower of London.³²

Although Catholic feeling in England did not die with Queen Mary, her obsequies demarcate an important moment in the transition to a Protestant realm. As a result, while her funerary ceremonies are filled with the symbol and ritual of a recognizably Catholic rite, some of the problems that arose can be attributed to the prospect of further fundamental—and potentially divisive—religious upheaval. Yet, in many ways, a colloquy on the religious minutiae of candles, censuring, requiem Masses, and the like does not hint at such tension, for the first and last Catholic queen regnant was buried with all palpable signs appropriate to her rank and religious persuasion. These details can be found in the unsigned appendix to the preface of the *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign*,

1559-1560.³³ Immediately following Mary's "departure [she] was perused by the Lords of the Council and Ladies of the realm, and after opened, cered, and trammelled . . ." (CSPF cxvi). When she was opened, "her Grace's physicians, with the surgeons . . . took out all her bowels with the heart, the which was afterwards coffered and buried sumptuously in the chapel [of St. James's]; her heart being severally enclosed in a coffer covered with velvet bound with silver, which was also buried in the said chapel" (CSPF cxvi). The arrangements for the watching of the royal corpse in the Privy Chamber reinforce that the organizers were following a Catholic script:

And in the same chamber stood the corpse upon a table with two trestles covered with a pall of rich cloth of gold, and over the said pall were fastened vj scutcheons of sarsnet in fine gold of her arms within the Garter. And there were attendant every day, gentlewomen which did pray about the same with lights burning and watch every night with Dirige [Dirge] and Mass every day . . . (CSPF cxvi-cxvii)

The Dirge and the Mass are obvious Catholic markers, but the presence of lights, too, is a significant part of traditionalist funerary ritual. The use of candles was long associated with Catholic rites, and so became a target of religious reform, as a 1547 injunction banning their use in various funeral rituals proves (Woodward 45). The furniture prepared in the chapel was overtly Catholic. For instance, "At the upper end of the hearse without the rail there was made an altar, which stood on the left hand of the quire covered with purple velvet, which was richly garnished with ornaments of the Church" (CSPF cxvii). When the lead-enclosed coffin was finally brought down to the chapel on 10

December, it was clear that no aspect of elaborate Catholic ceremonial would be neglected. For the occasion, a Dirge was “sung by the chaplains, [and] executed by the Bishop of Worcester, and there was also Dirige said at the little altar before mentioned” (CSPF cxviii), and a requiem Mass followed on the next day.

The shifting of the ritual to Westminster Abbey, the site of the funeral, entailed moving the queen’s body in an elaborate *cortège*, which Henry Machyn, a member of the Merchant Taylors’ Company, describes in his “diary”³⁴ in some detail.³⁵ Machyn’s writing about funerals seems a natural extension of other aspects of his life. In his capacity as a parish clerk in London, Machyn would have participated in and recorded many funerals, and he also rented funeral furnishings. He began what Ian Mortimer refers to as his “chronicle” in 1550, concentrating on heraldic funerals, but he soon included other newsworthy events.³⁶ Mary’s funeral would be of obvious interest to Machyn.

Mary’s procession contained a clerical contingent, as Machyn reports: “and a-for the corse her chapell, and after all the monkes, and after the bysshopes in order” (183). The religious were one of the most obvious Catholic symbols at this occasion, for, as Woodward notes, “While the ecclesiastical community retained a role in the post-Reformation funeral procession with the link between prayer and intercession broken, their numbers were greatly reduced” (44). In James I’s funeral procession from Theobalds to Denmark House in 1625, for example, no clergy were present. Machyn mentions another feature of the procession associated with Catholicism, the banners depicting various saints, which fell into disuse after the accession of Elizabeth (Fritz 64;

Woodward 49). He describes the “iiij harolds bayryng on horss-bake iiij whyt baners of santes wroth with fyne gold, master Samersett, master Lanckostur, master Wyndsor, and master Yorke” (182). These men carried religious banners depicting the Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene, the Trinity, and St. George.

Machyn also describes the events of 14 December, the day of the queen’s funeral Mass and burial. His focus in this section of his diary is on the ritual of offering, and he details both those who offered and the items, including banners, involved:

and [all the lords] and lades, knyghtes and gentyll women, dyd offer. [And there was] a man of armes and horse offered; and her cot-armur, and sword, and targett, and baner of armes, and iij [standards]; and all the haroldes abowt her; and ther my lord bysshope of Wynchester mad the sermon; and ther was offered cloth of gold and velvet, holle pesses, and odur thynges. (183)³⁷

Offerings were an integral part of the heraldic funeral and usually signalled the transfer of power and title between the deceased male and his heir (Gittings 176-8). The offering ceremony at a royal funeral was somewhat different in that there “was no enactment of the royal succession here” (Woodward 62). But the aspect of the transmission of power is less important for my purposes than the dating of the offering ceremony to the pre-Reformation. Although the ritual survived the death of Queen Mary, it had its origin in Catholic funerary rites (Woodward 46-50).

Mary’s Catholic funeral appears to indicate a religious status quo or tolerance. After all, expectations of how a devoutly Catholic monarch should be formally mourned

and buried seemed to be fulfilled in the ritual and symbolism of her obsequies. While Elizabeth did not try to interfere in the ceremonies for the late queen in the same way that her sister did on her brother's death, she seized the opportunity of Mary's demise to diminish her usefulness as a Catholic symbol and to signal the reemergence of a Protestant ascendancy. In theory, the funeral of a monarch was supposed to heal the breach within the realm created by the death of so central and powerful a national figure (Woodward 2), but the obsequies for Mary overtly and covertly indicated that such mending would essentially change the country that sister inherited from sister.³⁸

Religious change and strain are apparent in several forms connected with these funerary ceremonies, some of which her subjects, culturally attuned to death as spectacle, would be adept at noticing. Although Loades, in both his biographies of Mary, sets the expenditure of the funeral at £7763,³⁹ based on documentary evidence in the Public Records Office, and concludes that the ceremonies were suitably prolonged and splendid (*Life* 313; *Tragical* 203), Richards indicates that a cheaper event was initially planned. The Marquis of Winchester, who arranged the funeral, originally asked Elizabeth for £3000, an outlay more appropriate for the funeral of a noble. Whatever the final cost, Richards disagrees with Loades about the lavishness of the occasion and cites the contrast with the obsequies for Henry VIII as illustration:

The procession might seem magnificent enough to modern readers . . . The few details [Machyn] does provide do not compare well with those for the much more carefully documented funeral of Henry VIII. As one example, 100 poor mourners

attended Mary's corpse (conventionally they were rewarded for their attendance by gifts of money) whereas Henry had 250. Such variation could very easily be read as a slight on Mary's memory. (*Mary Tudor* 229)

If the account of the funeral provided in the *Calendar's* document is accurate, then many nobles participated.⁴⁰ However, the Marquis of Winchester feared that people would not want to attend the ceremony. *The Acts of the Privy Council* for 21 November 1558 registers the details of his concern and its solution: "A letter to the Marques of Wynchester in aunswer of hys touching the mourners at thentierement of the late Quene, wherein it is signified unto him that if he shall nede commaundment from the Quenes Majestie to suche of them as shall refuse, the same shalbe procured . . ." (4).

Machyn's text is significant as a source because it "describes a religious culture with its own unique political structures, and it provides valuable insight into the nature not just of Mary's rule, but mid-Tudor political culture in general" (Gibbs 282). But there is one sign of the tension between Marian Catholicism and the religious sympathies of the new regime that he misses. Although he twice mentions Mary's effigy, one assumes that he was some distance away and so was impressed by the sumptuous accoutrements and not disturbed by the shoddy workmanship: "[The xiiij of December, the corpse of the late Queen was brought from St. James's, in a cha]rett, with the pyctur of emages lyke [her person], adorned with cremesun velvett and her crowne on her hed, her septer on her hand, and mony goodly rynges on her fyngers . . ." (182). Anthony Harvey and Richard Mortimer, in their survey of *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey*, differ markedly

from Machyn in focussing on the poor quality of the figure. They, of course, have an advantage over Machyn in that the effigy was accessible for their close examination. They conclude that "the rather crude wooden body of Mary's funeral effigy required little technical expertise" and that "the head appears to be of such low quality that it is difficult to believe that an artist of Nicholas Bellin's calibre could have been responsible for it" (56).⁴¹ To understand the meaning encoded in the roughness of Mary's effigy entails understanding the ritual significance of the royal funeral effigy in general. Royal funeral effigies in England never carried the same weight of symbolism as that which imbued their counterparts in French funerary ritual.⁴² As Ralph E. Gieseey argues, "The appearance and disappearance of the effigy custom in England is not of great moment, for the English were less given to ritual mysteries than the continental countries, and seem never to have regarded the effigy as more than a replacement for the body, convenient only in that it allowed a protraction of the ceremony" (85). Nevertheless, English royal funeral effigies did serve purposes beyond the one that Gieseey outlines. At a very basic level, the lavish clothes and props that usually adorned such figures, and which Machyn notices on Mary's effigy, are a means of displaying the wealth and power of the crown before its people and of warning those who would threaten the dynasty's security and survival (Litten 3-4; Woodward 66). And while Gieseey stresses the importance of the English royal funeral effigy as a representation of the monarch's body natural, which is also supported by the naturalism with which some faces, even Mary's, are modelled and painted, it does possess some mystical meaning.⁴³ Julian Litten suggests that the effigy

represents "the deceased monarch on his journey to appear before the King of kings" (4), but the fact that the figure is extravagantly robed, often in the coronation regalia with crown and sceptre, must evoke the enduring body politic that was temporarily connected with the defunct in the coffin beneath it. In light of the importance of the royal effigy, the poor quality of the figure of Mary is indicative of an awareness of, even a sensitivity to, Protestant sensibilities. Woodward argues that

The lack of care lavished on Mary's effigy suggests that in 1558 the funeral organizers may have been uncomfortable with the idolatrous implications of constructing a life-like funeral effigy. The funeral was, however, staged in the turbulent days before Elizabeth's religious policy was clear. The whole form of the obsequies was Catholic indicating that the funeral liturgy and ceremonial had not yet come under official scrutiny. (108)

Further signs that the Catholic hegemony fostered by Mary was to end with her death were orchestrated by her successor. In fact, every request stipulated in Mary's will was ignored, and Richards attributes this disregard to Elizabeth (*Mary Tudor* 227). Mary made provisions for a funeral dole to be distributed to the poor, but the new queen's almoner diverted funds through the London parishes. By disrupting the handover of the largess in this way, he effectively erased the connection between Mary and the dispensing of this charity (Loades, *Life* 339). Mary's desire for her mother's body to be moved from Peterborough Cathedral to be re-interred near her own went unsatisfied (Richards, *Mary Tudor* 227). Perhaps the prospect of two Catholic queens who had fought against the rise

of Protestantism buried side by side was considered, in the uncertain religious climate at the opening of Elizabeth's reign, too incendiary, for the lack of compliance with Mary's burial plans certainly removed a potential "shrine" to Catholic discontent and hostility.⁴⁴

A further tantalizing signal that the representation of Mary as an exemplary Catholic queen would not remain unassailed was in Elizabeth's reaction to the funeral sermon delivered in Westminster Abbey by John White, the bishop of Winchester (1509/10-1560). Fittingly for the speaker at Mary's funeral, he was a committed pursuer of heretics and the successor to the see of Winchester after the death of his mentor, Stephen Gardiner, who was Mary's lord chancellor and instrumental in the restoration of Catholicism in her realm. White had a reputation as an orator, undoubtedly one reason for his being selected to give the sermon.⁴⁵ However, he was the choice by default because of deaths and detentions of many of the late queen's "closest religious associates" (Richards, *Mary Tudor* 230).

According to Houlbrooke, the English funeral sermon "is based on a biblical text, expounds doctrines suitable to the occasion, and uses the dead man's life for edification, laying particular emphasis on the deathbed" (296). Such works generally open with an appropriate verse from the Bible, much of the remainder being devoted to its exegesis.⁴⁶ Similarly, White's sermon for Mary begins with a text from Ecclesiastes, "*Laudavi mortuos magis quam viventes: sed feliciorem utroque judicavi qui necdum natus est,*"⁴⁷ and the majority of the speech expounds on it. The funeral sermon is not a eulogy, for only a relatively small portion is devoted to the defunct. As is traditional, White's praise

of Mary, the ostensible cause of the composition, is a relatively minor topic within the discourse.⁴⁸ The preoccupation of the funeral sermon is the very real threat to the realm of Protestantism and the proliferation of its heresy. Any remarks about Mary, therefore, emerge from this context of religious polemic and anxiety.

A modern auditor, and possibly his or her 1558 counterpart, might find the idea that "happier . . . is he that was never born" (536) a startling choice as a Biblical text,⁴⁹ one open to blasphemous interpretation,⁵⁰ but White's explanation that "happier is he that in the faith of Christ is departed out of this world" (545) makes it more suitable for the occasion. Even Mary, who, as the bishop hastens to assure the audience, "was not [at] all unhappy" while alive and "in the sight of the world" (546), is now much happier. White argues that there is nothing inherently evil in the state of being, but in actions. A discussion of Judas facilitates the conclusion that "to have a being is not evil, but to be, as indeed Judas was, a traytor to this Maker, that is evil" (537). In the dilation on the lines from Ecclesiastes, White makes some rather provocative remarks about Protestantism, reiterating the connection between such heresy and sinfulness. Leaving the Catholic Church, as Protestants do, is an evil act. To elucidate the ultimate end of such evil, he recounts a history, which is not one of salvation, but of damnation. An inattentive reader or listener would be forgiven for confusing this anecdote with White's own past since he uses the first-person pronoun and retraces his own alienation from and later reconciliation with the Church of Rome, but the bishop distances himself, to a certain extent, by declaring that he has "put the example of sin in mine own person" (538). Making the

example personal allows him simultaneously to expose his own sinfulness and to target heretics. While the nature of the "relapse" which he ascribes to the sinner is unclear, he is absolutely convinced, because of the departure from the Catholic Church and the persistence in sin, of the inevitability of future damnation. In fact, in White's ideology, heretical behaviour and beliefs, including leaving the true faith, must result in execration:

To be born in Christ's church, and not to abide therein; to promise, and not to perform; to promise penance here, and not to practise; to hear the truth and not to believe; to be daily taught, and never to learn; ever to be warned, and never to beware; that is horrible, execrable, cursed, and damnable. I am born into this world to this end, to serve God, and to be saved. I shall be damned, not because I was born, but because I served not [God.] I come into this world to witness with the truth, as Christ my master came before me, saying, *Veni in mundum, ut testimonium perhibeam veritati*: but I impugn the truth, and advance falsehood. I was regenerate, and by a solemn vow became a member of Christ's catholic church, and have since divided myself from the unity thereof, and I am become a member of the new Church of Geneva, or did after lapse to actual and deadly sin: reformed by penance, I am now relapsed again to sin, and dwell stubbornly therein. Mark my end, Right Honorable, and what shall become of me. I shall in the end be damned everlastingly: not because I was born, or because I was regenerate in Christ's church, or because I did penance there; but because I have wilfully departed out of the catholic church, wherein I made my first profession; and

because I being relapsed into sin, do impenitently persist therein until my dying day. (537-8)

For White, Protestant heretics are Judases, whose betrayal of Catholicism must be branded as evil and who must be punished with the fires of hell. Moreover, he looks forward to a "mean season" (538), possibly a time of religious change under the new queen, that will foster sin and heresy. He warns specifically against those who would, under such circumstances, decry prayers for the dead and the mystery of transubstantiation. In other words, he explicitly cautions against the perpetuation of any Protestant unbelief. White's Catholic convictions would polarize the community into two groups, consisting of the faithful and those who should never have been born at all. Into this latter category, he places "a rebeller, a murderer, a heretic, [and] a blasphemer" (539). He elaborates on this division later in the sermon when he divides the types of dead men into "the faithful, the infidel; the obedient, the rebellious. There are that dyeth under the unity of the church; there are that dyeth in the sedition of Core. There are that dyeth under the gospel; there are that dyeth under the Alcoran" (541). And the ultimate destiny of such "infidels, rebels, and heretics" must be residence for eternity in hell, "in pain, in dolour, in ire, in fire, in darknes, and horror" (541).

Throughout portions of the sermon, White, as if in expectation of religious change under Elizabeth, is preoccupied with identifying the enemy of the Catholic ascendancy in England. After alerting his congregation to the perils of heresy, White moves to the

imminent threat posed by the Protestants on the Continent, presumably English exiles and others, whose centre is Geneva:

Who being by God placed, and as the prophet Ezekiel saith, appointed to keep watch and ward upon the walls, and give warning when the enemy cometh, if they se the wolf toward the flock, as at this present, I warn you, the wolves be coming out of Geneva, and other places of Germany, and hath sent their books before, full of pestilent doctrines, blasphemy, and heresy, to infect the people; if the bishops, I say, and ministers, in this case, should not give warning, neither withstand and resist, but for fear or flattery with the world, forsake their places, and thereby give occasion to the wolf to enter, and devour the flock; then should the more mighty be more mightily scourged, and the blood of the people required at their hands . . .

(542)

White advances a paradigm of resistance to the encroachment of these Protestant unbelievers, encompassing the ecclesiastical and governmental ranks: "Better is one lively preacher in the church, that dareth to bark against sin, blasphemy, heresy; better is one lively officer or magistrate in the commonweal, that dareth to speak against injuries, extortions, seditions, rebellions, and other discords . . ." (544). To further his argument, he uses the metaphors of the living dog capable of barking at the appearance of sin and the dead lion, "men, perhaps, of great dignity and vocation, who dare not open their mouths and bark; but suffereth, while all goeth to ruin, to the decay of Christian religion, and the subversion of the public wealth" (544):

Now say I, one living dog, that is to say, one vigilant minister in the church, such as they were, which of good zeale did bark against sin and heresy; persecuting that in me, not that that God hath created, but that the Devil hath planted; one provident governor under the Prince in the commonweal, which shal confer al his studie, travail, and labour, to advaunce the public weal, and not to support sedition and discord; who for himself shal covet nothing inordinately. . . . one such, I say, more profiteth Christ's Church, and more advaunceth the commonweal of this country; and therefore is more worthy than ten dreaming dead lions. (545)

In White's conception of the fight against heresy, the monarch has a role as supervisor of the devout governor.

As is usual for such funeral sermons, the manner of the deceased's life and death are used as lessons for the congregation.⁵¹ In this example of the genre, Mary provides an exemplary pattern for right living and dying, as is evidenced by her heavenly reward.⁵² The bishop begins the panegyric to Mary by enumerating the corporeal and incorporeal traces of the late queen:

And we being hereof fully persuaded, have no cause to lament, but rather to thank God, and rejoyce at the death of them that are so departed, as is now this vertuous and gracious lady, this innocent and unspotted Queen: whose body lyeth there in your lap, whose livery is on your back, whose memory is or ought to be printed in your hearts: whose fame is spred throughout the world, whose praise the stones

wil speak, if we do not; and whose soul I verily believe, without prejudice of
 God's judgment be it spoken, is now in heaven . . . (545)

The deceased queen is initially evoked as a sinless, virginal Mary, the "innocent and unspotted Queen" of an earthly, not a heavenly, realm.⁵³ In a limited sense, she is a *regina mundi*, one of the appellations frequently attached to the *Regina Coeli*, Mary, the Mother of God. The bishop reinforces this idea when he introduces his conviction of her quick translation to heaven.⁵⁴ Earlier in the speech, he reassures his audience of the queen's heavenly estate and notes that he is not mourning Mary's death,

at least ways so far forth as it becometh a Christian man to mourn at the death of
 them of whose estate nevertheles he hath no doubt, because they departed in the
 faith of Christ and God: (for so the apostles mourned for the death of Stephen, and
 the patriarchs at the death of Jacob and Joseph, not doubting of their condition,
 but serving their own nature and duty of charity). (538)

Although in this passage White is comparing Mary's blessed situation in death with the condition of male saints and patriarchs, her estate mirrors important aspects of the holy Virgin: she undergoes no bodily assumption, but shares with the Mother of Christ a swift transmutation to paradise. Like the sinless Virgin Mary, too, the "unspotted" dead queen was extraordinarily good and functions as an intercessor, though her role is rather limited. In Queen Mary's case, she was "too good to tarry any longer among us" (545), although she, like the Virgin, retains an interest in her people, for, from her heavenly perspective, "by means of the glas she looketh in, beholdeth and seeth us" (545). Her activity in the

afterlife seemingly includes the “praying for us” implied by the Latin tag, “*ibique sacrificium offert; et pro nobis orat*” (545), that White attaches to his statement about Mary’s place in heaven. Mary Tudor’s conduct in death reflects her earthly political reality as a queen concerned with her subjects.

To maintain the view of Queen Mary’s bodily purity implied by the adjective “unspotted”(545), White downplays her marriage with Philip of Spain in favour of a spiritual union with the realm. In this context, his identification of Mary as “a king’s daughter,” “a king’s sister,” and “a king’s wife” seems to be less important than the mystical connection between monarch and people, a connection that does not undermine either her singularity or innocence and that provides her with husbandly “love, commendation, and admiration” (546). This quasi-marriage recalls the mystical union between the Virgin Mary and God.⁵⁵ That her marriage to Philip of Spain is somehow secondary to this earlier ceremony is supported by her failure to remove the symbol of the first “wedding,” a diamond ring, from her hand. The vow to her people spurs Mary to the greatness which White attributes to her reign:

In this church she married herself unto this realm, and in token of faith and fidelity did put a ring with a diamond upon her finger; which I understand she never put off after, during her life, whatsoever succes things had: for that is in the hand of God only. She was never unmindful or uncareful of her promise to her realm. She used singular mercy toward offenders. She used much pity and compassion towards the poor and oppressed. She used clemency among her nobles. She

restored more noble houses decayed, than ever did prince of this realm, or I pray God ever shal have the like occasion to do hereafter. She restored to the church such ornaments as in the time of schism were taken away and spoiled. She found the realm poisoned with heresy, and purged it; and remembring herself to be a member of Christ's Church, refused to write herself *head* thereof. (546)

Although in the sixteenth century, the Virgin Mary was a symbol of the Catholic Church Militant, whose forces were arrayed against the pernicious encroachments of Protestantism (Spivey 246), there seems to be no allusion to her in White's discussion of Mary Tudor's laudable restoration of Catholicism in England.

The bishop of Winchester regards Mary's rejection of the title of head of the Church as a function of piety and gender. Her opinion that secular monarchs should not usurp that title complies with the orthodox belief that princes and priests should execute separate offices, a belief not held by either her father or her brother.⁵⁶ Furthermore, in refusing to style herself as the Church's head, Mary is punctilious in denying herself, as queen regnant, a role that is closed to all women:⁵⁷

she could say, How can I, a woman, be head of the church, who by Scripture am forbidden to speak in the church? *Mulier taceat in ecclesia*: except the church shal have a dumb head? The head of the church must of consequence and duty preach in the church; and he must offer *sacrificia pro peccatis mortuorum*. But it is not read, neither in the Old, neither in the New Testament, that ever woman did sacrifice. These and the like authorities of Scripture she was able to alledg, why

she could not be *caput ecclesiae*, and by learning defended the same. (547)

But if White repudiates a priestly function for Mary on the basis of her gender, he does not let it interfere with likening her to male religious figures, as has already been noted, or his fashioning her as a Christ-like figure in the sermon's encomium of the dead queen. This construction is handled very subtly, but it is unmistakable in the bishop's text and appropriate within the terms of feminine and masculine power he ascribes to her. He views her monarchical role, as well as that of her sister Elizabeth, as, if not hermaphroditic, then dual, for in her royal person are conflated the qualities of king and queen. For White, Mary "was a queen, and by the same title a king also. She was a sister to her, that by the like title and right is both king and queen, at this present, of this realm" (546).⁵⁸ As Mary Tudor is concurrently king and queen, she can be equated with aspects of the divine King and Queen of Heaven.

When the bishop begins his panegyric, he intimates that aspects of his Catholic sovereign's life and death reflect a Christological archetype. In describing the vestiges of the dead queen, his phrase, "whose body lyeth there in your lap" (545), presents Mary in a semblance of the dead Jesus of a *pietà*.⁵⁹ Such an identification becomes more obvious when, later in the sermon, White characterizes Mary as simultaneously favoured by God through the vehicle of the crown and forced to endure suffering. Although the bishop makes no overt statement of similarity, this doubleness is one she shares, to a limited extent, with Christ:

These be great gifts and benefactions of God; who in his gifts is ever to be

glorified. What she suffered in each of these degrees before and since she came to the crown, I wil not chronicle; only this I say, howsoever it pleased God to will her patience to be exercised in the world, she had in al estates the fear of God in her heart. I verily believe the poorest creature in al this city feared not God more than she did. She had the love, commendation, and admiration of al the world.

(546)

White again connects Mary with Christ when he announces that her "praise the stones will speak, if we do not" (545). Here he alludes to a passage in the gospel according to Luke about Jesus's entrance into Jerusalem. When Jesus descends the Mount of Olives on the colt obtained for the journey by his disciples, he is met with their loud praise of God "for all the mighty works that they had seen" (19.37).⁶⁰ However, they are rebuked by the Pharisees. Jesus's rejoinder, "I say to you, that if these shall hold their peace, the stones will cry out" (19.40), is echoed by White in his sermon. This hyperbole transmogrifies Mary into a figure, like Christ, whose worthiness is capable of evoking a response from something inanimate, but it also presents more negative possibilities, that her people may be mute on the subject of her fame.

Towards the end of the paeon to Mary Tudor, White likens her to an angel in a rather qualified manner. After praising "her knowledg as wel as vertue" and noting her exemplarity through the pronouncement that "neither ever was there prince on earth that had more of both," he moves to a careful description of Mary's piety during her final illness and death to prove that "altho' she were such a one, yet could she not be

immortal" (547). In this section of the sermon, the bishop, like Priuli and Clifford, emphasizes Mary's devout receipt of the sacraments during her sickness:

with what reverence she received the sacraments of Christ's church, and especially the sacrament which Christ hath ordained to be a passeport and safe conduit for a Christian man into the heaven of everlasting quiet and rest; and therefore called *viaticum*: and after that, extreme unction, she being, by use of prayer, as expert to say the psalms without book, as the priest was to read them therein: how, in the mass-time, at the elevation of the sacrament, the strength of her body and use of her tongue being taken away, yet nevertheless she at that instant lifted up her eyes, *ministros, nuncios devoti cordis*; and in the benediction of the church, as Jacob blessed his children, she bowed down her head, and withal yielded a mild and gracious spirit into the hands of her Maker . . . (547-8)

It is this sacramental element of Mary's deathbed performance that facilitates her use as a model to the audience at her funeral and the conditional recognition of her as a mortal angel: "all this, I say, if it were as pithily expressed, as she godly and devoutly did it, should be to you, as it was to them that saw it, more than ten such sermons. If angels were mortal, I would [rather] liken this her departure to the death of an angel, than of a mortal creature" (548).

Mary's death in winter becomes a warning for the congregation. White repeats his firm belief in Mary's heavenly estate, and while he directs the audience to "commend her soul to God" (548), he indicates that such prayers may be of more benefit to her

people: "Which prayer, if it relieve not her, (as one that with God's grace and mercy hath the effect thereof already,) yet shal it help us the rather before God, from whom the prayer of his faithful is never turned back, [or] in vain" (548). Obviously, White levels no criticism at the exemplary Mary for expiring in November and for "be[ing] buried, and creep[ing] into the ground" on "the shortest day of al the year" (548-9), but he seizes on the metaphor afforded by her winter death to admonish the people against dying "when your charity and devotion shall be cold" (549). However, the bishop is not concerned merely with Catholic vigilance and readiness at the prospect of death; he uses the verse "*Orate ne in hyeme fiat fuga vestra, nec in sabbato*" (548) as a further reminder against succumbing to heresy. White's explication connects the idea of the sabbath with a "vacation from good works, with murmuring against the merciful and wonderful works of God" (549). Thus, he instructs the people to "Pray . . . that ye dye not void of good works, knowing that *qui bona egerint, ibunt in vitam æternam*, &c. neither in rebellion nor murmuring against God and the sacraments of his church . . ." (549).

Mary died childless, but there were signs and suspicions of pregnancy in the last year of her life. Perhaps White is glancing at such information when he discusses the topic of maternal mortality in childbirth, a danger to which the queen herself refers in the details of her will. Though White does not mention Mary in this context, he uses the mother's death in such circumstances as a trope in order to counsel again for preparedness in the face of death. As with other aspects of the sermon, the gender-specific topic does not have a gender-specific meaning only. While he endorses the

opinion that “to dye *in the bond*, as they cal it, *of our Lady*, and travail of child, hath some furtherance to the favour of God’s mercye, in consideration of the travail, pain, and burden wherwith the mother dyeth” (549), his lesson is not limited to women of childbearing years:

Wo! be to him, be he man or woman, that when God shal call him out of his present life shal be found great with child, that is to say, great and puffed up with pride, replenished with wrath, malice, ambition, and covetousnes, that shal have *oculos adulterii plenos*, his eyes ful of concupiscence, his tongue swelling with words of blasphemy, al his mind and body ful of thoughts and actions of sin and disobedience. That man or woman is great with child indeed; and such a child as shal be to the parents everlasting confusion. (549-50)

The final paragraph of White’s sermon, which this discussion precedes, reiterates the thesis of unswerving devotion and obedience to Catholic belief. It does not mention Mary at all. It functions primarily as a summary of the last points that he has raised about preparedness for dying, yet, ultimately, it must also be considered a warning to the congregation to remain true to the Roman Catholic Church and its teachings. White ends by reminding his audience of their safety within the auspices of that Church, for faithful membership and participation serve as the only guarantee of salvation. He urges the people to

pray to God for that grace: let us dedicate ourselves wholly to his service, remaining under his obedience, and within the unity of his Church; within the

which none can perish, neither without it be saved. . . . That we may be worthy through the merits and death of our Saviour Jesus Christ, through faith in him, and obedience to him, to be partakers of everlasting life, joy, and felicity, in the company of his saints, living and lauding him everlastingly. (550)

So convinced is White of the rightness—indeed, of the righteousness—of his position that he seems uncaring of the potential ramifications of a sermon that can only be judged as deliberately inflammatory. *The Acts of the Privy Council* for 29 January 1558 [old style] record those consequences:

This daye the Bisshopp of Wynchester, having been heretofore commaunded to kepe his howse for such offenses as he committed in his sermon at the funeralles of the late Quene, was called before the Lordes of the Counsell, and, after a good admonicion geven him, was sett at lyberty and discharged of the saide commaundement of keping his howse. (45)

The specific nature of these “offenses” is not detailed, although they were sufficient to place the bishop under a form of house arrest for a short period of time. Perhaps he transgressed in his expression of a fundamental Catholic fear of Protestant heresy and heretics. His concern and criticism, while somewhat jarring, were nevertheless appropriate, not merely in the context of a Catholic ritual, but also within the larger parameters of a specifically Marian Catholicism, which viewed the Protestant “wolves” as the great enemy of the Church against which Mary fought so ardently. John Jewel’s letter to Peter Martyr from Strasbourg dated 26 January 1559 not only shows that reports

of White's remarks, though unpublished, had a fairly wide dissemination, but also supports the contention that the objectionable parts of the sermon were those that deal with Protestantism:

Your friend White, as I wrote to you when I was at Basle, delivered a most furious and turbulent discourse at the funeral of Mary, in which he declared that everything ought to be attempted, rather than that any alteration should be made in religion; and that it would be a worthy deed for any one to kill the exiles on their return. He was charged with sedition by the marquis of Winchester, lord treasurer, and Heath, archbishop of York. (1198)⁶¹

Although the official record of the Privy Council does not enter a charge of sedition against White and he never agitates specifically for the death of the exiles, under the new regime the very Catholic beliefs and doctrines he espoused would have been at the very least unpopular. In raising possible motivations for the arrest, Kenneth Carleton, the author of the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography's* entry on White, calls the sermon, among other things, possibly "the biggest *faux pas* of his career," but such a description, which connotes a lack of serious intent, fails to do the orator or the speech justice. In spite of contemporary events that expose the danger of such a course, there is little sense that the bishop made any effort whatsoever to censor his words or to make the speech more palatable to those in power whose consciences were untroubled by religious change. White did not heed the signs deducible in the arrest of his fellow bishop, John Christopherson of Chichester, for preaching against Protestant doctrine at Paul's Cross on

the second Sunday after Elizabeth's accession⁶² and in the living queen's determination to compel mourners to attend the funeral of a dead queen whose Catholicism made the occasion a delicate religious and political matter.

In sum, the sermon is an argument for the maintenance of the religious status quo, which White, as a Marian bishop, helped to promulgate during the late queen's life. It is to this resistance to religious change that some commentators point as the primary reason for the troubles he suffered after Mary's funeral.⁶³ However, White's "offenses" might be more narrow than a generalized opposition to heresy and to change. Undoubtedly, Elizabeth and her ministers would find problematic the unabashed championship of a Catholic ascendancy and the designation of Protestants as the enemy that inform the sermon as a whole and Mary's portrait within it, but White goes further and discusses a model to combat the immediate Protestant threat associated with the new queen. The affirmation—and perpetuation—of a hierarchy in which prince, governor, and minister would be the enemies of Protestantism would be particularly irksome to Elizabeth, not only because it would work in opposition to the reestablishment of the Protestant Church, but also because its agency would be an affront against her power to order her kingdom. And in constructing this idealized religious hierarchy, White foolishly suggests that the forces of justice can be turned against a recalcitrant ruler. Herein lies the sedition to which Jewel refers.

In a vain attempt to support the continuation of English Catholicism through a hierarchy of power, White singles out "the mighty" as the bulwark against the Protestant

“wolves.” As it is these mighty persons who have the greatest responsibility in the anticipated struggle, it is they who will be punished if heresy is allowed to flourish in England:

that is to say, all shal suffer for sin, but *the more mighty men shal suffer more mightily*, the stronger more strongly. I consider that now I speak among them that be mighty: whom, as one ways I reverence, so another ways I will be bold with them in such things as it behoveth them to hear, and is hurtful for me not to speak.

(541)

Although the “ministers of Christ’s Church” (541) are warned about the rise of the Protestant wolf pack and are instructed in their proper duty as guards, White does not confine his remarks to the ecclesiasticals; he also targets the “temporal estates” (542):

there are the princes of the world most mighty and excellent among others. There are the dukes and magistrates, whom whosoever doth not obey, he resisteth the ordinances of God. There are judges to whom the Prince committeth the office of justice; as Trajan the emperor did deliver the sword of justice to his chief officer, with this charge, *Hoc gladio pro me utere, si justa impero, contra me, si injusta*; expresly commanding his own authority and sword of justice to be used against himself, when the equity of the law should so require. (542)

In discussing the roles of the prince and those entrusted with the administering of justice, White endorses a Roman model which does not place a monarch above his or her laws and which permits the punishment, to the very level of destruction, of the prince in

the event of transgressions. The laws with which White is primarily concerned are those of God as promulgated through the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church, and so his words here, although they do not mention Elizabeth by name, promise danger to her person and to the stability of her throne should she circumvent the bishop's conception of divine justice. Strengthening this idea is the section of the speech that deals with the penalties that will be visited upon the mighty if they fail in their duties, for White is not simply confining himself to punishment in the afterlife. Ironically, a reigning queen may find herself subject to plenary justice:

Al these be, as you might consider, mighty. Now, if any of them, be he spiritual or temporal, forsake his place, neglect his office, rule not rightly, judge not justly, counsil not faithfully; then shal his own judgment be more strait, his punishment more sharp and fierce, than the punishment of the poor and simple; and in his chastisement it shal be proved true, *potentes potenter*. (542-3)

That it is the living's possible sins against God with which he is primarily concerned is made clear by the opening of the next paragraph: "But hitherto I compare the punishment [between the strong] and the weak, both being offenders against God, and both perhaps yet living" (543). Instructing the current queen in ecclesiastical matters would have been unwelcome, and admonishing her to support the kind of hierarchy associated with Marian Catholicism, controversial in itself; however, coupling such lessons and paradigms of religious power with a sanction, based on historical, though not Christian, precedent, to punish the unlawful and irreligious monarch was tantamount to sedition. Under such

circumstances, White's brief session under house arrest seems a light penance indeed.

Yet, according to John Strype, the specific details of heresy and the proposals for thwarting its incursions did not raise the ire of Elizabeth; instead, he suggests that she was angered, in part, by the bishop's constructions of Mary and herself: "against many passages in [the bishop of Winchester's] sermon (wherein, as he did over extol the deceased queen, he too much depreciated her own present Majesty) such offence was taken . . ." (3.2.140-1). Jeremy Collier concurs with Strype's assessment. He argues that White "was very strong in his panegyric upon queen Mary, but not without some satirical inuendos and strokes of disadvantage on queen Elizabeth" (178). In consistently preferring the state of the dead over the living, White slights Elizabeth. Other affronts are offered in such hyperbolic statements as "Such was [Mary's] knowledge as wel as vertue: neither ever was there prince on earth that had more of both" (547). And even a queen considerably less vain than Elizabeth would be insulted by the deliberate denigration in this passage:

And as we for our parts have received worthily detriment and discomfort upon [Mary's] departing, so let us comfort ourselves in the other sister, whom God hath left, wishing her a prosperous reign in peace and tranquillity, with the blessing which the prophet speaketh of, if it be God's wil, *ut videat filios filiorum et pacem super Israel*: ever confessing, that tho' God hath mercifully provided for them both, yet *Maria optimam partem elegit*; because it is stil a conclusion, *Laudavi mortuos magis quam viventes*. (548)

Carleton and Collier (178) note the specific line from Ecclesiastes that supposedly contributed to the controversy, "*Melius est canis vivus, quam leo mortuus*" (543). White, certainly injudiciously, comments that the verse "is a perillous place, not only preferring the living in a vile and base estate before the dead, being a far more worthy creature in God's judgment. For what beast is more vile than a dog, more worthy than a lion?" (543). In the context of the entire sermon and especially the Biblical passage on which it is based and to which it consistently refers, it is far better to be given the role of the dead lion. As a consequence, it is no effort to conclude that White's "gracious Queen" (548), Mary, is the dead lion of the house of Tudor, while Elizabeth is the dog, inferior and unworthy. If the root of Elizabeth's difficulty with the sermon was indeed the belief, misguided or otherwise, that she was the dog to the Marian lion, then the encomium to her dead half-sibling gives credence, not to the particulars of the metaphor, but to an association of the late queen with the usually estimable king of beasts. Moreover, White frequently invokes male figures to praise the late queen. His representation of Mary as an avatar of the Blessed Virgin and her Son, as well as his qualified and tentative linking of the dead queen with the immortal angels, are ways of extolling her commitment to her Catholic faith and to her people. He uses these holy prototypes to praise the late queen in life, on her deathbed, and in the afterlife, yet he is scrupulous in making such connections conditional or implicit, though rather obvious. Accordingly, the bishop's construction of Mary as a symbol of Catholic (non-divine) exemplarity may have facilitated her recognition as a kind of royal lion and stirred Elizabeth's anger.

White, nevertheless, is not lost to all sense, and his exegesis, parts of which have been previously discussed, supplies a "right meaning" (543). He makes no explicit claim that his referents are the sister-queens, even though the lion had long been associated with royalty. Furthermore, if the audience assumed that the trope of the living dog was a metaphor for Elizabeth, then there is some mitigation of this insult when the bishop praises the animal as faithful, protective, and charitable. But such palliation is ruined by the association of those qualities with Mary throughout the panegyric. Here, the canine role fits Mary's devotion to the Catholic cause, for, in White's sermon, she has little in common with leonine viciousness: "Hely was Leo, he was a lion of power and authority, as one that governed and judged the people. But in that he dissembled discords, injuries, and extortions, committed especially by his own children, in that he was *leo mortuus, a dead lion*. And the plague of God therfore fel upon him" (544). Protestants would undoubtedly see Mary, the persecutor of their martyrs, as such a destructive creature, but White, who has a halcyon memory of the Catholic hegemony, is no Marian critic. A connection between Elizabeth and the virtuous dog is further preempted by White's contention that the only good dogs are those who "bark against sin" (544). The people who espoused heresy, rumours of which pursued Elizabeth throughout Mary's reign, are "*dumb dogs, not able to bark*" (544).

The bishop of Winchester's anxiety over Mary's fame and its publication seems to anticipate disruption, in terms of religion and the concomitant commemoration of the late queen as a quasi-saint. White instructs the audience in remembering the dead queen: he

reminds them, for instance, that her memory "ought to be printed in your hearts" and that "the stones wil speak, if we do not" (545). In fact, in the text, Mary cannot be forgotten because she continues in death to retain an interest in her people from a perspective much more lofty than the throne of Elizabeth. Ultimately, the oration must be judged a futile attempt to resist religious change after Mary's death and to represent her life and death as models for emulation, and White's house arrest perhaps served as a warning against producing similar portraits of the dead queen. The funeral is a site of conflict between the Catholic ascendancy who enjoyed power under Mary and the new regime, which already, at this early stage, showed signs of adherence to Protestantism. Certainly, the Catholic funeral rites were officially sanctioned, and perhaps White read such approval as an endorsement of his beliefs. But there were many signs, of which the reaction to the bishop of Winchester's speech was only one, that Catholicism would be supplanted as the religion of the realm. The change that White feared had begun with the death of the Catholic queen, and no funeral, however lavish, and no sermon could stem the tide.

The treatment of the printer of an elegy written for Mary who, like White, is punished, supplies more proof that the religious tide had turned. Rollins identifies "The Epitaphe upon the Death of the Most Excellent and our late vertuous Quene, Marie, deceased, augmented by the first Author" as the text to which this entry in the Stationers' Register refers: "Rychard Lante was sente to warde [prison] for the pryntyng of an Epithaphi of quene Mary with out lycense" (23). Rollins seems to suggest that what was objectionable in this case was not the lack of a proper licence, but the content of the poem

itself when he writes, "It is difficult to see how this epitaph could have offended the new Queen" (23). There is little original in the poem. The anonymous poet, perhaps a priest (Rollins 23), repeats many of the same topics found in earlier broadside ballads praising the living queen, including the steadfastness of her faith while beset by troubles:

In greatest stormes she feared not, for God she made her shielde,

And all her care she cast on him, who forst her foes to yelde.

Her perfecte life in all extremes her pacient hert dyd shoe,

For in this worlde she neuer founde but dolfull dayes and woe. (19-22)

She is again compared to Biblical figures, in this case to Martha and Mary, and most of the poem celebrates virtues appropriate for such women, like constancy, courtesy, modesty, and mildness. Some of the hyperbolic compliments to her benevolence and clemency strain credulity (Rollins 23), especially those contained in the passage,

She neuer closde her eare to heare the righteous man distrest,

Nor neuer sparde her hande to helpe, wher wrōg or power opprest.

when all was wracke, she was the porte from peryll vnto ioye;

when all was spoyle, she sparèd all, she pitied to distroye.

How many noble men restorde, and other states also,

well shew'd her Princely liberall hert, which gaue both friend & fo. (9-14)

The poet shares with Priuli, White, and Clifford an interest in the details of Mary's deathbed as evidence of queenly exemplarity. The balladeer concentrates on the primacy of the Eucharist and Mary's own forecast that her death would coincide with its

appearance, presumably at the consecration during the Mass: "when I haue sene the Sacrament (she said, euen at her death), / These eyes no earthly syght shall see,—and so lefte life and breath" (29-30). The poet also expresses the same conviction as White, that Mary is ensconced in heaven, though he resorts to a nautical trope to communicate the idea: Mary's "restles ship of toyle and care these worldly wrackes hath past, / And safe arriues the heauenly porte, escapt from daungers' blast" (27-8). The ballad offers no real insult to the new queen, but flatters her, instructs her people to obey her, and "pray[s] God her to preserue, / And sende her grace longe life & fruite, and subiectes trouth to serue" (52-3). If, as Rollins implies, the content was disagreeable to Elizabeth, then two elements in the poem might have presented grounds for grievance. The first provides the same problems that have been ascribed to White's sermon, that Mary is praised at the expense of Elizabeth. The new queen might have cavilled at being included in the "Princes all" told to "Make for your mirrour . . . Marie, our maistres late . . ." (44) and to be praised according to a Marian model, not her own merits in the lines, "Marie now dead, Elisabeth liues, our iust & lawfull Quene, / In whom her sister's vertues rare habundantly are scene" (50-1). But perhaps the objection is to the last phrase, which directs Elizabeth her "subiectes trouth to serue" (53). The religious truth of the realm on Mary's death, as well as that developed through the poem's acknowledgement of, among other things, the efficacy of prayers for the dead, is definitely Catholic. Elizabeth or her officials might not have appreciated being coaxed to uphold a truth they no longer believed nor had to tolerate.

Events surrounding the death of Mary Tudor give ample evidence of religious transformation. Her role in this new order is uncomplicated: no longer is she the Catholic saviour, the barrier to the proliferation of Protestant heresy, but "Bloody Mary." Neither her will, nor her funeral, nor paeans to English Catholicism and its queen could create a positive legacy that could forestall Protestant recrimination. The positive accounts of her death provided by Priuli, Clifford, White, and the anonymous writer of the ballad discussed above are overwhelmed by narratives of other deaths, those of the Protestant martyrs in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*.

Notes

1. Hyder E. Rollins collects and edits five ballads which take Mary as their subject in *Old English Ballads, 1553-1625, Chiefly from Manuscripts*. Four of these are discussed at the beginning of this chapter. I analyze the fifth, an elegy, at the chapter's end. Some of these ballads are discussed in terms of their use of iconography related to the Virgin Mary in Hackett (34-7).
2. Rollins believes the T. W. may be Thomas Watertoune, the author of another later ballad (2).
3. The original of this ballad is in the British Museum, press-mark C. 18 e I (88) (Rollins 1).
4. Rollins considers T. W. a Protestant, based principally on the slender evidence of the ballad's eulogy for Edward VI, as well as the lack of any reference to Lady Jane Grey. He also suggests that the poet "knew little or nothing" of the new queen's faith, though such a contention seems unreasonable given what was generally known of Mary's religion and the ballad's praise of her "ioyful godlynes" (55). Rollins ascribes part of the poet's happiness to the defeat of the duke of Northumberland (1).
5. Rollins traces the sources of this ballad, "An *Ave Maria* in Commendation of our most Vertuous Queene," and "The Epitaphe upon the Death of the Most Excellent and our late vertuous Quene, Marie, deceased" to unique broadsides in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, London (8, 13, 23).
6. The original of this ballad is a unique broadside in the collection of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (MS. 106, fol. 630) (Rollins 19).
7. Alexandra Walsham defines providence as "the belief that God was no idle, inactive spectator upon the mechanical workings of the created world, but an assiduous, energetic deity who constantly intervened in human affairs. His finger could be discerned behind every inexplicable occurrence; He regularly stepped in to discipline sinners and bestow blessings upon the righteous and good" (2). Although providentialism is often conflated with "zealous Protestantism" (2), it was not a concept particular to this group: "It was a set of ideological spectacles through which individuals of all social levels and from all positions on the confessional spectrum were apt to view their universe, an invisible prism which helped them to focus the refractory meanings of both petty and perplexing events" (2-3). Thus, both Protestantism and Catholicism can be associated with providentialism. See also Thomas (90-132).

8. The correspondence both to and from Philip is from the *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish*, hereafter abbreviated CSPS. The passages from the letters are cited by entry and page numbers.

9. Loades suggests that "In translation this probably sounds more callous than it was intended, but in truth the emotion in their relationship had been all on her side, and his main reaction was probably one of relief" (*Tragical* 198). To further excuse the insensitivity of Philip's remarks, Loades also asserts that "The letter was written in haste, and mainly about other matters" (*Tragical* 233n). Richards views the letter more positively. She writes, "Given the context in which he was writing, and his restrained remarks about his father's death, Philip's regret therefore *may* even suggest a little warmth towards his late wife, in what had always been a political marriage. But it was not long before new political considerations turned his mind to another marriage" (*Mary Tudor* 227).

10. Loades speculates that the cause of Mary's death might have been gynaecological, precursors of which were menstrual problems and false pregnancy, or the same influenza epidemic that killed Cardinal Pole (*Life* 310-1). Strype reports rumours, typical of the period, that the queen and the cardinal were poisoned (3.2.143-4). See also Richards (*Mary Tudor* 226).

11. The idea of death as performance is commonplace. See, for instance, the title of Jennifer Woodward's book, *The Theatre of Death: The Ritual Management of Royal Funerals in Renaissance England, 1570-1625*, as well as a description, in Ariès, that the bedroom functioned as "the arena of a drama in which the fate of a dying man was decided" (108).

12. For discussions of the public nature of death in the early modern period and aspects of the "good" death, see Ariès (108, 297-315) and Houlbrooke (183-219). Houlbrooke also covers in detail the topics of wills (81-146) and last rites (147-82).

13. Houlbrooke writes, "The bearing of the dying person was widely interpreted as conveying some intimation of the soul's destination. Yet during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when thousands of deathbeds were described in unprecedented detail, empirical observation cast increasing doubt on the reliability of deathbed comportment as a mirror of inwardly bestowed grace" (203).

14. Houlbrooke provides a brief discussion of Fisher's sermon (151-2). According to Ariès, Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621) in *Le Miroir de l'âme du pécheur et du juste pendant la vie et à l'heure de la mort* (*The Mirror of the Soul of the Sinner and the Righteous Man during Life and in the Hour of Death*) criticizes those who wrongly believe that a "good" death is recompense for a sinful life. Ariès acknowledges, however,

that this error was still prevalent during the author's lifetime.

15. See Thomas F. Mayer (*Reginald Pole* 343-55) on the death, funeral, and tomb of the archbishop.

16. Mayer describes Priuli's homosexuality, Pole's sexuality, and the relationship between the two men (*Reginald Pole* 442-51).

17. The *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, identifies the recipient of two letters (entries 1286 and 1287, dated 27 November) as Antonio Giberti. Mayer recognizes two distinct recipients: Antonio Priuli (entry 1286) and Antonio Giberti (entry 1287) (*Correspondence* 580, 584).

References to the *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, abbreviated as CSPV, are cited by entry and page numbers. CSPV 1287 corresponds with No. 2312 in Mayer (*Correspondence* 584-7).

18. Houlbrooke mentions that the metaphor of death as sleep was often used to describe the peaceful ends of those who achieved a "good" death (203).

19. CSPV 1292 corresponds with No. 2315 in Mayer (*Correspondence* 588-90).

20. CSPV 1286 corresponds with No. 2311 in Mayer (*Correspondence* 580-4).

21. CSPV 1291 corresponds with No. 2314 in Mayer (*Correspondence* 588).

22. For a discussion of the relationship of Jane Dormer and Queen Mary, see Richards (*Mary Tudor* 237).

23. Apposite here is Anderson's contention that "Biography—or life-writing, as with greater historical accuracy we should call it—itself occupies a middle ground between history and art, chronicle and drama, objective truth and creative invention—Holinshed and Shakespeare, so to speak" (2).

24. The dating of this manuscript is rather complicated. Stevenson estimates that the composition of the *Life* probably started in 1613, after the death of the duchess in January of that year, but work was still being done to it in 1616 (xiv). The Dormer manuscript was, according to the editor, "written in the year 1643, and it was then presented to Charles Dormer, Earl of Carnarvon and Lord Baron of Wing; but it had evidently been drawn up at a much earlier date, while the incidents which are here recorded were fresh in the memory of the author" (xiii).

25. There was interest in removing Elizabeth from the succession in 1553 based partly upon her illegitimacy. Because it was clear that parliament would not prohibit

Elizabeth's inheritance of the English throne, possibly more troubling for her were those occasions when precedence was given to Lady Margaret Douglas, the daughter of Henry VIII's older sister and Mary's friend. Mary believed that the claim of her cousin, the product of a legitimate marriage, could prove stronger than that of her sister. Certainly, Douglas's Catholicism made her a more palatable option as heir. Bolstering Mary's preference for Margaret even further may have been the doubt that Elizabeth was royal and her sibling at all, but the result of Anne Boleyn's liaison with Mark Smeaton (Richards, *Mary Tudor* 154). Richards makes clear that "Mary's preference, however, was never grounds enough to make her cousin an acceptable alternative to Elizabeth" (*Mary Tudor* 224).

26. Keith Thomas asserts that "In the sixteenth century importance was still attached to dreams. Theologians taught that most of them had purely physical causes and were not to be heeded. But they admitted that some might be supernatural in inspiration, though as likely to be diabolical as divine" (151). Dreams could be revelatory or prophetic (153-4).

27. Relevant here are Thomas's remarks about the ubiquity of the devil:

For Englishmen of the Reformation period the Devil was a greater reality than ever—the "prince and God of this world," as John Knox called him. Influential preachers filled the ears of their hearers with tales of diabolic intervention in daily life, recognizable as the cautionary *exempla* of the Middle Ages brought up to date. Hugh Latimer assured his audience that the Devil and his company of evil spirits were invisible in the air all around them. (561)

28. The source of the quotation is Partition 3, Section 4, Member 2, Subsection 6 of *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (Volume 3).

29. Clifford accuses Elizabeth of many other evils and irregularities during her reign, including lying about her virginity, her involvement in the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, the heavy burden of taxation, providing help to foreign rebels, her sanction of piracy, and her treatment of Philip of Spain (96-8).

30. Although Thomas does not specifically discuss witchcraft involving a nail and a playing card, he suggests that the use of such "technical aids" is less common than physical contact and curses (519). Witchcraft was connected to the devil (521, 551-2).

31. For a summary of her argument, see Frye (*Elizabeth I* 10-1).

32. W. K. Jordan lists several sources that describe Edward's funeral as a rather mean event, unbecoming a dead king. Perhaps a "homogeneity of behavioural response" was too much to hope for under these circumstances, for rumours persisted that Edward had been poisoned (520n). On the topic of Edward's funeral, see also Chapman (288-90), Loach

(*Edward VI* 167-9), Loades (*Life* 193-5), MacCulloch (547), and Richards (*Mary Tudor* 131-2).

33. This document is rather problematic. It is Richards's contention that this one surviving official account is a retrospective description of the ceremonies which reads more like a general reassurance for the Spanish that Mary had been buried with appropriate ceremony, rather than a detailed account of what took place. It lists, for example, the ranks of people attending—including some ranks which could not have been present. It is very vague about numbers, although numbers in a procession were always an important marker of degree. Members of Mary's household were named, especially at her actual interment, but not many other attendees were specified by name. (*Mary Tudor* 228)

While the reliability of this source is somewhat questionable at certain points, I do not believe it is invalid. References to this document, abbreviated CSPF, are cited by page number.

34. Gary G. Gibbs believes that to call Machyn's text a diary, as John Gough Nichols does, is inaccurate because such a designation characterizes it as "a private and personal text" (281).

35. Gibbs provides a corrective to traditional views of Machyn. Because Machyn presents the pageants of Marian London, to which he was a witness, quite sympathetically, he has often been viewed

in opposition with the larger forces Protestantizing sixteenth-century England. Machyn's text apparently failed to capture the correct tone for a man living in the horrendous times of Bloody Mary. As a result of this dichotomy between modern expectations and a divergent historical voice, historians dealt with Machyn's worldview largely through judgements of "exceptionalism." (281)

36. For a biography of Machyn, see Ian Mortimer.

37. A brief explanation is needed regarding the material that appears in square brackets in the extracts from Machyn's diary. The manuscript was damaged by fire, but Nichols, the editor of the Camden Society's edition, uses Strype, whose work on the diary predates the fire, and "conjecture from the context" (xiii) to furnish any missing or unreadable passages. These interpolations are marked by square brackets in his text.

The phrase "holle pesses" refers to whole pieces of cloth.

38. All funerals, to a greater or lesser extent, could contribute to this same effect. R. C. Finucane suggests that "death ritual was not so much a question of dealing with a corpse as of reaffirming the secular and spiritual order by means of a corpse" (41).

39. To give the reader a sense of what this sum means, Loades reports that it would cover the purchase of a large warship (*Tragical* 203).

40. The account of the funeral identifies those stationed near the corpse as the Marquis of Winchester and the Earls of Westmoreland, Shrewsbury, and Derby. The chief mourner was Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox, and her two assistants were the Earl of Huntingdon and the Viscount Montague. The Countesses of Oxford, Worcester, Huntingdon, and Bedford are listed among the mourners in attendance. The assembled bishops included those of Carlisle, Chester, Exeter, Coventry and Lichfield, Worcester, Winchester, and London, as well as the Archbishop of York (CSPF cxxii-vi). Neither of Mary's closest living relatives attended: Philip was not in England at the time and Elizabeth, according to tradition, would not be present at the funeral of the monarch from whom she inherited the throne. On this tradition during the hegemony of the Tudors, see Woodward (62).

41. W. H. St. John Hope simultaneously contradicts and reinforces the assessment of Harvey and Mortimer. While he believes that Mary's effigy is "a well-modelled complete figure of a woman" (551), he also admits to a defect in the body when he writes, "The surface of the trunk is left unsmoothed throughout" (552).

42. On the significance of the royal funeral effigy in England, see Paul S. Fritz (74-5).

43. Mortimer and Harvey conclude, based on Mary's appearance in portraits, that the face depicted on her funeral effigy must have resembled the dead queen (57).

44. The separation of mother from daughter in the years before Catherine's death was a cause of unease for Henry, who feared their active opposition (Richards, *Mary Tudor* 55). The king's dread here seems to suggest a precedent for the potential power of the two queens together, even in death.

45. For a biography of White, see Carleton.

46. For the sermon generally as a "pedagogical event," see Hatt (16-7).

47. The bishop of Winchester's funeral sermon is reproduced in "A Catalogue of Originals" (Number LXXXI) appended to the second part of the third book of Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials, Relating Chiefly to Religion, and the Reformation of It, and the Emergencies of the Church of England, Under King Henry VIII. King Edward VI. And Queen Mary I*. The source is listed in the margin of the text as Cott. Libr. Vespasian, D.

18. Further references will be cited in the text by page number only.

48. Houlbrooke reports that usually a quarter of the funeral sermon was devoted to the deceased. On occasion, this topic might be extended to cover a third of the sermon's contents (311).

49. Loades remarks that White "chose as his text the provocative sounding words of Solomon . . . , but he was in fact not much concerned with the living . . ." (*Life* 313).

50. White explores the possible imputation of blasphemy when he writes,
 Now if it had been better men never to have been created, it must follow to be better al the rest also, which were made for man's sake and service, to have been uncreated. So that we shal invert the words of Genesis, and where Moses said, *God saw al that he had made, and it was exceeding good*; we shal say, *God saw al that he had made, and it was naught, in vain, and to small purpose*: because it had been better unmade. Which blasphemy God forefend that it should enter into the heart, or come out of the mouth of a Christian man. (536-7)

He continues his sermon by examining Job, whose tribulations might be used to support a blasphemous reading of the text from Ecclesiastes, but White is able to affirm that, on the contrary, Job was aware "that to be born of our parents is not evil" (537).

51. Houlbrooke explains that "Three duties were discharged by the commendation of the dead: respect to their memory, gratitude and praise to God, and instruction of those yet living" (311). The topics used for the commendation of Mary in White's funeral sermon include some of those enumerated by Houlbrooke: ancestry, public career, almsgiving, family relationships, personal piety, and deathbed behaviour (312). See also Houlbrooke (312-7).

52. According to Houlbrooke, "Preachers often felt able, in the end, to provide solid grounds for hope, or reasons to believe, that the deceased had gained by their deaths, or had enjoyed a happy dissolution. The departed were frequently said to be in peace, perfect happiness, sharing the glories of heaven, enjoying the crown of life or a glorious reward" (317).

53. On the sinlessness of the Virgin Mary, see Spivey (52).

As early as 451, the Council of Chalcedon had confirmed Mary's perpetual virginity and declared that neither conception nor birth had compromised her virginal state (Spivey 37). Spivey's translation of Francis Panigarola's paradoxical description of Mary emphasizes that spotlessness is a description of virginity: the "incomprehensible mystery of divinity and humanity, creator and creature . . . conception and purity, of spotlessness and pregnancy, maternity and integrity, virginity and giving birth" (157).

54. In the funeral speech, White calls for prayers for the late queen. These prayers, however, are not for remission for her soul in purgatory because "we doubt not of her

estate" (548).

55. Spivey discusses the sixteenth-century preachers, St. Lawrence, St. Robert Bellarmine, and St. François de Sales, who incorporate into their sermons an imaginative marriage between God the Father and the Virgin Mary (160-2).

56. White cites the Biblical precedent of Onias to counter claims that the role of priest should devolve on the sovereign. A footnote in Strype corrects the bishop's mistaken use of Onias for Uzziah, as well as other errors. According to 2 Paralipomenon 26.19, "And Ozias was angry, and holding in his hand the censer to burn incense, threatened the priests. And presently there rose a leprosy in his forehead before the priests, in the house of the Lord at the altar of incense."

57. The same objection was raised with regards to Elizabeth's gender and the possibility of her assuming the title of head of the English Church. As a compromise, she became its supreme governor.

58. Richards uses this section of White's sermon to indicate that, even at the conclusion of Mary's reign, describing the power of a queen regnant was still difficult (*Mary Tudor* 122-3).

59. The figures in both sculptural and painted pietàs would undoubtedly be familiar to a mid-sixteenth-century audience. The pietà had developed into a popular devotional art form during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. See Spivey (80) and Cunneen (188-9).

60. The source of the Biblical quotations in this chapter is the Douay-Rheims edition. Although both parts were published after Mary's reign (the Old Testament in 1609 and the New Testament in 1582), the fact that they were translated from the Latin Vulgate makes their use appropriate in the context of the funeral sermon.

61. I quote from the translation (1197-8) of Jewel's letter, originally written in Latin (1196-7). It corresponds with Letter III of *The Zurich Letters*, edited by Hastings Robinson (6-9).

62. In correspondence now contained in *The Zurich Letters*, Edwin Sandys relates news of the arrest of the bishop of Chichester to Henry Bullinger:

Queen Elizabeth, on the Sunday after her accession, caused the gospel to be preached at the celebrated Paul's Cross, which took place to the great delight of the people. But on the following Sunday the bishop of Chichester, by name Christopherson, (the same who some time ago called at your house on his way to Italy,) and a notorious papist, occupied the same place, and in his sermon, with great vehemence and freedom, (for the papists are always bold enough,) refuted

every thing that had been said on the Sunday preceding; loudly exclaiming, "Believe not in this new doctrine; it is not the gospel, but a new invention of new men and heretics, &c." In this way the good papist strove to confirm his own opinions, and to take away the truth of the gospel. As soon as this came to the ears of the queen, she caused this good bishop to be summoned into her presence; and after he had been examined respecting his sermon, commanded him to be sent to prison. (H. Robinson 4)

Christopherson died in prison before the end of December, 1558.

63. See Carleton and Pollen (20).

Chapter 2: The Second Panel

“[T]ouching the unlawful and rueful reign of queen Mary”: Mary Tudor in John Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments* (1583)

It has been said that though God cannot alter the past, historians can;
it is perhaps because they can be useful to Him in this respect that
He tolerates their existence.

(Samuel Butler, *Erewhon Revisited*, 293)

In the year after Mary’s death, a ballad entitled “The Wonders of England. 1559” was published and signed “I. A.,” perhaps referring to the John Awdeley who was also its printer.¹ It is a scathing assessment of the late queen’s reign, describing the five years of Mary’s tenure on the English throne in terms of a complete and prolonged solar eclipse:

When date of (1553) was expirde ful,
And Gods wrath ryp, ready to fall,
His sworde from sheath did ferce out pul,
And to the heauens beganne to call,
Saying:—on England now I shall
Plage prince, prophet, and people all,
For contemptes sake!
Go, Death, inclose their kyng in clay,
And, Sunne, withdraw the light of day,
And darkenes make.

.....

When darknes thus echwhere was sen,

And nightly vermin rulde the rost,
 No birds might syng in that late euen,
 By land, by sea, or by the coast,
 But straight were brought to firy post,
 Or els to Lolers tower² tost,
 And kept in cage,—
 From meate and frend somtimes so bard,
 That lomy wales they fed on hard,
 Hunger to swage. (1-10, 21-30)

The darkness simultaneously symbolizes religious oppression and facilitates the circumstances under which it can develop. It is in darkness that the “bats and owles from holes out came, / Wolues and beares, and cruel Caim [Cain] / Did England inuade” (18-20). This long (Catholic) night allows these creatures to make religious changes. The owls come to the churches

And with new broumes them clene out swept,
 From God, from king and Scripture set
 Vpon the wall,
 And in their stede set ydols long,
 And make people, with prayse and song,
 On them to call. (35-40)

The conflation of Mary's reign with foreign power is developed next in the poem, with

the “vermin darke” (41) who bring in “a forayne” (45), Philip of Spain, “To match our quene and crowne royal” (46). Their efforts are “All for their pope / To haue their kingdome raygne alway, / And they themselues to beare the sway . . .” (47-9). There is no relief for the suffering of the people, as “Came miseries with heape on heape” (62), including the loss of “Calis for whych ye mone” (79). The Protestant persecutions, alluded to in the burning and caging of the birds in the third stanza, forms the topic of God’s words to England towards the end of the poem. In the penultimate stanza, the sacrifice of the martyrs and their families is the impetus for the softening of God’s implacable attitude towards His people:

My martirs bloud shed out thys day,

In wofull plyght!

The infantes yong that fatherles be,

Wyth wydowes poore crying to me,

Wythdrawes my spyte. (86-90)

The light finally returns when God orders “Elizabeth, thys realme nowe guyde!” (94).

The only mention of Mary in the poem, and then not by name, occurs in the section about her marriage. It is the vermin instead who have power, who “the mastry had / Of realme, of prince, of noble and all” (41-2). Like these Marian vermin, the regime becomes the target of vituperation in John Knox’s almost contemporary text, *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (1558), because it exemplifies all forms of wickedness, including subjection to a foreign power:

in these our ages, we find cruelty, falsehood, pride, covetousness, deceit, and oppression. In them we also find the spirit of Jezebel and Athaliah; under them we find the simple people oppressed, the true religion extinguished, and the blood of Christ's members most cruelly shed. And finally, by their practices and deceit, we find ancient realms and nations given and betrayed into the hands of strangers, the titles and liberties of them taken from the just possessors. (66)

Knox anticipates the death of the queen about whom he writes, but not the consequent problems created by publishing a polemic against female monarchy as a new Protestant queen took power. His final comments about Mary's imminent destruction accurately forecast the futility of her religious policies and the role of the Almighty in orchestrating her demise:

I fear not to say that the day of vengeance, which shall apprehend that horrible monster Jezebel of England and such as maintain her monstrous cruelty, is already appointed in the counsel of the Eternal; and I verily believe that it is so nigh that she shall not reign so long in tyranny as hitherto she hath done, when God shall declare himself to be her enemy, when he shall pour forth contempt upon her according to her cruelty, and shall kindle the hearts of such as sometime did favor her with deadly hatred against her, that they may execute his judgments. (77-8)

In contrast to the Catholic texts discussed in the previous chapter, the hand of providence working here, as it does in "The Wonders of England," is clearly Protestant. In Catholic works, God may have preserved Mary from her enemies and for the throne, but He is

ultimately the saviour of English Protestantism when He arranges for the death of the queen and the reversion of the country to the new faith. The instrumentality of providence to this victory is a theme that is repeated throughout the Protestant texts that I examine in this chapter and the next.³ This bifurcation of providence along Protestant and Catholic lines is echoed in posthumous representations of Mary. The texts analyzed in Chapter 1 prove that the living queen was the subject of encomiastic rhetoric, but characterizations such as Knox's demonstrate that Mary could also be the target of Protestant invective. After her death, the vitriol of Protestants who suffered under the Marian regime in exile, in silence, or in marginalization could be given full expression within her former realm. Writers like John Ponet (*Short Treatise of Politic Power* [1556]), Christopher Goodman (*How Superior Powers Ought to Be Obeyed* [1558]), John Aylmer (*An Harborow for Faithful and True Subjects* [1559]), and Thomas Brice (*A Compendious Register in Metre* [1559]), as well as Knox, anticipate the later demonization of Catholicism, especially the Marian Catholic hegemony, in the work of John Foxe (Garcia 80). Alison Shell maintains that religious polemic "creates, but also acknowledges, an other" (17). For the texts of Knox and company, as well as for Foxe, the Catholic queen is assuredly the other.

The text often viewed as seminal to the blackening of Mary's posthumous reputation is Foxe's magisterial work, called *Actes and Monuments of These Latter and Perilous Dayes* in its 1563 incarnation and published in three ever-expanding editions in his lifetime (1570, 1576, 1583).⁴ Although Foxe's text, popularly called the *Book of*

Martyrs,⁵ refers to Mary's reign as bloody, he never uses the phrase "Bloody Mary" for the queen. Nevertheless, his "legacy lay less in learned history and more in popular prejudice" (Loades, *Tragical* 8). It is because of that prejudice that Beem, writing nearly 450 years after Mary's death, is able to call Foxe "the Protestant martyrologist who created the enduring image of 'Bloody Mary'" (1). Foxe constructs a reign inseparable from the victimization of the godly, whose arrests, examinations, terms of imprisonment, and executions are meticulously rendered for a Protestant audience,⁶ but his portrait of Mary is somewhat more measured. While she is clearly responsible, in a general sense, for fostering the conditions under which the persecutions could occur and she is considered God's punishment, she is rarely actively evil in the same way that Bonner and other Catholics are characterized. In other words, she is not some blood-drenched monster, a figure "red in tooth and claw" (Tennyson 166),⁷ but a misguided, unhappy, and intermittently cruel queen. Foxe's impact on Mary's posthumous representation can be attributed, at least partly, to the influence of the expensive martyrology: written in English instead of the more scholarly Latin which Foxe had earlier used in briefer treatments of historical martyrdom,⁸ it was purchased not only by individual readers or families, but also made available at court, in many parish churches, and, by order of the 1571 Convocation, in all cathedral churches.⁹ Next to the Bible, the lengthier *Acts and Monuments* was the most influential book of the period,¹⁰ so its version of Mary Tudor, bolstered by various evidence, including the documentation of her own letters, and authorized by the ecclesiastical institutionalization that caused it to be chained with the

vernacular Bible to pulpits throughout England, was acceptable to a Protestant ascendancy.¹¹

The most profitable way of deconstructing Foxe's Mary is to begin at the end because the deathbed scene contains ideas fully developed elsewhere. Indeed, this section of his narrative of Mary's reign supplies to history the enduring myth of the queen's supposed torment in her last days, generated principally by the recent loss of Calais.¹² Aside from providing the date and time, the "the sayd xvij. day of Nouember, in the yeare aboue sayde [1558], about 3. or 4. a clocke in the morning . . ." (12.2098; 8.624), he is almost silent on the nature of the death itself, but he is very interested in the discontent which she exhibits during her final illness:

As touching the maner of whose death, some say that she dyed of a Tympany, some by her much sighing before her death, supposed she dyed of thought & sorow. Wherevpon her Counsell seing her sighing, & desirous to know the cause, to the ende they might minister the more readye consolation vnto her, feared, as they sayd, that she took þt thought for the kinges Maiesty her husband, which was gone from her. To whom she answering againe: In deed (sayd she) that may be one cause, but that is not the greatest wound that pearseth my oppressed minde: but what that was she would not expresse to them.

Albeit, afterward she opened the matter more plainly to M. Rise¹³ and Mistres Clarentius¹⁴ (if it be true that they tolde me, whiche hearde it of M. Rise himselfe)

who then being most familiar with her, & most bold about her, tolde her that they feared she took thought for king Philips departing from her.

Not that onely (sayde she) but when I am dead & opened, you shall find Calice lying in my hart. &c. And here an end of Queene Mary, and of her persecution.

(12.2098; 8.624-5)

In another context and without the mention of the Protestant persecution, the presentation of this event, with the apparent poignancy of Mary's suffering, could be considered a somewhat sympathetic one. An argument could be made that this passage in Foxe, if judged in isolation, is not devoid of compassionate overtones as it emphasizes her despondency at the absence of her husband and the loss of Calais. However, the composite portrait of Mary in the *Acts and Monuments* is unrelentingly negative, so Foxe's description of a doleful dying queen is an essential component of his construction of Mary-as-persecutor, which is signalled by the final phrase of the extract.

Mary's focus in the deathbed scene, even in the last words Foxe ascribes to her, is on "earthlie things" (John 3.12),¹⁵ quite literally in the case of Calais. Her preoccupation with the state of her corpse also signals a groundedness in the corporeal world. Foxe's martyrs,¹⁶ conversely, articulate an attentiveness to spiritual matters as they approach death, so their final utterances typically reveal not only that their gazes are firmly on the divine but also that they are cognizant of fulfilling a Christological pattern of martyrdom.¹⁷ This generalization does not negate a concern for the life of the world, particularly for those who will be left in that world, as, for instance, letters to loved ones

often disclose.¹⁸ Near the stake, those most famous of Marian martyrs, Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley,¹⁹ spend some little time on mundane arrangements, like the divestment of their clothes, but then they become wholly engrossed by the prospect of the next world, attained through a death like Christ's:²⁰

And so the fire beyng geuen vnto them, when D. Ridley saw the fire flamying vp toward hym, he cryed wyth a wonderfull lowd voyce: In manus tuas Domine, commendo spiritum meum, Domine recipe spiritum meum, and after repeated this latter part often in English: Lord, Lord, receyue my spirit: M. Latymer crying as vehemently on the other side: Oh Father of Heauen receyue my soule: who receyued the flame as it were embrasing of it. (11.1770; 7.550)

Although Latimer died fairly quickly "with very litle payne or none" (11.1770; 7.550), his co-religionist was slow to burn and so his prolonged ordeal was more excruciating.²¹ Even in such wretchedness, Ridley does not forget his God, "hauyng in his mouth: Lord haue mercy vppon me, intermedling this cry, let the fire come vnto me, I can not burne" (11.1770; 7.551).²² In the *Acts and Monuments*, Mary, whose deathbed is comfortable by comparison to martyrdom by burning,²³ expends no thought on the divine or the afterlife, except to muse upon the disposition of her dead body. In the early modern period, the deathbed was "seen as the supreme trial of faith" (Houlbrooke 183), but the site of Mary's dying is rooted in the mundane. The deathbed scene is shorn of all the sacramental ritual that grants a comfort and serenity to Mary in her last days, at least according to the Catholic sources, and in its place there is emphasis on her inner turmoil, also mentioned

in the eyewitness account of her death which forms part of Clifford's *The Life of Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria*. Even if the reporter, identified as Master Rise by Foxe, was not present for the administering of extreme unction, the martyrologist was aware of Catholic practice generally, against which he argues punctiliously throughout the *Acts and Monuments*, and, as a result, he would have known of the activity focussed on a dying Catholic. Yet his text omits this information. In this case, as in others, Foxe probably fashioned and coloured the available material not in a deliberate attempt to falsify evidence, but to present more effectively the meta-truth of the rightness of the Protestant cause.²⁴ As Patrick Collinson suggests, "Foxe was indeed a historian and a great one, whose veracity is to be judged by the manner in which he composed his history, a matter not of invention, still less of forgery, but of discrimination, interpretation, and most of all of omission and deliberate exclusion" ("Truth and Legend" 36).²⁵ Collinson elsewhere describes Foxe's fashioning of his material as a disregard for "history's second law, according to Cicero, to make bold to tell the whole truth" ("Truth, Lies, and Fiction" 49).²⁶ Furthermore, the difference in emphasis and tone in Foxe's account, indicative of bias but not necessarily a complete lack of veracity, may simply be attributed to his belonging to a faith antithetical to Catholicism. Houlbrooke argues that "Assessment of the goodness or badness of a death depended largely upon the standpoint of the observer. The manner of a person's departure might be interpreted in very different ways by friends and enemies, by clergy and their parishioners, or by people of differing religious persuasions" (211). Foxe's presentation of Mary's death suggests not only her

difference from the godly, whose faith makes them focus on the divine, but also a deficiency in religious practice that fails to turn the dying Catholic's thoughts to matters spiritual.²⁷

Because it usually took place in the presence of onlookers with the expectation that the dying person would make certain utterances or fulfill certain acts, death in the early modern period is not indivisible from performance, and nowhere is that more obvious than in the public forum initiated by the appearance of a condemned man or woman at a scaffold or executioner's block or pyre.²⁸ The comportment of the dying, therefore, was an important component in the drama occasioned by death, especially insofar as it enabled the audience to judge whether the death had been "good" or "bad." The regretful tone that permeates the narrative of Mary's deathbed is not induced by pity, but it does provide Foxe with an apposite contrast to the manner of death experienced by the martyrs, who often approach their impending immolation with a joy that does not dissipate when they experience the reality of the flames destroying their own flesh. Because of her melancholia, the dying queen is unable to feel the same transformative joy as the martyrs. According to John R. Knott, the "insistence upon joy, upon being 'merry' at the prospect of death, is one of the dominant notes of the martyrs themselves" (82),²⁹ a note which Foxe summarizes near the end of the *Acts and Monuments*:

Let vs now enter the consideration of the blessed Martyrs, who although they suffered in their bodyes, yet reioyced they in theyr spirites, and albeit they were persecuted of men, yet were they comforted of the Lorde wyth suche inwarde ioy

and peace of conscience, that some writing to theyr friendes, professed they were neuer so merrie before in all theyr lyues, some leapt for ioye, some for tryumphe woulde put on theyr Scarfes, some theyr wedding garment goyng to the fire, other kissed the stake, some embraced the Fagottes, some clapte theyr handes, some song Psalmes, vniuersally they all forgave, and prayed for ther enemies, no murmuring, no repining was euer heard amongst them. . . . (12.2113; 8.668-9)

Foxe indicates that joy, expressed through the various words and actions of the martyrs, was merely the outward manifestation of internal happiness engendered by divine succour, paradoxically a sign of God's favour even though the condemned were executed as heretics.³⁰ "By displaying courage and dignity in death, at least by the evidence of Foxe's account, the martyrs were able to turn the spectacles of their executions into triumphs of faith rather than vindications of the truth and authority of the church. By their actions and their bearing they overcame the weight of official symbolism" (Knott 80).³¹ The behaviour of the Marian martyrs, as well as those persecuted in the early Church, exemplifies the text set forth in the Geneva Bible's "Argument" to the Acts of the Apostles, that "God turneth the troubles, persecutions, imprisonings and tentations of his, to a good yssue, giuing them as it were, in sorrowe, ioye: in bandes, fredome: in prison, deliuerance: in trouble, quietnes: in death, life" (54).³² Euphoria as visible evidence of God's special favour reinforces, probably in a way the martyrs' pain never could, the extent to which these models should be emulated.³³ Its demonstration in the midst of intense physical torment could also be considered a means through which the

martyr can accrue power.³⁴ As James C. W. Truman contends, “martyrdom inverts the Foucauldian model of disciplinary suffering; the subject on the scaffold resists governing authority by translating suffering from an effect of the subject’s dissolution to that which sanctions and empowers the subject, in opposition to the very governing power which inflicts that suffering” (39).³⁵

The accounts of the martyrs themselves illustrate the ubiquity of joyfulness in the face of adversity to the extent that Knott refers to it as “part of the unwritten script” (82), a script derived from the ur-text of the Bible which stipulates a connection between death and euphoria in passages like “I Reioyced, when they said to me, We wil go into the house of the Lord” (Ps. 122.1). John Rogers, whom Foxe identifies as “the first Protomartyr of all that blessed company that suffered in Queene Maryes time, that gaue the first aduenture vpon the fire,” pioneers the characteristic attitude: “he constantly and cheerefully tooke his death with woonderfull patience, in þ^e defence & quarell of Christes Gospell,” in spite of the “sorowfull sight of hys owne flesh and bloud” (11.1493; 6.612), his wife and children, who met him on his progress towards Smithfield.³⁶ The next story in the martyrology, detailing the ordeal of Laurence Saunders, demonstrates that joy is not simply a feeling induced by the immediate proximity to the place of execution:

Furthermore, he that did lye with him [Saunders] afterwarde in prison in the same bed, reported that he heard him say that euen in the time of his examination, he was wonderfully comforted, in so much as not only in spirite, but also in body, he receaued a certayne taste of that holy communion of Saincts, whilst a most

pleasant refreshing did issue from euery part and member of the body vnto the seate & place of the hart, and from thence did ebbe and flow to and fro, vnto all the partes againe. (11.1495; 6.616-7)³⁷

Saunders experiences God's comfort both spiritually and corporeally, and in its latter manifestation it functions as a somatic restorative.³⁸ Such divine solace translates into a kind of physical joy, reported as "a most pleasant refreshing," that courses through the body of the martyr, even during the rigours of his examination by the Catholic authorities. John Careless advises his wife to be joyful as he approaches his martyrdom as a function of Protestant belief and commitment:

And therefore (my deare wife) as you haue hartily reioyced in the Lord, and oftentimes geuen God thanks for his goodnes, in bringing vs together in his holy ordinaūce: euē so now I desire you, when this time of our seperation shal come, to reioyce with me in the Lord, and to geue him most harty thanks, that he hath (to his glory and our endles commodity) separated vs againe for a little time, & hath mercifully taken me vnto himselfe, forth of this miserable world, into his celestiaall kingdom: beleuing and hoping also assuredly, that God of hys goodnesse, for his sonne Christes sake, will shortlye bring you and your deare children thither to me, that we maye moste ioyfully together sing prayes vnto his glorious name for euer. And yet once agayne I desire you for the loue of God and as euer you loued me, to reioyce with me, and to geue God continuall thanks for doing his most mercifull wil vpon me. (11.1922; 8.173)

The reiteration of the characteristic of joyfulness within the individual stories of the Marian martyrs proclaims the extent to which God blesses them and the Church to which they belong. Even as they are sent by the authorities to their immolation and condemned for expressing heretical doctrine, they are not abandoned by their Saviour. This availability of divine favour to those designated as enemies of the official Church and their consequent participation in merriment is readily communicated to onlookers. Resigned to execution by burning, Rowland Taylor, an early martyr like Rogers and Saunders, astonishes "the Shiriffe and his company" by failing to meet their expectations of fear at the prospect of such a horrific death. Instead, the doomed man jokes with them, ironically taking as the subject of his jest the very circumstances of his annihilation at the stake:

I am as you see, a man that hath a very great carkase, which I thought should haue bene buried in Hadley Churchyarde if I had dyed in my bed, as I well hoped I shoulde haue done: but herein I see I was deceyued: and there are a greate number of wormes in Hadley Churchyard, which should haue had ioly feeding vpon this cariō, which they haue looked for many a day. But now I know we be deciued, both I and they: for this carkase must bee burnt to ashes and so shall they lose theyr bayt and feding, that they looked to haue had of it. (11.1525; 6.696)

Taylor's quips on worms' food and the ultimate end of his body are quite different from the gallows humour exemplified by the Catholic Sir Thomas More on the scaffold, termed a "mocke" (8.1069; 5.100) by Foxe, for they exhibit, through utterance, the

godliness of his “constaunt minde” (11.1525; 6.696) (Knott 82). Later in the Taylor narrative, Foxe relates another example of the martyr’s jokes, “what a notable sway should I geue if I were hanged, meaning for that he was a corpulent and bigge man,” to show “what a notable and singuler gift of spirit and courage God had geuen to this godly and blessed martyr” (11.1527; 6.700).³⁹ Other outward manifestations of such steadfastness can be found on his final journey to Hadley. As he approaches the site of his former domicile and benefice, he dismounts from his horse, “which done, he lepte, and fet a friske or twain, as mē commonly do in daunsing” (11.1526; 6.697). When the sheriff asks after him, Taylor reveals that his dancing steps are evidence of “holy joy”⁴⁰ brought on by the closeness of his earthly and heavenly homes: “Well God be prayesd, good Mayster Shiriffe. Neuer better: for now I know I am almost at home. I lacke not past two stiles to go ouer, and I am euen at my fathers house. . . . O good Lord, I thanke thee. I shall yet once ere I dye see my flocke, whom thou Lord knowest I haue most hartely loued, and truly taught” (11.1526; 6.697).

Other martyrs do not have to rely on speech to transmit their happiness. John Hooper, formerly bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, is barred from speaking to the crowd at his execution and suffers from the pain of sciatica. Nevertheless, his physical demeanour broadcasts joy as readily as do the jokes of Rowland Taylor. Joy transforms the physical body, as well as the spirit:

All the way being straitly charged not to speake, he could not bee perceiued once to open his mouth, but beholding the people all the way which mourned bitterly

for him, he would sometimes lift vp his eyes towards heauen, & looke very cherefully vpon such as he knew: & he was neuer known during the tyme of his beyng amongst them to looke with so chearefull and ruddish a countenance as he did at that present. When he came to the place appoynted where hee shoul dye, smilingly he beheld the stake and prepar[a]tion made for him . . . (11.1509; 6.656)

In Foxe, the script of martyrly happiness, whether verbal or nonverbal, can be easily understood by witnesses. Collinson asserts that "Whether or not they really cracked jokes on their way to the fire, or fetched great leaps, or clapped their hands in the flames for sheer joy, it was necessary to include such details as manifestations of that *apatheia* which, in the Aristotelian ethical scheme, is true courage, a mean between cowardice and rash self-destruction" ("Truth, Lies, and Fiction" 65).⁴¹

The motif of joy is absent from Foxe's account of the death of Mary Tudor. However, to deem her death as *very* bad would be incorrect because she evinces no signs of despair or of delirium, two criteria of the "bad" death (Houlbrooke 198-9). In fact, her continuing ability to speak intelligibly and the length of her illness are usually features of a "good" death. But interfering with its achievement are the melancholy and the distress, which are conveyed through her words and sighs. In the *Acts and Monuments*, God relieves the anguish of condemned Protestants, like Robert Glover, who receives "holy comfort and heauenly ioyes" (11.1713; 7.398) in the minutes before his execution, but Mary remains bereft of such solace. Consequently, the manner of her dying becomes part of a pattern of "bad" and/or timely deaths visited upon the persecutors of Protestants in

fulfilment of such Scriptural passages as Jeremiah 20.11: "But the Lord is with me as a mightie gyant: therefore my persecutors shalbe ouerthrowen, and shal not preuaile, and shal be greatly confoūded: for they haue done unwisely, and their euerlasting shame shal never be forgotten." What is significant here is that within the queen's heart resides the origin or residue of her contemplation of her military defeat, and that the presence of that idea interferes with her tranquility, especially spiritually, as she approaches her death.⁴²

According to Thomas Wright, "the very seate of all Passions, is the heart, both of men and beasts: diuers reasons mooue mee to this opinion. First, the verie common experience men trie daily and hourelly in themselues, for . . . who is moiled with heauinesse, or plunged with payne, and perceiueh not his heart to bee coercted?" (61).

That her lack of serenity on her deathbed is a barrier between her and God is confirmed by the Catholic prayer contained in the prologue of the medieval text, *The Cloud of Unknowing*: "To you, O God, every heart stands open and every will speaks; no secret is hidden from you. I implore you so to purify the intention of my heart with the gift of your grace that I may love you perfectly and praise you worthily. Amen" (100). There is nothing startling in Mary's supposed assessment of one of her organs, for it was a commonplace not only of the period for the heart to be associated with truth. Cranmer's *Book of Common Prayer* (1549), for instance, conflates the heart with the process of thought in a way that is not irreconcilable with Catholicism, as this intercession reveals: "Almightie God, unto whom all hartes bee open, and all desyres knowen, and from whom no secretes are hid: clense the thoughtes of our hartes, by the inspiracion of thy holy

spirite . . ." (212).⁴³ The spiritual cleansing or "refreshing" experienced by martyrs like Saunders and processed through the heart is unavailable to Catholic Mary. Foxe methodically sets the wretched ends of the victimizers against the deaths of the godly martyrs who, in spite of the extreme pain of death by burning, are merry near or in the fire.⁴⁴ This contrast is made explicit after a brief summary of the happy deaths of the Marian martyrs:

what greater prooffe can we haue to iustifie theyr cause and doctrine agaynst the persecuting Church of Rome, then to behold the endes of them both: First, of the Protestantes, how quietly they tooke theyr deathe, and chearefully rested in the Lord: and contrariwise to marke these persecuters what a wretched end commonly they doe all come vnto.

Experience whereof we haue sufficient, in the examples a-aboue declared: and also of late in Boner, who albeit he dyed in his bed vnrepentaunt, yet was it so prouided by God, that as he had bene a persecuter of the light, and a childe of darkenes, so his carkase was tumbled into the earthe in obscure darcknes at midnight, contrary to the order of all other Christians: and as he had bene a murderer, so was hee layd amongst theeues & murtherers, a place by Gods iudgement rightly appoynted for him. (12.2113; 8.669)

The antinomic deaths of the persecutor and the persecuted, of Catholic and Protestant, advance the Foxean certitude that the Church to which the martyrs belonged and to which

they clung *in extremis* is the only true Church.

In many ways, Mary's death shares few characteristics with that of her minister, Stephen Gardiner, who in Foxe's narrative is appropriately stricken with a terrible and fatal illness after he receives word of the execution of Ridley and Latimer at Oxford.⁴⁵ His spirits bolstered by this welcome news, the bishop, in the company of the duke of Norfolk, sits down to eat what will become his final meal:

The bloody Tyraunt had not eaten a few bittes, but the soden stroke of God, his terrible hande fell vpon him in such sort, as immediatly he was taken from the table, and so brought to his bedde, where he continued the space of 15. dayes in such intollerable anguish and tormentes, that all that meane while, during those. 15. dayes, he could not auoyde by order of vrine, or otherwyse, any thing that he receiued: whereby, his body being miserably inflamed within (who had inflamed so many good Martyrs before) was brought to a wretched end. And thereof no dout, as most like it is, came the thrustyng out of his tongue from his mouth so swolne and blacke, with the inflammation of his body. A spectacle worthy to be noted and beholden of all such bloody buryng persecutors. (11.1787-8; 7.593)

A *paralepsis* signals Foxe's coyness in his presentation of this so convenient and apt death when he begins the anecdote with the announcement that

Wherefore as touching the maner and order of his death, how rich he died, what wordes he spake, what litle repentaunce he shewed, whether he died with his tongue swolne and out of his mouth, as did Thomas Arundell Archbishop of

Caunterbury, or whether he stonke before he dyed, as Cardinall Wolsey did, or whether he dyed in dispayre as Latomus and others did. &c. All this I referre either to their reportes of whom I hearde it, or leaue it to the knowledge of them whiche know it better. (11.1787; 7.592)

While this strategy, as well as his calling the tale of Gardiner's death "a certaine hearesay" (11.1787; 7.592), might negate its authenticity, his mention of (mostly unnamed) sources, as well as the preciseness of the account, bolsters its credibility. The presence of these caveats, however, is not sufficient for Foxe to jettison the anecdote from the text because it corroborates his argument that retribution will fall on the persecutors of Protestants,⁴⁶ that the emergence of a godly community is contingent on the raising of the weak and the casting down of the strong. Gardiner's suffering experienced in the process of dying, therefore, is a more extreme and obvious example of a "bad" death than that of his sovereign, but they both form part of a chain of evidence illustrating the eventual outcome—the eventual punishment—that awaits those who persecuted the members of the true Church.⁴⁷

Foxe uses somatic imagery to create further disparity between victimizer and victimized. At a simple level, this approach allows him to reflect the purity of the soul in physical beauty and ungodliness in ugliness and deformity. This idea is not the sole province of Protestants, for it can also be found in Catholic texts, like Wright's:

The heart of a man changeth his countenance, whether it be in good or euill: for in anger and feare we see men, either extreame pale, or high colored; in

melancholy and sadnes, the eies are heauy; in ioy and pleasure, the motions of the eies are liuely & pleasant, according to the old proverb . . . a reioycing heart maketh merry the face. (49-50)

In the moments before his burning, Latimer visibly transforms from “a withered and crooked sillie olde man” to “as comely a person to them that were there present, as one should lightly see” (11.1769; 7.549).⁴⁸ Though such a miracle would not be out of place in the kind of Catholic hagiography against which Foxe is often writing, it provides an easy means for the recognition of virtue.⁴⁹ In contrast to Latimer, Gardiner’s deathbed reveals his sin through the signs of the inflamed body and the distended, blackened tongue. Indeed, the body is often the site on which the sins of Catholics in positions of power materialize. According to the Foxean paradigm that equates sin with bodily grotesqueness and the like, the gluttony of Pope Julius III, for which he suffers gout, becomes inextricable from his own blasphemy. In order to relieve the pain of the gout, the doctor tries to ban pork from the diet of his papal patient, an instruction which provides the conditions for execration: “Bring me, sayd he, my Porkeflesh Al dispetto di Dio: That is to say in English, In the despight of God” (11.1560; 7.36). Perhaps the most notorious example of this nexus of the body and sin in the *Acts and Monuments* is seen in the deformed feet of Gardiner:

Vpon hys estimation and fame he stoode to too muche more then was meete for a man of hys coate and callynge, whose profession was to be crucified vnto the world, whiche thing made him so stiffe in mayntayning that hee had once begon

to take vpon hym. I will not heare speake of þt which hath bene constantly reported to me, touching the monstrous making & mishaped fashion of hys feete and toes, the nayles wherof were sayd not to bee like to other mens, but to crooke downeward, and to be sharpe lyke þe clawes of rauening beastes. (11.1785; 7.586)

The bestial quality of Gardiner's extremities, which is introduced through the vehicle of the *paralepsis*, is emblematic of his character: his feet are substantiation of his iniquity. Truman's remarks about Bonner could also be applied to Gardiner, although the former is given an additional abnormality through his participation in incidents that have definite pederastic overtones: "Bonner, with his grotesque desires and deformed body with its 'belly lowen and head so swolne,' becomes the transgressive and carnivalesque form against which the classically contained subject of martyrdom may be differentiated" (47).⁵⁰

The linking of virtue and sin to the body manifests itself in a very particular way in the physical vestiges that remain after death. Mary predicts that her viscera, specifically her heart, will confirm a notable failure of her reign, the military catastrophe resulting in the loss of Calais. Indeed, such is the extent of her anguish at this event that she states that the opening of her body, a step necessary for embalming, will lead to the discovery of a heart metaphorically burdened by the lost French port. Foxe's Mary is not innovative here, as her heart would fit the general "terrain" for the organ framed by Stephen W. Sykes: "The topography of the heart reveals it to be a place with caverns and recesses, which can be inspected, in which fires can be lit, into which and out of which

liquids can be poured, and which can be made a certain kind of place" (5). What is significant is Mary's recognition that her heart, though not precisely injured, is encumbered and, thus, abnormal. The hearts of the godly are of a different order, not only in terms of the "holy joy" with which they are infused. Under the most incredible circumstances, their hearts can retain a perfection that mirrors their status as Foxean paragons:

The report goeth, that after his [Zwingli's] body was cut first in 4. peeces, and then consumed with fire, three daies after hys death, his frēds came to see whether any part of him was remaining, where they found his hart in the ashes, whole and vnburned: in much like maner as was also the hart of Cranmer Archbishop of Canterburie, which in the ashes also was founde and taken vp vnconsumed, as by credible information is testified. (7.873; 4. 345)⁵¹

This argument is somewhat complicated by comparing the passage about Mary's heart, to which a metaphor is central, to a second, quoted above, which is more literal. It does seem to extend the idea that the heart is "key . . . not only to perpetuating the life of the body but also to understanding the life of the soul and the passions. God's image and His Word were inscribed in the heart/conscience of the faithful" (Slights 19).⁵² The miraculous state of the hearts of Zwingli and Cranmer, whose entire bodies are otherwise destroyed by fire, is evidence of "Protestant providences that, unlike the tales of hagiography, can be safely reported on the basis of credible testimony" (Woolf, "Rhetoric" 246). On a basic level, the queen's burdened heart compares unfavourably to

the marvelous heart-wholeness of Zwingli and Cranmer; on a symbolic level, Mary's heart registers imperfection as readily as the hearts of Zwingli and her great enemy Cranmer signal (spiritual) flawlessness and divine favour.

Cranmer excepted, the viscera of the godly, specifically of the Marian martyrs, are consumed in the flames. Their bodies, including their hearts, metamorphose from recognizably human to ash and other residue of cremation. Indeed, that was the point of execution through burning: the officially designated heretic ceased to be part of the human community, ceased, in a physical sense, to be human at all, and transformed into the remnants of fire, indistinguishable, except for bone fragments, from the residuum of other conflagrations.⁵³ Mary's remains, on the other hand, have—or are expected to have—a materiality that the martyrs cannot match. In the text, the centrality of Mary's heart to her posthumous memorialization and the precedence awarded to the body indicates a kind of presence that parallels, to a limited extent, the Eucharistic presence which underpins the rituals attached to transubstantiation and communion in the Catholic Mass. The emphasis on corporeality and on the containment of a presence within a greater framework underlies Catholic ideology, a doctrine explicitly rejected in Protestant belief.⁵⁴ This ontological difference emanates from opposing perceptions of the nature of the Eucharist:

the mass becomes a metaphor for one's apprehension of Christ.

Transubstantiation [is] the Catholic belief that the host actually contains the body of Christ. . . . Calvinist theology held that the body of Christ was present in

heaven, and simultaneously, symbolically, in the wafer. Such a perception led to a temporal rather than a spatial understanding of Christ, for Christ could not be physically, spatially, visually, localized, but rather existed on different planes, in different ways, both inside and outside of human time. (Coats 13)

That the multivalency of the symbol that is the queen's heart can reproduce a sense of presence, means that her body is a simulacrum for the more profound Catholic belief in the Eucharistic mystery of the Mass. It is against this article of faith that the Protestant martyrs often argued in their examinations.⁵⁵ Lady Jane Grey's disputation with John Feckenham, a prominent Marian churchman, called Fecknam in Foxe's text, is a famous, though still representative, example:

Feck. Why? what doe you receiue in that Sacrament? Doe you not receiue the very body and bloud of Christ?

Iane. No surely, I doe not so beleue. I thinke that at the Supper I neyther receiue flesh nor bloude, but bread and wine: Which bread when it is broken, and the wine when it is dronken, putteth mee in remembraunce howe that for my sinnes the body of Christ was broken, & his bloudshed on the Crosse, and with that breade and wine I receiue the benefites that come by the breaking of his body, & shedding of his bloud for our sinnes on the Crosse.

Feck. Why? doeth not Christ speake these woordes: Take eate, this is my body? Require you any plainer words? doeth he not say it is his body?

Iane. I graunt hee sayeth so: and so he sayth, I am the vine, I am the doore, but hee

is neuer the more for that the dore nor the vine. Doth not S. Paul say, He calleth things that are not as though they were? God forbid that I should say that I eat the very naturall body and bloud of Christ: for then eyther I should plucke away my redēption, either els there were two bodies, or two Christes. (10.1419; 6.416-7)⁵⁶

Although Jane connects Protestant communion with the literal in a manner that is alien to Catholic Eucharistic ritual, she also briefly explores the symbolic possibilities offered by the use of the bread and the wine as reminders of Christ's Passion. However, she summarily rejects the idea that divine presence inheres in these consumables in the way that Catholics believe that "Christe by hys power coulde make his body both to be eaten and broken" in a miracle as potent as the virgin birth or walking on water (10.1419; 6.417). That Mary is an exponent of the Mass, with its misguided approach to communion, is made clear by its immediate association with the new monarch in "The Preface to the Reader," which opens the section of the text entitled "The beginning of the tenth booke conteyning the horrible and bloody tyme of QVEENE MARY": "WE ARE come now to the tyme of Queene Mary, when as so many were put to death for the cause especially of the Masse, and the sacramente of the Altar (as they cal it) . . ." (10.1397; 6. 356).⁵⁷ Foxe takes the opportunity offered by Mary's accession to launch a disquisition on "the great absurditie, wicked abuse, and perillous idolatry of the popish Masse" (10.1397; 6.356). Throughout the *Acts and Monuments*, he links Mary to the Mass in ways that make more comprehensible the idea that her corpse embodies a sense of presence in an admittedly circumscribed reflection of the divine presence extant in the

host. For instance, Foxe interpolates Mary's letters into the part of the text that deals with the reign of Edward VI, and it is in these missives that she objects to the alteration of religion in England. Her letter to the king, dated 19 August 1551, shows her to be immovable on the subject of the Catholic Mass and her desire to attend it, in spite of the opposition of her brother, the protector, and the council, explicit in other correspondence and in the detainment of her chaplain, Dr. Mallet. Her condemnation of servants who "should moue or attempt me in matters touching my soule" leads to her comments on the Mass and its significance to her:

hauing for my part vtterly refused heeretofore to talke with them in such matters, and of all other persons least regarded them therein, to whome I haue declared what I thinke, as shee which trusted that your Maiestie woulde haue suffered mee your poore sister and beadewomā to haue vsed the accustomed masse, which the King your father & mine with all his predecessours did euermore vse, wherein also I haue ben brought vp frō my youth. And therevnto my conscience doth not only bind me, which by no meanes will suffer me to thinke one thing and do another, but also the promise made to the Emperour by your Maiesties counsaile, was an assurance to me, that in so doing I should not offend the lawes, although they seeme nowe to qualifie and denye the thing. And at my last wayting vpon your Maiesty, I was to bolde to declare my mind and conscience to the same, and desired your highnes, rather then you should constraine me to leaue Masse, to take my life. . . . (9.1338; 6.21)

The letters reveal tensions within Mary's family, which do not end with the death of her brother or her succession and marriage. In the *Book of Martyrs*, Foxe uses the *topos* of the correspondence between the macrocosm of the state and the microcosm of the family to assess the reign of Mary Tudor. Accordingly, the queen's failure within her "priuate affayres" (12.2098; 8.625) registers the effects of divine displeasure as significantly as does the loss of Calais.⁵⁸ Indeed, the queen's sighs, as heard in her last days, emblemize this private-public nexus, as Foxe designates the sources of her discontentment as Calais and, to a lesser extent, the absence of her husband. Mary's domestic failure as an unhappy and infertile wife forms part of a dialectical approach to family matters in the text. In contrast to the negative descriptions of the royal, Catholic marital life of Mary and Philip of Spain, Foxe valorizes Protestant domesticity and its concomitant values through the families of certain martyrs, the members of which demonstrate what can be considered godly interaction even *in extremis*.⁵⁹ If the *Book of Martyrs* functions as a kind of conduct book to instruct families in right living within a Protestant kingdom, then Mary's domestic failure acts as a powerful deterrent.⁶⁰

In spite of the religious meaning immanent in Mary's deathbed performance and the emphasis on Calais as the primary source of her melancholic state, a persistent motif throughout Foxe's description of her final days is the absence of Philip. Although the queen accords Calais greater consequence for her mood and behaviour, she does not dismiss the suggestion that being deprived of her spouse also affects her. Furthermore, it is significant that those who surround her during her final ordeal expect that she will

impute her sadness to Philip's absence. On a purely domestic note, the separation of a husband from his wife can undermine the achievement of a "good" death because it can deny to the dying a crucial means of comfort. In this way, Philip violates the generalization that, in death, "Marriage partners were the closest and most constant sources of support" (Houlbrooke 192).⁶¹ Foxe further acknowledges the pain of her husband's absence to Mary in his final summary of the "vnprosperous successe" (12.2098; 8.625) of her reign: God "bereft her of that, which of all earthly thinges should haue bene her chiefe stay of honor, and staffe of comfort, that is, withdrew from her the affectiō and company euen of her owne husband, by whose mariage she had promised before to her selfe whole heapes of such ioy & felicity . . ." (12.2099; 8.627). As with the sadness that pervades Mary's deathbed, the lack of spousal support contrasts her death with those of the martyrs as they go to their executions.⁶²

Foxe's text incorporates many letters from the martyrs to family members, especially spouses, as clear indicators of their close and affectionate bonds.⁶³ In fact, his occasional skillful editing of this material supports the archetype of the godly family, the valorization and promulgation of which was significant in the fostering of a functional Protestant community.⁶⁴ It is Thomas S. Freeman's contention that

Along with Foxe's determination to accentuate the positive domestic morality in the correspondence of the martyrs went an equally strong determination to eliminate anything from them that might have a negative effect on their homiletic value. Thus while Foxe printed the letters and doggerel poems Robert Smith

wrote to his wife and children, which portrayed the martyr's family as an ideal model of godly domesticity, he suppressed an angry letter from Smith to his wife rebuking her for immodest behavior during his imprisonment and threatening to disown her and one of her children. ("Good Ministrye" 28)⁶⁵

Ironically, these letters often offer solace not to the one near death but to the spouse who will be left behind. Robert Glover's missive to his wife, for instance, opens with a prayer that the "peace of conscience which passeth all vnderstāding, the sweete consolation, comfort, strength, and boldnes of the holy Ghost be continually encreased in your heart, thorough a feruent, earnest, and stedfast fayth in our most deare and onely Sauour Iesus Christ, Amen" (11.1710; 7.387). However, Glover's letter reveals that he, unlike his queen, is not deprived of the concern and attention of his spouse, for he expresses gratitude for her letters, the content of which "much relieued and comforted me at all tymes" (11.1710; 7.387). Similarly, the correspondence of Laurence Saunders which Foxe records in the *Acts and Monuments* attests to the kind of devotion lacking in Philip. While in prison awaiting execution, he makes arrangements with his friend, Lucy Harrington, for his family: "And because of that which heretofore I haue conceiued of you and of your more then naturall loue towardes me and mine: I make my selfe thus bold to lay this burdē vpon you, euen the care and charge of my sayd poore wife I meane, to be vnto her a mother & mistres to rule and direct her by your discreet counsell" (11.1501; 6.633). His wife's demonstration of concern for a spouse close to death further emphasizes Philip's husbandly deficiencies. Although "strayte charge was geuen to the

keeper, that no person shoulde speake with" Saunders, "His wife yet came to the prison gate with her yong childe in her armes, to visit her husband" (11.1497; 6.624, 625). Saunders recognizes that visits to the prison could be perilous because he warns her, "Wife you shall do best not to come often vnto the Grate where the Porter may see you. Putte not your selfe in daunger where it needes not: you shall I think, shortly come farre enough into daunger by keeping fayth and a good conscience" (11.1501; 6.633-4). In case the moral of mutual marital concern and devotion developed in these letters and anecdotes is missed, Foxe addresses his reader directly in order to superintend the lesson:

I do (good Reader) recite thys saying, not onely to let thee see what he thought of Priests mariage: but chiefly to let all maryed couples and parents learne to beare in their bosome true affections: naturall, but yet seasoned with the true salt of the spirit, vnfaynedly and thoroughly mortified to do the naturall workes and offices of married couples & parents, so lōg as with their doing they may keepe Christ with a free confessing faith, in a conscience vnfoyled: otherwise, both they and their owne liues are so to be forsaken, as Christ required thē to be denyed, and geuē in his cause[.] (11.1497-8; 6.625)

The exemplarity of the Saunders' treatment of each other in the face of his imminent death contrasts with the behaviour of Philip during his wife's protracted illness in 1558. Because in the text marital behaviour testifies to religious feeling,⁶⁶ Philip's absence at Mary's bedside and from England altogether as her death approached, signals an abandonment by God, which accords with Foxe's conviction of the divine working

against the queen; his summary of her reign is “to the intēt therfore: that all men may vnderstande, howe the blessing of the Lorde God did not onely not proceed with her proceedings, but cōtrary, rather how his manifest displesure euer wrought agaynst her, in plaguing both her and her Realme, and in subuerting all her counselles and attemptes, whatsoeuer she tooke in hand . . .” (12.2098; 8.625).

Foxe intensifies the religious condemnation that coheres with the presentation of Mary’s deathbed through the imagery and rhetoric associated with weddings.⁶⁷ Megan L. Hickerson suggests that

Like the virgin martyrs of the ancient church, Foxe’s modern martyrs reject the things of the world, including idolatry, in fidelity to Christ, their heavenly spouse. To do otherwise would be in effect to commit adultery. Foxe establishes their marital relationships with Christ at times by describing them as married to Christ in election, and at others by describing their deaths as marriages. (119)⁶⁸

The story of Prest’s wife exemplifies this motif in the *Acts and Monuments*. Designated as “a certaine poore woman, and a sely [silly] creature” (12.2050; 8.497) by Foxe, she nonetheless proves herself a steadfast martyr for Christ and for the Protestant cause.⁶⁹ She describes her martyrdom in terms of a marriage in which she, as the bride, will be united with a “heavenly Husband” more satisfactory than her mortal one, a Catholic, by whom she had children. At her indictment, she looks forward to the burning as a form of consummation: “I thanke thee my Lord my God, this daye haue I founde that which I haue long sought” (12.2051; 8.502). Later urged to recant in order to spare her life, she

freely chooses her bridegroom by declaring, "God forbyd that I shoulde loose the life eternall for this carnall and shorte life. I wyll neuer turne from my heauenly husband, to my earthly husband: from the feloshippe of aungels, to mortall children . . ." (12.2052; 8.502). In the brief physical description at the end of the story of Prest's wife, Foxe reinterprets the "holy joy" of the martyrs as the happiness of a bride on her wedding day; thus, the source of her "chearefull countenance, so liuely" is not the hidden "refreshing" of Saunders, but the familiarity of preparing "for that day of her mariage" when she will be joined with her husband, "the Lambe" (12.2052; 8.503).

Obviously, Mary's marital relationship is far more functional than that of the Prests. Because Mary and her husband share the same beliefs, she does not experience the religious strife of Prest's wife, whose husband and children compel her to participate in Catholic rituals that she finds abhorrent. The reemergence of elements of Catholicism in their realm attests to the royal couple's common faith. In Foxe's final summation of Mary's reign, Philip's arrival proves the crucial conduit for radical religious change which had elsewhere formed part of the incursions of the old religion for which the queen had been an advocate. He becomes the cause for the reestablishment of the power of "the Pope and his popishe Masse," as well as the restoration of "pe Monkes and Nunnes vnto theyr places" (12.2098; 8.626). But this commitment to Catholic regeneration, ultimately futile and opposed by God, does not obscure Mary's difficulties with her husband. Comparisons of marriages, whether real or otherworldly, illuminate the multiple failures of Mary Tudor. Not for the queen is there the marital bliss in the corporeal world which

can only be a pale reflection of the ecstatic union experienced by Prest's wife, her impoverished and condemned subject. Moreover, the absence of her husband proves a reminder of another void, for dying Mary will not be infused with the divine love of a Saviour-bridegroom, the attainment and anticipation of which transforms pyres into *loci* of joy. In Christian terms, however, the microcosm that is human marriage invokes the unification of Christ and His Church. Thus, the wedding service printed in the 1559 edition of *The Book of Common Prayer* associates the two states, using materiality to reflect divinity, when the officiant says that marriage "is an honorable estate, instituted of GOD in Paradise, in the time of mannes innocencie: signifyng vnto vs the mysticall vnion, that is betwixt Christ and his church . . ." (Dv^r-v). In addition, Hickerson maintains that the type of metaphysical marriage anticipated by the martyrs through remarks like those of Prest's wife operates in a similar way: "For Foxe's women martyrs to forsake the things of the world, including the traditional obligations of their sex, even disassociating themselves from their familial responsibilities, is to act in a positive manner, proving themselves members of the heavenly city, the invisible church, as brides of Christ" (103). In falling short of the marital communion through which the reality of God is conveyed, Mary's marriage cannot figure forth Christ's relationship with the true Church. The problems in the royal alliance, communicated through the queen's sighs on her deathbed, correspond more accurately to the kind of imperfect relationship Foxe criticizes throughout the *Acts and Monuments*, between Christ and a debased, false, and visible entity, the Roman Catholic Church.⁷⁰

The ordering of material in Foxe's martyrology announces the inextricability of the private and the public in the treatment of Mary Tudor. In outlining the topics within his summary of her reign, there is no clear demarcation between domestic, religious, and political affairs. Of course, any separation of such matters would be highly artificial because, for instance, royal unions necessarily have dynastic and other public implications. The treatment of two of the subjects, Mary's military record and her barrenness, are instructive of the blurring of the lines between the private and the public. In the litany of events that proves the "vnprosperous successe" of Mary's reign, Foxe apports a scant few lines to the terrible famine through which the populace suffered, before he shifts to the military achievements of other kings in contrast to the queen's loss of Calais. This topic superficially has nothing in common with the one that follows, which, in modern parlance, would be termed "fertility problems," but it does implicitly prepare the reader for the failure Foxe attributes to Mary-as-woman. Military victory is clearly a function of masculinity, a connection Foxe establishes through his opening sentence, "where other kinges are wont to bee renowned by some worthy victory and prowes by them achieved, let vs now see what valiaunt victory was gotten in this Queene Maryes dayes" (12.2098; 8.627).⁷¹ In spite of his minority, King Edward VI is the active—not the token—winner of several notable conflicts, which unsurprisingly are signs of divine favour, while King Edward III is lauded for the "princely puissance" (12.2098; 8.627) integral to the victory at Calais, the place of Mary's military loss. In light of the organization of such subjects, the discussion of military matters, linked to

kingly or princely valour, is charged with gender implications, as is the material on her pseudo-pregnancy. Foxe connects the obviously public military sphere with the more domestic world of childbirth.

Although the begetting of a royal heir can never be divorced from the religio-political sphere, Foxe maintains its domestic implications. Certainly, the queen's failure to fulfill her womanly duty is a further manifestation of her catastrophic reign. Historically, the production of children was the most important duty of any queen, either consort or regnant, but Foxe starts his summary of Mary's infertility in the purely domestic realm by comparing her situation to other women:

Hetherto the affayres of Queene Mary haue had no great good successe, as you haue heard. But neuer worse successe had any woman, thē had she in her childbyrth. For seing one of these two must needes be granted, that either she was with child or not with child, if she were wt child & did trauaile, why was it not seene? if shee were not, howe was al the realm deluded? (12.2098; 8.627)

Her domestic failure has a public character, so Foxe transforms the relative privacy of the childbed into a forum for public scrutiny and interest: what matters is its effect on the realm. Mary's inability to produce a child also concretizes the failure of the intercessory power of the entire English Catholic Church, which cannot, through prayers and masses, precipitate a successful outcome in her case:

And in the meane while where were all the praiers, þe solemne processions, þe deuout masses of the Catholicke Clergy? Why did they not preuayle with God, if

theyr Religion were so godly as they pretēd? If theyr Masses Ex opere operato⁷² be able to fetch Christe from heauen, and to reach down to Purgatory, how chāced then they could not reach to the Queenes chamber, to helpe her in her trauayle, if she had ben with child in deed? if not, howe then came it to passe, that all the Catholicke Church of England did so erre, & was so deeply deceiued? (12.2098; 8.627)

The inadequacy of the Marian Church in this task is a theme that Foxe is eager to reinforce. Earlier in the narrative, he describes their efforts as “ridiculous” because of “what litle effect the prayers of the Popes Churchmen had wyth almighty God, who trauailed no lesse with their processions Masses, and Collects, for the happy deliuerance of thys yong maister to come . . .” (10.1480; 6.581). The use of “travail” to refer to the (futile) exertions of the clergy and Mary’s (possible) labour is surely not an arbitrary choice.

Mary’s phantom pregnancy is a matter of great interest for Foxe. Thomas Betteridge’s examination of this topic focuses on the organization of material in the 1563 edition of the martyrology. False pregnancy is, in this context, “a sign of the corruption at the heart of the English polity,” revealing “structural problems in the constitution of the public sphere itself” (*Tudor* 177-8).⁷³ Betteridge finds it remarkable that Foxe introduces the idea of Mary’s pregnancy only to drop it for the space of many pages:

This is despite the fact that all his readers will have known that Mary never gave birth. This creates a textual situation in which Foxe has introduced a theme into

the narrative that implicitly tars all the actions of the Marian public sphere as suspect. . . . Mary's false pregnancy embodies a metaphoric structure in which corruption of her regime is reflected in the general public acceptance of the truth of its falseness. The monarch's falsifying body infects the whole public sphere.

(*Tudor* 178)

Thus, Foxe's extensive discussion of the Mass, with which he begins the story of Mary's reign, forms a preamble to the matter of the phantom pregnancy because each exhibits falseness. Specifically, transubstantiation "draws on the same discourse of sterility and stalled liminality that Bale deployed in his construction of papists as 'belly-beasts'"

(*Tudor* 178).

In the 1563 edition, the inclusion of various prayers made for the queen at this time, particularly the variation on the *Pater Noster* invoking God to "Quene Mary keepe both daye and night, / And prosper to thy wyll" (1563:5.2.1135 [=1140 corrected]; 7.124),⁷⁴ contributes to this sense of Catholic inefficacy, as well as to the level of religious putrescence. Foxe is disgusted by the perversion of this strange *Pater Noster*, singling out its author as the target of his invective:

And for so much as prayer is here mencioned for Quene Mary: here foloweth to be sene the Pater noster then sette forth in Englishe meter, compiled or rather corrupted by one W. Forest. Whyche when thou shalt see (good reader) I referre the matter to thy discretion to iudge of these catholikes, what men they are, and how contrary to themselues, which fynde faulte with the Pater noster, song in

meter in oure churches: and yet they them selues haue doone the same before,
 much more worthy of rebuke, whiche not only haue intermixed their own senses
 with the wordes of the lord, but also haue so wrasted⁷⁵ and depraued the same,
 that the thyng which the lord hath set forthe for publique and generall petitions,
 they haue turned to a priuate request. (1563:5.2.1134 [=1139]; 7.124)

Forest's English prayer exposes a particular kind of Catholic hypocrisy. Though the Catholic Church institutionalized Latin as the language of its ceremonial and virulently objected to the use of the vernacular, most closely associated with European Protestantism, the English *Pater Noster* shows how insincere is its opposition. But hypocrisy is only one feature of Foxe's diatribe; there is also Catholic religious perversion. The modification of the Lord's Prayer corrupts a Biblical text and reorients it from a public to a private invocation. According to Betteridge, "Foxe here is relating Forest's verses, Mary's phantom pregnancy and the Catholic support for private Masses in a structure that implies that they are all distinguished by their privateness and untruthfulness. As the effects of Mary's sterile pregnancy spread so they reproduce and increase corrupt tendencies within the whole Catholic endeavour" (180). Following the revised *Pater Noster* is a newly composed "Te deum, lauding god specially with prayer therin, for our Quene Mary" (1563:5.2.1135 [=1140]), also by Forest, which fulfills the promise of its title. Its focus, therefore, is always bifurcated: on the divine and on Mary and her subjects:

Here day by day (as we are bounde)

Thy name we magnifie:

Our Queene, see thou with honor croud,

who loueth thee specially.

.....

Thy mercy (Lorde) let on vs light,

As we do trust in thee:

And saue our Quene both day and nighte,

In high prosperitie. (1563:5.2.1136 [=1141]; 7.125)

Foxe must have found outrages in the *Te Deum* not dissimilar to those he outlines in Forest's *Pater Noster*, but aside from the irony-laden sentence that comes after the texts of the two prayers ("Thus much as touchyng theyr deuout praier for Queene Mary" [1563:5.2.1136 (=1141); 7.125]), he is otherwise silent. The *Te Deum* praises God, but it is also a sustained paean to the Catholic queen, and it is this concentration on an earthly, Catholic monarch that Foxe would undoubtedly find objectionable. Foxe's challenge of the specifically private nature of Forest's *Pater Noster* could also apply to the reinvented *Te Deum*. The resemblance of the latter prayer to "a standard piece of court panegyric" (Betteridge 180) suggests a wider focus for any censure that might be attached to the two Forest compositions twinned in the *Acts and Monuments*:

Foxe implies that the situation in which such corrupt poems as Forest's can be written relates directly to the restoration of Catholicism and to Mary's false

pregnancies. A public sphere in which such texts as Forest's were acceptable was for Foxe a potentially corrupt one in which the cynosure of the public sphere was not the worship of God but the lauding, indeed flattery, of the monarch.

(Betteridge 180-1)

That people were punished for speaking the truth, that is, that the queen was not with child, supports the extent of public corruption demonstrated by the effusive praise of the *Te Deum*.

Although the 1583 edition differs significantly from the material on the pregnancy found in its 1563 counterpart, many of Betteridge's ideas remain germane. As in the earlier edition, Foxe's long critique on the Mass begins the history of Mary's reign, and the falseness of the ceremony forms a model for her rule and for her phantom pregnancy. The topic of the pregnancy is again dropped for many pages, thereby impugning the intervening events related to the regime and included by Foxe. To push Betteridge's argument to its natural conclusion, the material that, in the 1583 edition, follows the news that Mary's pregnancy will not result in issue is tainted.⁷⁶ In this way, it functions like Forest's excised poems in emphasizing the corruption of the Catholic polity and its queen. Subsequent to the matter relating to the end of the pregnancy, Foxe positions a remembrance of the 1555 publication of *A Warning for England*, about the Spanish threat to the realm generally and about manouevres, mostly secret, to repossess the "Abbay landes" (11.1597; 7.127) lost to the Church after the English Reformation. This book is the impetus for a proclamation "for the restraining of all bookes and wrytings

tending againg [against] the doctrine of the Pope and his Churche" (11.1597; 7.127), a fruitless endeavour, like the queen's pregnancy, as Foxe, part of a flourishing Protestant publishing trade among the English exiles on the Continent, and his readers would be very aware. Through a detailed examination of various examples of blasphemy and error, the proclamation and the articles for its enforcement lead to a condemnation of "the Primer in English for children after the vse of Salisburie, Imprinted wyth Priueledge according vnto the Kinge and Queenes Maiesties letters patentes in the raigne of Queene Mary" (11.1598; 7.129), as well *Our Lady's Psalter*. Foxe's stated intention for this exercise, which even he recognizes might prove tedious for the reader, is "to waigh the bookes on the one side condemned, wyth þe bookes on the other side allowed, to the end that we waying the one with the other, may discern the better betwene them, which part wayeth best with Gods holy trueth and true catholicke church against manifest idolatrie and palpable abomination" (11.1598; 7.128-9). The result of his argument is the vilification of the entire Roman Catholic Church, whose members turn from the Protestant beliefs in salvation through the blood of Christ and justification by faith to futile prayers to the Virgin, to the communion of saints and to "worthines of the materiall crosse, and such other vnlawfull meanes, wherein standeth plaine idolatry" (11.1601; 7.138). By ordering his material in this manner, Foxe uses the failure of Mary's pregnancy against which other, seemingly loosely related topics may be read. The queen's fertility problems are paradigmatic of the hollowness and pointlessness of the doctrine and practices of her reestablished Church.

Mary's pregnancy is initially introduced through the announcement, "Vpon the Wednesday folowing being the 28. of Nouember [1554], there was generall procession in Paules for ioy pt the Quene was conceiued and quick with child, as it was declared in a letter sent from the counsell to the Byshop of London" (10.1475; 6.567). There follows a letter on that subject from the council to Bishop Bonner, which hails the pregnancy as proof of the "benediction" (10.1476; 6.567) of the Almighty, and then follows a record of the activities and correspondence that culminates with the apostolic absolution for England's religious waywardness and the resultant celebration, led by the king and queen: "When all this was done they went into the Chappell, and there singing Te Deum, with great solemnity, declared the ioy and gladnesse that for this reconciliatiou was pretended" (10.1478; 6.572). The presentation of this material registers a moment of particular triumph for Mary: pregnant with her first child, she has managed to heal the rupture between her heretofore heretical realm and the Holy See. By suggesting an interdependence between the apparent fruitfulness of the queen's body and the resumption of Catholic authority in England, through chronology, Foxe underscores the illusoriness of the Marian triumph and the futility of creating a meaningful and lasting legacy. She will produce no living Catholic heir and, hence, her death will mark the reestablishment of the scission with Rome.

Belief in Mary's false pregnancy coheres with public corruption of a specific kind, disloyalty to one's country, as well as to foreign incursion. When Foxe revisits the topic later in the narrative, he starts with a reminder of the council's letter to Bonner as a

prologue to public reaction to the news: "Of this child great talke began at this tyme to ryse in euery mans mouth, with busy preparation, and much ado, especially amongst such as semed in England to cary Spanish hartes in English bodies" (10.1480; 6.580). Foxe conflates the belief in the imminence of a royal heir with folly and foreign danger. He provides a transcript of a parliamentary act in which Philip would be given "the politike gouernment, order, and administration of this realm in the tyme of the yong yeres of the issue or issues of her maiesties body to bee borne, if it should please God to call the Queenes highnes out of this present lyfe, during the tender yeares of such issue or issues (which God forbid)" (10.1480; 6.580). His earlier rebuke, that believers in the phantom pregnancy are Spanish sympathizers, prepares for a forecast of the dangers to which the realm would have been exposed if God had not intervened to save it from the infiltration of Spanish Catholics:

Thus much out of the Acte and statute I thought to rehearse, to the entent the Reader may vnderstand, not so much how Parliaments may sometimes be deceiued (as by this childe of Queene Mary may appeare) as rather what cause we Englishmen haue to render most earnest thanks vnto almighty god, who so mercifully against the opinion, expectatiō, and working of our aduersaries, hath helped & deliuered vs in this case, which otherwise might haue opened such a window to the Spaniardes to haue entred and replenished this land, that peraduenture by this tyme Englishmen should haue enioyed no great quiet in their

owne cuntry: the Lord therefore make vs perpetually myndfull of his benefits,
Amen. (10.1480; 6.581)

For Foxe, this fear of the Spanish is neither hyperbole nor hysteria, but a reaction to what, at the time, had the potential to be a very real threat to English Protestants and to the survival of their religion within the land. He records that in January, 1555, mere weeks after Mary's pregnancy became public, "xix. of the lower house of the Parliament, with the Speaker, came to the White Hall to the kyng, and there offred him the gouernment of the realme, and of the Issue, if the Queene should faile, which was confirmed by act of Parliament, within ten dayes after" (10.1481; 6.584). That this parliament also reestablished the papal supremacy and reinstated certain legislation against heretics, as Foxe meticulously notes, intensifies the menace posed by Catholic Spain.

This danger, as well as other familiar themes like the futility of Catholic prayer and the ungodliness of Catholic conduct, is developed in the section on the future of the unborn child of Mary and Philip, which includes three prayers for the queen's safe delivery. The placement of such prayers in the context of the discussion of Spanish sympathies and the possible regency of Philip connects Catholicism with a foreign power and its threat. One of the prayers, which transforms Mary into a kind of virgin mother who has conceived through divine intervention, showcases the pointlessness of Catholic prayer: the writer asks that God "defend Mary thy seruant, and our Queene, who hath none other helper but thee, and whom through thy grace thou hast willed to be conceiued with chyld: and at the time of her trauaile graciously with the helpe of thy right hand

deliuer her, and from all danger with the child in her conceiued, mecifully preserue” (10.1481; 6.582). Implicitly, Mary is further associated with the Holy Virgin through a series of lavish compliments. She is called “the glory of England, our ioy, the honour of thy people, for that thou hast embraced chastitie: thine heart is strengthened, for the hand of our Lord hath comforted thee, and therefore thou shalt be blessed for euer” (10.1481; 6.583). Such extravagant praise by the writer is explicitly criticized in a marginal note, “Marke how forgetting his prayer, he falleth to the praysing of Q. Mary” (10.1481). The perversion of godly prayer allows Foxe to demonstrate again the extent of Catholic corruption.

In spite of “a certaine vaine rumour . . . blowne in London of the prosperous deliuerance of the Queene, and the birth of the childe” (11.1596; 7.125), with all the evidence provided by a panoply of bell-ringing, bonfires, and gun salutes to support it, Mary’s body produced no offspring. The inability of many people to discern the veracity of this non-event, to exchange rumour for fact, indicates the debasement of truth under the Catholic queen and the widespread corruption of the public sphere. In fact, the Catholic Church is implicated explicitly in the falsehood because “diuers Preachers, namely one, the Parson of S. Anne within Aldergate, after Procession and Te Deum song [sung], tooke vpon him to describe the proportion of p^e child, how faire, howe beautifull, and great a Prince it was, as the like had not bene seene” (11.1596; 7.126). But the liars of the Church and elsewhere cannot forever silence the truth:

In the midst of this great adoe, there was a simple man (this I speake but vpon information) dwelling wthin 4. miles of Barwicke, that neuer had bene before halfe way to London, whiche sayde concerning the Bonfiers made for Queene Maries childe: Here is a ioyful triūph, but at length al wil not proue worth a messe of potage, as in dede in came to passe: For in þ^e end al proued clean cōtrary, & the ioy and expectations of mē were much deceiued.

For the people were certified, þ^t the Queene neither was as then deliuered, nor after was in hope to haue any child. (11.1596; 7.126)

The simple rural-dweller who quickly pierces the delusiveness of the bonfire display thinks in a recognizably Protestant way, for his truth is unmediated by a priest.⁷⁷

Significantly, even when the news emerges that there is no beautiful prince to match the reports of St. Anne's parson and others, in fact, no living child at all, further rumours degrade the truth:

At thys time many talked diuersly: some sayd thys rumour of the Queenes conception was spread for a policie: some other affirmed that shee was deceiued by a Tympanie or some other like disease, to thinke herselfe with child, and was not: some thought she was with childe, and that it did by some chaunce miscarie, or els that she was bewitched: but what was the truth therof, the Lord knoweth, to whome nothing is secrete. (11.1587; 7.126)

Again, the queen's false pregnancy connects to various forms of deception, both public and private. To use a pregnancy as part of a policy suggests fraud on a national level,

encompassing the very government of the realm, yet Foxe also admits that Mary herself might have been misled by symptoms of pregnancy, like the swelling of the abdomen, that were, in reality, symptoms of a fairly prolonged illness. His proposal that witchcraft might be involved introduces a source for the deception unrelated to either the crown or the government, but its success over the course of several months in changing Mary's body evinces her susceptibility to evil. The truly godly could not be a host to something so sinister for so long.

An incident related by Isabel Malt directly to Foxe presents more proof of the extent to which the Marian regime is mired in duplicity. To bolster the believability of her testimony, Foxe supplies corroborating evidence and various "vital statistics," like her address and her son's name and age at the time of writing, and declares that she "before witnes made this declaration vnto vs" (11.1597; 7.126). He obviously intends Malt's story to be read as an aristocratic venture to procure a living child for the queen, though he rather coyly never reaches that specific conclusion: "What credite is to bee geuen to her relation, I deale not withall, but leaue it to the libertie of the Reader, to beleue it they that list: to them that list not, I haue no further warrant to assure them" (11.1597; 7.126). Her narrative begins after the birth of her son:

she beyng deliuered of a māchild vpō Whitsonday in the mornyng, whiche was the xi. day of Iune. an. 1555. there came to her the Lord North, and an other Lord to her vnknowē, dwellyng thē about old Fish streete, demaūdyng of her if she would part with her child, and would sweare that she neuer knewe nor had no such child.

Whiche if she would, her sonne (they sayd) should be well prouided for, she should take no care for it, with many fayre offers if she would part with the child. After that came other womē also, of whō one she sayd should haue bene the Rocker, but she [Malt] in no wise would let go her sonne. . . . (11.1597; 7.126)⁷⁸

Malt's tale of attempted baby-buying, in concert with the admittedly dubious substantiation of the anonymous other women, implies a rottenness in the Marian state, for not only are members of the nobility implicated in the plot, but also its success depends upon the misleading of the entire nation.

Although Foxe does not draw overt attention to the contrast between queenly infertility and Protestant fecundity, there is ample verification of this dialectic in his text.⁷⁹ Mary's pregnancy, whether it was real, feigned, imagined, or a manifestation of disease, did not produce the child she so desperately wanted, but several representative Protestants do not appear to have similar difficulties. The martyr Rogers is the sire of a veritable Protestant brood. Gathered together on the way to Smithfield are "His wife and children being xj. in number, x. able to go, and one sucking on her brest . . ." (11.1493; 6.612).⁸⁰ Saunders's child is brought to the prison where his father is interred. The small daughter of the Duchess of Suffolk accompanies her mother into exile and, in spite of arduous travel and other hazards, survives the death of Queen Mary. The most fantastic proof of Protestant fertility is undoubtedly derived from the story of the three female martyrs of Guernsey, so unbelievable that Foxe appends to it a lengthy defence.⁸¹ The women, the "Innocent mother with her two daughters" (11.1945; 8.229), were condemned

to death in the summer of 1556. Initially, they were strangled, "the Rope brake before they were dead, and so the poore women fell in the fire" (11.1945; 8.229). It is in the flames that the most improbable aspect of the narrative occurs, as Perotine Massey, one of the daughters,

who was then great with childe, did fall on her side, where happened a ruefull sight, not onely to the eyes of all that there stood, but also to the eares of all true harted christians, that shall read this historye: For as the belly of the woman brast a sonder by vehemency of the flame, the Infant being a fayre man childe, fel into the fire, and eftsoones being taken out of the fire by one W. House, was layd vpon the grasse. (11.1945; 8.229-30)

But while stories like those of Rogers and Saunders prove that God has ordained a continuation of the Protestant faith through the children of the martyrs, other elements of the history serve to counterbalance them. The rescue of Massey's son from the fire that consumed his mother's body momentarily appears as a miraculous deliverance; however, his survival is short-lived:

Then was the child had to the Prouost, and from him to the Bayliffe, who gaue censure, that it should be caryed backe agayne and cast into the fire. And so the infant Baptised in his own bloud, to fill vp the number of Gods innocent Sayntes, was both borne, and dyed a Martyr, leauing behinde to the world, which it neuer saw, a spectacle wherein the whole world may see the Herodian cruelty of this

gracelesse generation of catholicke Tormentors, Ad perpetuam rei infamiam.⁸²

(11.1945; 8.230)

The horrific death of the Massey newborn inculpates not merely the barbarous bailiff, who ordered the baby consigned to the flames, but also any who can be termed Catholic tormentors, including, presumably, those who neither protested his demise nor attempted a second rescue. Without even mentioning Mary Tudor's name, Foxe characterizes her as a baby-killer—or, at least, one in whose name children are killed—through his allusion to Herod Antipas, known to history as the king who ordered the massacre of the Holy Innocents, considered by many to be the first martyrs of the early Church. Arguably, it is to these children that Foxe refers in the phrase, "Gods innocent Sayntes." Whether the queen would have condoned the murder of the little Massey boy under these circumstances is not the point here; for Foxe, she fosters the conditions under which such brutality can be committed. That Herod's massacre was intended for the express purpose of eliminating the infant Christ is germane here: there is a parallel involving Herod's attempt to destroy Jesus and those Marian policies that tried to exterminate Protestantism in the realm. Because Foxe is an advocate for Protestantism as true inheritor of the faith of the early Christian Church, the symmetry becomes more apparent.

The equation of baby killing with the queen, with the proviso that it is by proxy or proclamation, may seem deliberately provocative, yet Foxe carefully includes the persecution of children among the crimes for which Mary is ultimately responsible. A story that Foxe explicitly connects with that of the Guernsey martyrs and, by

extrapolation, with the Herodian tyranny of the Marian regime, illustrates how children could be victimized, even when not directly targeted by the authorities. The sad tale of Joan Dangerfield and her newborn exhibits, according to Foxe, the same kind of “vnmerciful cruelty shewed vppon seely women with theyr children and young infantes” (11.1953; 8.251).⁸³ Joan’s husband, William, “a right honest and godly poore man,” who had been “abroad from his house a certayne space, for feare of persecution” (11.1953; 8.251), returned when he learned of the birth of his tenth child. His reunion with his family was of a short duration for he was quickly dispatched to prison. Two weeks after her labour, Joan was also sent to jail, along with her baby. Apparently no allowances were made for the mother and child: they were housed “amongst theues and murderers, where both shee and her poore innocent found so small charitie amongst the catholicke men, that she neuer could come to any fire, but was driuen to warm the clothes that she should put about the childe, in her bosome” (11.1953; 8.252). In spite of these conditions and the presence of her baby, Joan remains more steadfast than her husband. Bishop Brooks works on the simple man, eventually persuading him of his wife’s recantation, but William has been deceived. Joan’s godly resolution does not waver, even when she takes her turn before the bishop, and so her fate seems inevitable. Not for her is there a fiery end like Massey’s, but instead the inexorability of succumbing to harsh treatment:

Howbeit most like it is what soeuer they [her answers] were, they pleased not the Bishoppe, as appeared by his ire increased agaynst the poore woman & her long continuance in the prison, together with her tender babe, which also remayned

with her in þe layle, partaker of her Martyrdome, so long as her milke would serue to geue it sucke, till at length the childe being starued for colde and famine, was sent away when it was past al remedie, and so shortly after dyed. And not long after þe mother also followed, besides the olde woman whiche was mother of the husband, of the age of 80. yeares and vpwarde. Who being left in the house after their apprehēision for lacke of comfort there perished also. (11.1953; 8.252)⁸⁴

Although Foxe is not entirely certain of the outcome for the nine remaining offspring, he believes “they were all vndone by the same” (11.1953; 8.253). While certain readers, particularly modern ones, might censure the Dangerfields for placing the welfare of their souls above that of their dependent children,⁸⁵ Foxe does not do so, for godliness requires sacrifice and an ordering of the divine before the mundane.⁸⁶ Foxe reminds his readers of what is due to God by including the admonition of the martyr John Careless to his wife, “Let not þe remembraunce of your children keep you from God. The Lord himselfe will be a father and a mother, better then euer you or I could haue bene, vnto them. He himselfe wil do all thinges necessary for them: yea, as much as rock the Cradle, if need be. He hath geuen his holy Angels charge ouer them, therefore committ them vnto him” (11.1922; 8.174).

Certainly, the description of the deaths of the Massey and Dangerfield infants, who, as innocents, have done nothing to provoke Catholic ire, except to be tainted by the religion of their parents, facilitates the characterization of Catholic authority as inherently evil. But, in a more specific sense, the stories involving children often reveal not only

Catholic opposition to Protestant family life, but also their attempts to destroy it.⁸⁷ Foxe's summary of the queen's "reign of terror," which introduces the section of the text detailing her deathbed experience, reads, in part, as a Catholic attack on the Protestant family:

Now then after these so great afflictions falling vpon this Realm, from the first beginning of Queene Maries reigne, wherein so many men, women, and children were burned, many imprisoned and in prisonnes starued, diuers exiled, some spoyled of goodes & possessions, a great number driuen from house to home, so many weeping eyes, so many sobbing hartes, so many children made fatherles, so many fathers bereft of theyr wiues and children, so many vexed in conscience, and diuers against conscience cōstrained to recant, and in conclusion, neuer a good man almost in all the Realme but suffered something during all the time of this bloody persecution. . . . (12.2097-8; 8.624)

The pattern in the *Acts and Monuments* is for Protestants to be the exemplars of a godly domestic life. Even within the privation of her prison cell, Joan Dangerfield cares for her infant; under threat of persecution, her husband is coaxed from hiding only because of family circumstances, to visit his wife, new baby, and other children, "as naturall duety required" (11.1953; 8.251).⁸⁸ What places the Protestant family under threat are the policies of the Catholic government, with Mary at its head.

For Foxe, there is an explicit connection to be made between the suffering and death of Protestant children, in the context of a wider religious persecution committed

under the auspices of the Marian regime, and the inability of its queen to produce an heir of her body. Her domestic disappointments, of which her failed pregnancy is one, are the results of "Gods disfauour prouoked agaynst her" (12.2098-9; 8.627) even as she

stil continued more and more to reuenge her Catholicke zeale vpon the Lordes faithfull people, setting fire to theyr poore bodyes by dosens and halfedosens together. Where vpon Gods wrathfull indignation increasing more and more agaynst her, ceased not to touche her more neare with priuate misfortunes and calamities. (12.2099; 8.627)

The argument presented above which details, in part, Mary's culpability in the deaths of children, omits an important piece of evidence, the invocation of Richard III in Foxe's summary of her reign. For the martyrologist, the length of Mary's reign is proof of God's providential care for his Protestant people, and leads to a comparison between England's first Tudor queen and its last Yorkist king:

At last, when all these fayre admonitions would take no place with the Queene, nor moue her to reuoke her bloody lawes, nor to stay the tyranny of her Priestes, nor yet to spare her owne Subiectes, but that the poore seruantes of God were drawne dayly by heapes most pitifully as sheepe to the slaughter, it so pleased the heauenly Maiesty of almighty God, when no other remedy would serue, by death to cut her of, which in her life so litle regarded the life of others: geuing her throne, which she abused to the destruction of Christes Church and people, to an other who more tēperatly and quietly could guid the same, after she had reigned

here the space of fiue yeares and fiue monethes. The shortnes of which yeares and reigne, vnneth we finde in any other story of King or Queene since the Conquest or before (being come to theyr owne gouernment) saue onely in king Richard the thyrd. (12.2099; 8.628)

Foxe argues that there is a correspondence between the duration of a reign and the godliness of the ruler. Consequently, Elizabeth's rule has been longer than her sister's because she has spared "the bloud, not onely of Gods seruauntes, but also of Gods enemies" (12.2098; 8.626). To further illustrate the truth of his supposition, Foxe quotes Gamaliel: "that if it were of God, it should continue, who soeuer sayd nay: If it were not, it could not stand" (12.2098; 8.626). The Catholic monarchy of Mary Tudor is, therefore, the example that proves the truth of Gamaliel's assertion and Foxe's theory: neither she nor her obviously false religion survived "till shee had vtterly rooted out of the land this hereticall generation[.] Yea how chanced it rather, pt almighty God, to spare these poore heretickes, rooted out Q. Mary so soone from her throne, after she had reigned but onely v. yeares and v. monthes?" (12.2098; 8.626). According to this paradigm, the brevity of Richard III's reign is a sign of his evil, so the brief comparison of the length of his rule to Mary's suggests another area of resemblance, involving their characters.

That any reference to Richard III in the early modern period is redolent with meaning is a given, so Foxe's unelaborated comment about him near the conclusion of his narrative of Mary Tudor is more purposeful than simply a comparison between the duration of their reigns. Its location at the very end of a block of text gives it more weight

than it would have if positioned elsewhere, as does the frequency with which Foxe relies on such parallels. Warren W. Wooden's study of Foxe highlights the importance of such correspondences: "As the stories of lesser figures feed into those of greater in the web of Foxe's narrative, so the principle of echoing parallel and analogy becomes an important unifying device in the work" (52). In a similar vein, Woolf argues that "If there is a Burkean 'master-trope' underpinning the *Acts and Monuments*, it is certainly metaphor, the figure of sameness" ("Rhetoric" 258).⁸⁹ Typology, then, is critical to any understanding of Foxe's narrative strategy and characterization in the text.⁹⁰ A return to Wooden's argument clarifies this point:

The reader need not remember all the details and names of the witnesses, for they become types, as Foxe continually suggests by comparing martyrs with those of other times, as Tudor with Roman or with Biblical figures, until the martyrs' stories seem almost an extension of the Scriptures themselves. What appears at first reading to be an incredible medley of stories, pictures, styles, and literary types soon comes into focus as a structured polyphony whose inner harmony emerges from the dissonance. Thus the key themes are brought home more by repetition than any sense of strong forward movement, even within Foxe's cyclic and apocalyptic chronological frame. (52-3)

The villains, like the martyrs, also form recognizable types, so Mary may be compared to one of her predecessors on the English throne, Richard III.

Foxe refrains from mentioning Richard's crimes explicitly in the comparison to

Mary, but the inclusion of his name would lead readers to recall the section on his reign earlier in the *Acts and Monuments*, particularly the stain on his reputation left by his murder of his nephews, the heirs of his brother, Edward IV. There are a couple of striking verbal resonances between the parts of the text on the demise of the two Yorkist princes and the little Marian martyrs, which serve to intensify the connection between the activities of the two monarchs. Foxe has recourse to the phrase “these innocent babes,” in spite of the fact that the elder prince, whom he calls “yong Edward the right king” (6.728; 3.785), is eleven years old;⁹¹ later he refers to those responsible for the murder as “tormentors” (6.728; 3.786). Moreover, like Queen Mary, as one who commits such crimes, King Richard receives the justice of the Almighty:

And thus ended these two yong princes their liues, thorough the wretched cruelty of these forenamed tormentors who for their detestable and bloudy murder committed, escaped not long vnpunished by the iust hand of God.

For first Miles Forest, at S. Martines le grand, by peecemeale miserably rotted away, Iohn Dighton liued at Callis lōg after so disdained and hated, that he was pointed of all men, and there died in great misery. Sir Iames Tyrell was beheaded at Tower hill for treason. Also King Richard himselfe within a yeare and a halfe after, was slayne in the field hacked and hewed of his enemies handes, torne and tugged like a curre dogge. (6.728; 3.786)

A central theme of Foxe's narrative of Richard III is usurpation. In fact, he describes the Richardian rise to power in terms of an “allotment” and the king as “the

usurper” to signal the criminal nature of the reign. The accession of Mary, as the daughter of Henry VIII and the natural successor of her brother according to their father’s will, should have progressed with all the regularity missing from that of Richard, but Edward’s Device for the Succession and the nine-day queen interfered with that. Part of the reason why Mary was able to garner support for her claim, however, was the perception that she was the legitimate monarch. While Foxe’s comments do not overtly challenge her rightful and superior claim to the throne, he skillfully insinuates a countermeasure of doubt by remorselessly detailing obstacles to her succession:

And thus he [King Edward] yeelded vp the ghost, leauing a wofull kingdom behinde vnto his sister. Albeit he in his will hadde excluded his sister Marye from the succession of the crowne, because of her corrupt religion: yet þe plage which God had destinate vnto this sinfull Realme, coulde not so be voided, but that shee beinge the elder and daughter to king Henry, succeeded in possession of þe crowne. Of whose dreadfull and bloody regiment, it remaineth nowe consequently to discourse. . . . The whiche set will of the said Lady Mary, both this yong King and also his father King Henry before him right well perceauing and considering, they were both much displeased agaynst her: In so much that not onely her brother did vtterly sequester her in his will, but also her own father considering her inclination, conceiued suche hart against her, that for a great space he did seclude her from the title of Princesse, yea and seemed so egerly incensed against her, that he was fully purposed to proceede further with her (as it is reported) had not the

intercession of Thomas Cranmer the Archbyshop, reconciled the King againe to fauour and pardon his owne daughter. (9.1395-6; 6.352-3)

The impediments to Mary's accession emerge again early in the section of the *Acts and Monuments* devoted to her reign. Foxe returns to the matter of Edward's will and the initial support given to Lady Jane Grey.⁹² In fact, he carefully traces Jane's lineage through her mother, Henry VIII's niece, emphasizing the family's royal connections: Jane's "mother being then aliue, was daughter to Mary King Henryes second sister, who first was married to the French king, and afterward to Charles Duke of Suffolke" (10.1406; 6.384). Foxe later implies that she is a suitable and superior candidate for the throne because of the similarity of her age and Edward's, as well as her great learning. A recital of the "causes layd agaynst Lady Marye," which include the fear that "she would mary with a Straunger, and thereby entangle the crowne" and "cleane alter Religion, . . . & so bring in the pope, to the vtter destruction of the Realme" (10.1406; 6.384), reads in this context like valid impediments to her inheritance, rather than Protestant objections to the foreign and domestic policies of a rightful monarch. The criticism of "her great stubbernes" (10.1406; 6.384) is another black mark against her. Foxe presents the Grey inheritance as the uncontroversial outcome of the dying king's wishes, as stated in his will:

the king waxing every day more sicke then other . . . , it was brought to passe by the consent not on[ly] of the Nobility, but also of all the chiefe Lawyers of the Realme, that the king by his Testament did appoynt the foresayde Ladye Iane,

daughter to the Duke of Suffolke, to be inheretrix vnto the crowne of England, passing ouer his two sisters Mary and Elizabeth.

To this order subscribed all the kinges Counsell, and chiefe of the Nobility, and Maior and city of London, and almoste all the Iudges and chiefe Lawyers of this Realme, sauing onely Iustice Hales of Kent, a man both fauoring true Religion, and also an vpriht iudge as any hath bene noted in this Realme, who geuing his consent vnto Lady Mary, would in no case subscribe to Lady Iane. (10.1406; 6.384)

In such circumstances, the devolving of the crown onto Jane is a smooth transition; she “was established in the kingdome by the Nobles consent, and was forthwith published Queene by proclamation at London, and in other Cityes where was any great resort, and was there so taken and named” (10.1406; 6.384). The reiteration of the issue of consent can only emphasize the appropriateness of what many others consider the dubiousness of Jane Dudley’s claim to the throne.

Foxe later returns to the story of the succession when he relates Cranmer’s biography. Again he develops the idea that Jane, and not Mary, is the heir endorsed by Edward, the nobility, and the judiciary. In this light, Cranmer’s refusal to sign the will seems an aberration which he ascribes to his conscience. Significantly, however, Cranmer absolves the council of not taking similar action:

To this the Archbishop answered, that he was iudge of no mans conscience but his owne: and therefore as hee would not be preiudiciall to others, so he would not

commit his conscience vnto other mens factes, or cast himselfe to daunger, seing that euery man shoulde geue account of his owne conscience and not of other mens. (11.1870; 8.36)

Eventually, Cranmer subscribed to Edward's testament, based on the sound arguments of the king, who "sayde: that the Nobles and Lawyers of the Realme counselled him vnto it, and perswaded him that the bond of the first testament coulde nothing let, but that this Lady Iane might succede hym as heyre, and the people without daunger acknowledge her as theyr Queene" (11.1870; 8.36).⁹³ It is not that Foxe completely ignores or seeks to invalidate the claim of Mary; a practitioner of revisionist history he may be at times, but he cannot erase it. Yet, even when discussing Jane's resistance to the arrangements set in Edward's Device and the commons' opposition to her succession, support for Mary is less by approval than by default. Upon the king's death "immediatlye it was commaunded that the Ladye Iane which was vnwilling thereunto, shoulde be proclaymed Queene. Which thing much misliked the common people: not that they did so much fauor Mary, before whom they saw the Lady Iane preferred, as for the hatred conceiued agaynst some, whom they could not fauor" (11.1871; 8.37).

The possibility of Mary's illegitimacy, which barred her from the succession after her parents' divorce, is another impediment to a royal inheritance that Foxe does not ignore. In his history of the reign of Henry VIII, where much of this material properly belongs, Foxe records the concerns that were raised about the legitimacy of the Princess Mary and usefully summarizes them when discussing the marriage negotiations with the

Spanish and the French:

The pope which then ruled at Rome, was Pope Iulius the second, by whose dispensation, thys mariage, which neither sense of nature wold admit, nor Gods lawe woulde beare, was concluded, approued and ratified, and so continued as lawfull, without any dout or scruple, the space neare of 20. yeares, till about the time, that a certaine doubt began first to be mooued by the Spanyards themselues of the Emperours counsaile. An. 1523. at what time Charles the Emperour being here in England, promised to marye the Lady Mary daughter to the Kynge of England, with the which promise the Spanyardes themselues were not well contented, obiecting this among many other causes, that the saide Ladie Marie was begotten of the king of England by his brothers wife.

Wherupon the Emperour forsaking that mariage, did couple himself with Lady Isabel, daughter to king Emanuell of Portugall. Which Mariage was done in the yere of our Lorde 1526. After thys Mariage of the Emperour, the next yeare following, King Henrie being disappoynted thus of the Emperour, entred talke, or rather was laboured too by the French Ambassadors, for the sayde Lady Mary to be married to the Frenche kinges sonne, Duke of Orliance. Vpon the talke whereof, after long debating, at length the matter was put of by a certaine doubt of the President of Paris, casting the like obiection as the Spanyardes had done before, that was, whether the Maryage betwene the king & the mother of this Lady Mary,

which had bene his brothers wife before, were good or no. (8.1049; 5.47)

Two letters written by Mary and placed mere paragraphs from the end of Edward VI's history subtly remind the reader of the stain of bastardy immediately before Foxe launches Book X, the first book devoted to the events of her reign. In the first letter, which is written to her father, she responds to a perceived slight in the mode of address within some correspondence from Sir William Paulet, identified as "Controller" of the king's house, to her chamberlain:

Wherein was written, that the Lady Mary the Kings daughter should remooue to the place beforesayd [the castle of Hertford], leauing out in the same the name of Princesse. Which when I heard, I could not a little marueyle, trusting verily that your grace was not priuie to the same letter as concerning the leauing out of the name of Princesse, for as much as I doubt not in your goodnes, but your grace doth take me for your lawfull daughter, borne in true Matrimonie. Wherefore if I should agree to the contrary, I should in my conscience runne in the displeasure of God, whiche I hope assuredly your grace will not that I so should. (9.1396; 6.353)

There is much in the same vein in the second letter in this pair, titled "A protestation of the Lady Mary, to certayne Lordes sent by the King her father, with certayne requests vnto her." She again argues for her legitimacy and her right to be styled a princess and remarks that denial is tantamount to designating herself a bastard. The purpose of including these letters at this point in the history is to stress that Mary would "not be reclaymed from her owne singular opinion fixed vpon custome, to giue anye indifferente

hearing to the word and voice of veritie” and how her “set will” (9.1396; 6.352) provoked the great displeasure of two monarchs, her father and her brother. Because the correspondence is the evidence mustered to explain the rightful anger of the two more godly monarchs, Henry, who barred her from using the title of princess, and Edward, who sought to exclude her from the succession, her own arguments seem hollow and, consequently, invalid, by comparison. Although Foxe often deviates from a purely chronological ordering of events,⁹⁴ the placement of these letters, far removed from their obvious position in the history, not only fixes Mary’s religious conviction and obstinacy, but also undermines, in the context, the legitimacy they were originally intended to promote.

After the lengthy digression on the Mass that begins Foxe’s narrative of the queen’s reign, he includes another letter, which again raises the issue of her illegitimacy. When Mary sends a letter to the Lords of the Council on 9 July 1553 to claim the crown and to demand their allegiance to her as the lawful successor of her dead brother, their answer is to reject her “your supposed title . . . to the Imperiall crowne of this Realm, & all the dominions thereunto belonging” (10.1406; 6.385) on the grounds that she was disinherited by Edward and was illegitimate. They must instead support Queen Jane:

Wherefore we can no lesse do, but for the quiet both of the realme and you also, to aduertise you, that forasmuch as the diuorce made betwene the king of famous memory K Henry the 8 & the Lady Katherine your mother, was necessary to be had both by the euerlasting lawes of God, and also by the Ecclesiasticall lawes, &

by the most part of the noble & learned Vniuersities of Christendome, and confirmed also by the sundry actes of Parliamentes remaining yet in theyr force, and therby you iustly made illegitimate and vnheritable to the crown Imperiall of this realme, and the rules and dominions, and possessions of the same: you will vpon iust consideration hereof, and of diuers other causes lawfull to be alledged for the same, & for the iust inheritaunce of the right line and godlye order taken by the late king our souereigne Lord king Edward the sixt, and agreed vpon by the nobles and greatest personages aforesayd, surcease by any pretence to vex and molest any of our soueraigne Ladye Queene Iane her subiectes from theyr true fayth and allegiance due vnto her grace. . . . (10.1406-7; 6.386)

There are those in the history whose opinion never wavers from that expressed by the council. In the biography of John Rogers, Foxe includes various material written by the martyr during his imprisonment. Rogers provides that "which he thought and would haue aunswered, if he myght haue been permitted" (11.1489; 6.603) during his interrogation, including his view of the legitimacy of his Catholic monarch. He comments that "It is not vnknownen to you, that king Henrie the eight in hys time made his daughter the Queene that now is, a bastarde" and "The Queene that nowe is, hath repealed the Acte that made her bastarde . . ." (11.1489; 6.603). Mary's overturning of the act does not, for Rogers, efface the designation of illegitimacy because he argues that

If the Acts of parliament made in king Henries time & in K. Edwards, had theyr foundatiō vpon Gods word, where vpon all positieue lawe ought to be grounded,

then these which are stablished in the Quenes time, being cleane contrary to the others, as they are not warranted by gods woorde, so are they wicked, and therfore to be both spoken, and wrytten against of all menne, as well of priuate as of publique persons. (11.1489; 6.603)

Another martyr who discusses the matter of the queen's legitimacy, though considerably less definitively, is Laurence Saunders. The question of Mary's bastardy is actually put to him by Winchester. When the bishop asks him, "This your conscience could make our Queene a Bastard or misbegotten: Would it not I pray you?" (11.1495; 6.616), Saunders, unlike Rogers, does not reject her legitimacy. However, his defence only reminds the reader that his examiner was, in the past, not a champion of this cause:

Then sayd Saunders, we (sayd he) do not declare or say that the Queene is base or misbegotten, neither go aboute any such matter. But for that let them care whose writings are yet in the hands of men, witnessing the same, not without the great reproch and shame of the Authour: priuely taunting the Byshop hymselfe, which had before (to get the fauour of Henry 8.) written and set foorth in print a booke of true obedience, wherein he had openly declared Queene Mary to be a Bastard. (11.1495; 6.616)

The cleverness demonstrated in Saunders's gibe at Winchester is also apparent in his opening statement, which bypasses, as Rogers does not, his personal belief. To affirm that he does not *say* that Mary is a bastard is not quite the same as *believing* it to be true. Through the repeated raising of the issue of Mary's legitimacy, of which Saunders's

possible prevarication is part, Foxe characterizes her accession, if not her reign as a whole, as an irregular event.

In the developments that culminate with Mary's accession, the role assigned to God further emphasizes the irregularity of Mary's progress to the throne. Ironically, it is the Protestant God and His people who are crucial to the queen's triumph in the summer of 1553. In spite of the confirmation of her inheritance in her father's testament, her claim required reinforcement, which arrived in the form of a band of Suffolk gospellers, whose assistance was contingent on her vow to preserve the religion practised during Edward's reign. It is they who are necessary to Mary's successful seizure of power: "Thus Mary being garded with the power of þ^e Gospellers, did vanquish the Duke [of Northumberland], and all those that came agaynst her" (10.1407; 6.387). Later in this section, Foxe repeats this claim by connecting the efforts of this band of Protestants with her being "made a Queene, and the sword of authority put into her hād" (10.1407; 6.388). Furthermore, it is not only to these godly men that Mary owes her crown, but also to the hand of God, which is instrumental to this royal "mission," as Foxe quickly makes explicit in the 1563 edition. It is divine intercession that "turned the hartes of the people to her, and against the counsel, that she ouercame thē without bloudshed, notwithstanding ther was made great expedition against her, both by sea and land" (1563:5.1.902; 6.388). The belief in divine involvement in royal transitions of power is obviously not without precedent, as, for instance, when Foxe notes the string of providential deaths that eliminated Elizabeth's enemies, including her sister, who stood between her and the

English crown. He imputes Gardiner's timely demise, therefore, to "the mercifull prouidence of the Lords goodnes" and describes it as the partial means through which "the lyfe of this excellent Princesse, the wealth of all England, was preserued" (12.2097; 8.622). Mary's death reflects this divine-royal paradigm in a more significant way because it brings the Protestant Elizabeth to the throne at last. God actively works against the Catholic queen by controlling the wheel of her fortune:

but now the omnipotent gouernour of all thinges so turned the wheele of her owne spinning agaynst her, that her high buildinges of such ioyes & felicities, came all to a Castle comedowne, her hopes being confounded, her purposes disappointed, and she now brought to desolation: who semed neither to haue the fauour of God, nor the harts of her subiectes, nor yet the loue of her husband: who neither had fruite by him while she had him, neither could now enioy him whō she had maryed, neither yet was in liberty to mary any other whom she might enioy. Marke here (Christian Reader) the wofull aduersity of this Queene, and learne withall, what the Lord can do when mans wilfulnes will needes resist him, and will not be ruled. (12.2099; 8.627)

Eventually, God, in an act which might in another context be construed as murder, ends Mary's life, thereby affecting a transfer of power to Elizabeth. However, divine intervention seems of a different order in the Marian accession because it reveals a number of inconsistencies, which contribute to the overall sense of irregularity. The triumph of the Catholic queen can, paradoxically, be awarded to the Protestant side and to

their God:

howe God blessed her wayes and endeouours in the meane tyme, while shee thus persecuted the true seruauntes of God. . . . Where first this is to be noted, that when shee first began to stand for the title of the Crowne, and yet had wrought no resistance agaynst Christ and his Gospell, but had promised her fayth to the Suffolke men, to mayntayn the religion left by king Edward her brother, so long GOD went with her, aduaunced her, and by the meanes of the Gospellers brought her to the possession of the Realme. (12.2098; 8.626)

The advancement of Catholic Mary's cause under the auspices of a Protestant God is certainly startling, though Foxe makes it more explicable by showing such divine favour is predicated upon the new monarch's apparent lack of active opposition to the religion promoted during her brother's reign. But her coming to power, although nominally a Protestant achievement, is a source of Protestant terror. In narrating the death of King Edward, Foxe emphasizes the element of punishment, as does the writer of "The Wonders of England," which accompanies Marian rule: "And thus he yeelded vp the ghost, leauing a wofull kingdom behinde vnto his sister. Albeit he in his will hadde excluded his sister Marye from the succession of the crowne, because of her corrupt religion: yet þe plague which God had destinate vnto this sinfull Realme, coulde not so be voided . . ." (9.1395; 6.352). Foxe's navigation of these contradictory elements of triumph and terror is another means through which the perception of an irregular accession is developed in the text.

This sense of irregularity is further enhanced by the inclusion of a document called "A certayne godly Supplication exhibited by certayne inhabitauntes of the Country of Northfolke, to the Commissions comming downe to Northfolke and Suffolke, fruitfull to be read and marked of all men" (11.1902; 8.121) and signed by "Your poore suppliants, the louers of Christes true Religion in Northfolke and Suffolke" (11.1906; 8.130). At first glance, the supplication, in which the authors plead for the return of the

much that no obediēce can be true and perfect, either before God or man, that wholly and fully agreeth not with Gods word. (11.1902; 8.122)

In other words, the monarch can be resisted if he or she tries to impose commandments or laws that are contrary to true religion. While the supplication occasionally tries to absolve Mary of blame for the overthrow of the reformed religion of Edward, the marginal notes usually point to the queen's guilt. The authors insist that while the new religious injunctions are abhorrent to them, the fault for the change rests not with the queen but with the pope:

we weighed the commandemēt concerning the restitution of the late abolished latine service geuē vnto vs to discent and disagree frō gods word, & to cōmand manifest impietie, and the ouerthrowe of godlines & true religion, & to import a subuersion of the regall power of this our natieue country & realme of Englande, wyth the bringing in of the Romish Bishops supremacie, with all errorrs, superstitions, and idolatry, wasting of our goods & bodyes, destroying of our soules, bringing with it nothing, but the seuerē wrath of God: which we already feelee & feare least the same shall be more fiercely kindled vppon vs. Wherefore we humbly protest, that wee cannot be perswaded, that the same wicked commaundement shoulde come from the Queenes maiestie, but rather from some other, abusing the Queenes goodnes and fauour, and studying to worke some feate against the Queene, her crown & the Realme, to please with it the Romane

Bishoppe, at whose handes the same thinketh hereafter to be aduanced. (11.1902; 8.122)

If the writers of Norfolk and Suffolk are convinced—or for courtesy or politic reasons pretend to be convinced—that Mary is the innocent pawn of a wily papacy, then Foxe is not. He redirects culpability to the queen with the note, “Q. Maryes Iniunctions disagreeing from Gods worde, how & wherin” (11.1902; 8.122). A few lines later Foxe again supplies a right reading of the text. The supplication’s authors persist in their characterization of Mary as blameless:

For we cannot haue so euill an opinion in her maiestie, that she should subuert þe most godly & holy religiō (so accordingly to gods worde set forth by þe most noble, vertuous, and innocent king, a very saynct of God, our late moste deare king Edw. her graces brother) except she were wonderfully abused: who as hating reformation, will rather the destruction of al others, then acknowledge theyr errors, & to be accordynge to gods word, reformed. (11.1902; 8.122)

The construction of the queen is counterbalanced by the note, “Queene Mary euill incensed” (11.1902; 8.122). Foxe’s notes to the supplication found later in the document also function in a similar manner. His contentions that “Gods word and true religion cast out of the Church in Q. Maryes tyme” (11.1904; 8.125) and “Queene Maries authoritie [authority] striuing against mens consciences” (11.1906; 8.129) emphasize Mary’s guilt. What Foxe is doing through the inclusion of the supplication, which asserts the right to disobedience under irreligious powers, and through the marginal notes’ emphasis on

Mary's personal responsibility for the unpalatable religious change is to depict the queen as a monarch who should be resisted. If the English estate under Mary is neither holy nor just, then her monarchy becomes a form of "tyrannical usurpation" and no one can be faulted for opposing it. The document's repetition of the idea of subversion serves to reinforce the idea that there is something irregular about the "regal power" exercised by Mary.⁹⁵

Although Foxe is often scathing in his remarks on Thomas More, the portrait of Richard in the *Acts and Monuments*, although short, is not dissimilar to More's evil king. In fact, Foxe, on occasion, refers to the earlier text, much of the credit for which, as he makes clear, belongs to Polydore Vergil, "whom sir Thomas More doth follow word for word" (6.729; 3.788). Like his Catholic predecessor on the same subject, Foxe believes that the combination of Richard's ambition and unnaturalness leads to villainy. During the time when Richard was "the chiefe gouvernour and protector" (6.727; 3.782) of the realm because of the minority of his brother's son and successor, Edward V, he began to dispatch those who stood between him and the Yorkist throne. Consequently, the deaths of lords Hastings and Stanley are a preliminary step in the plot which will culminate in what Foxe calls Richard's "execrable enterprise" (6.727; 3.783), the assassination of his two nephews and his usurpation of the crown. The deaths of the two nobles are the protector's precursory manoeuvres to achieve that end, for they could be categorized as part of the "some there were, whom he thought first must be ridd out of his way" (6.727; 3.783). Foxe is insistent that the death of Hastings, in particular, is not undeserved

because of his collusion with “the cruell protectour” in the executions of “the kindred of the Queene, [who were] innocently to be headed at Promfret” (6.727; 3.783), a fact reiterated twice within a few lines. However, the description of Hastings’s death, directly orchestrated by Richard and obviously unlawful, as a “tyrannous murder” (6.727; 3.784), in spite of the earlier assurance that “this punishment” could be attributed to “the iust hand of God” (6.727; 3.783), effectively reinforces the protector’s wickedness. The convenient elimination of Hastings and Stanley, as well as Richard’s Woodville enemies at Pomfret, leads to further machinations, starting with an attempt to defame the chastity of his mother and sister-in-law and, consequently, the legitimacy of his royal male relatives:

the mischieuous protectour aspiring still to the crowne, to set his deuises forward, first through giftes and fayre promises, dyd subordinate Doctor Shaw a famous preacher then in Lōdon, at Paules Crosse to insinuate to the people, that neyther king Edward with his sonnes, nor the Duke of Clarence were lawfully begotten, nor the very children of the Duke of York, but begotten vnlawfully by other persons in adultery on þ^e Duches their mother, and þ^t he alone was þ^e true and onely lawfull heyre of the Duke of York: Moreouer to declare and to signifie to the audience, that K. Edward was neuer lawfully married to the Queene, but hys wife before was dame Elizabeth Lucy, and so the 2. childrē of king Edward to be base and bastardes, and therfore the title of þ^e crown most rightly to pertaine to þ^e Lord protector. (6.727; 3.784)

When Shaw's oration proved ineffective, "the protector vnmercisully [unmercifully] drowned in ambitiō, rested not thus, but wⁱn few dayes after, excited þ^e Duke of Buckingham, first to breake the matter in couert talke, to the Mayor and certayne of the heades of the Cittie, picked out for the purpose: that done, to come to þ^e Guildhall, to moue the people by all flattering and lying perswasions . . ." (6.727; 3.784). Though the duke attempted to stir the crowd to call for "King Richard" at this time, cries emerged only from the mouths of the retainers of Buckingham and the protector. Such endorsement was sufficient for the duke, accompanied by the lord mayor, to hasten to Baynard's castle to offer the English throne, still nominally occupied by the boy king Edward, to the protector:

that forsooth, humble petition was made in the name of the whole commons, and that with 3. sundry sute, to þ^e humble and simpel protector, that he, although it was vtterly against his will to take it: yet would of his humilitye stoupe so low, as to receane [receive] the heauy kingdome of England vpon his shoulders. At this their tender request and sute of the Lords and commōs made (ye must know how) þ^e milde Duke seing no other remedy, was contented at length to yeld, although sore against his will (ye must so imagine) and to submit himselfe so low, as of a protector to be made king . . . (6.728; 3.785)

The hypocrisy that Foxe ascribes to Richard here is not signalled merely through irony or parenthetical asides, but through a comparison to the wayward Catholic Church: "not much herein vnlike to our prelates in þ^e Popish church, who when they haue before well

compounded for the popes Bulls, yet must they for maner sake make curtesy, and thrise deny that for whiche they so long before haue gaped, and so sweetly haue payed for" (6.728; 3.785). Dissimulation is not a specific characteristic of Foxe's vile usurper alone; he is the royal embodiment of a feature shared by the Church to which he belongs and which is still in the ascendancy in the realm. In the *Acts and Monuments*, hypocrisy is a particular Catholic vice.

These Machiavellian schemes of Richard, which lead to his being "made & proclaymed king of England" in 1483, are the prelude to the atrocity for which he is often judged responsible, the murder of the young princes in the Tower. The tale itself is inherently harrowing, but Foxe tries to wring as much pathos from it as he possibly can. For instance, he chronicles the situation of the children after the "vsurped coronation" of "this vnquiet tyraunt" (6.728; 3.785) in these terms:

In the meane time while al this ruffling was in hand what dread & sorow the tender harts of these fatherles and friendles children were in, what little ioy of them selues[,] what smal ioy of life they had, it is not so hard as dolorous for tender harts to vnderstand. As the yonger brother lingered in thought and heauines, so the prince which was a 11. yeare old, was so out of hart and so fraught with feare that he neuer tyed his poyntes, nor ioyed good day, till the trayterous impietie of their cruell vncle had deliuered thē of their wretchednes, whiche was not long in dispatching[.] (6.728; 3.786)

There follows a brief recital of the details of the princes' murders. John Dighton and

Miles Forrest "about midnight entring into their chamber, so bewrapped and entangled them amongst the clothes, keeping downe the fetherbed and pilowes hard vnto their mouthes, that within a while: they smothered and stifeled them pitiously in their bed" (6.728; 3.786). Although Richard does not participate in this act of regicide, called in the text the "diuelishe deuise" (6.728; 3.786), Foxe names him as the instigator, in a far more direct way than he later links Mary Tudor to the deaths of children: "the next enterprise which he did set vpon was this, how to rid these innocent babes out of the way, that he might reigne king alone" (6.728; 3.785).

Mary's culpability in the deaths of the Protestant martyrs is presented with far less consistency than Richard's guilt for various crimes. Such instability is not a failure of the author, but rather a result of the sheer number of people to whom he assigns responsibility for the persecution.⁹⁶ Judith M. Richards is not unlike Foxe in spreading the net wide. As queen, Mary

had ultimate responsibility for . . . all the central legislative and judicial processes by which the realm was governed. But, like her father, she was never an absolute monarch, and in most matters . . . she needed to achieve some form of consensus for any policy she pursued. Of course Mary carried responsibility for the burnings, but so, in varying degrees, did many others in her regime, including her Council, many clergy and even those who restored the legislation without obvious demur in 1554. Local officials who raised and tried cases, and those laity who accused their neighbours of heresy also carried some responsibility for the

prosecutions which followed, and were successful. (*Mary Tudor* 199)

In spite of the congruence between Richards's views and those of Foxe, the martyrologist produces a far more ambiguous treatment of Reginald Pole, whom Richards connects more decisively to the burnings (*Mary Tudor* 200). One of the stranger features of the persecution of those judged to be heretics was the exhumation and subsequent burning of dead Protestants. The recital of the treatment of the deceased and buried John Tooley, for example, is the occasion for Foxe to remark that

Cardinal Poole was no small doer in this sentence: for as Winchester and Boner did alwayes thirst after the bloud of the liuing, so Pooles lightning was for the most part kindled agaynst the dead: and he reserued this charge onely to hymselfe, I knowe not for what purpose, except peradventure being loth to be so cruel as the other, he thought neuerthelesse by this meanes to discharge his duetye toward the Pope. By the same Cardinalles like lightening and fierye fist, the bones of Martine Bucer, and Paulus Phagius, which had lyen almost two yeaes in theyr graues, were taken vp and burned at Cambridge, as Toolyes carkase was here at London. And besides this, because he woulde shew some token of his diligence in both Vniuersities, he caused Peter Martirs wife, a woman of worthy memory, to be digged out of the Churchyarde, and to be buryed on the dunghill. (11.1584; 7.91-2)

Pole's participation in the desecration of the Protestant dead is of a different order than the punishment of the living ascribed to Gardiner and Bonner, but it is obvious that Foxe

finds it reprehensible. Yet later in his martyrology, he singles out the cardinal for some praise, though, it must be admitted, not of the gushing variety. Pole is considered

by his Actes and writings . . . a professed enemy, and no otherwise to be reputed but for a papist: yet agayne it is to be supposed, that he was none of the bloudy & cruell sort of papistes, as may appeare not only by staying the rage of this Byshop [Bonner]: but also by his solicitous writing, and long letters written to Cranmer, also by þe complaintes of certayne papistes, accusing to the Pope to bee a bearer with the heretickes, & by the popes letters sent to him vpon the same, calling him vp to Rome, & setting Fryer Peto in his place, had not Q. Mary by special entreaty haue kept him out of the popes danger. (12.1973; 8.308)

Accordingly, while there are few Catholics who follow the model of the cardinal's relative kindness to certain Protestants, like Cranmer, there are many who can be categorized as the "bloody sort."⁹⁷

If Pole is spared much of the vituperation aimed at the Catholic hierarchy, neither Gardiner nor Bonner is exempt. In the *Acts and Monuments's* section on Henry VIII, Foxe comments on the inconstancy of the future Marian bishops. A discussion of Gardiner's *De Vera Obedientia*, in which he argues against papal supremacy, and Bonner's preface to the book leads to the observation,

What man reading and aduising this booke of Winchester . . . with Boners Preface before the same, would euer haue thought, any alteration coulde so worke in mans hart, to make these men thus to turne the catte (as they say) in the panne, and to

start so sodenly from the truth so manifestly knowne, so pithely proued, so
vehemently defended, and (as it seemed) so faithfully subscribed. (8.1060; 5.79)

These remarks on the future betrayal of admittedly Protestant principles, which link Gardiner and Bonner to the kind of Catholic hypocrisy earlier exhibited by the tyrannical Richard III, are mild in comparison to the vitriol that attends their roles in the burnings. The manner in which Foxe details their involvement in the death of John Rogers is indicative of their obduracy. Rogers is sentenced to death by Gardiner, which forms the terminus of the miserable treatment which the martyr must endure; he “had bene long & straitly imprisoned, lodged in newgate amōgst theeues, oftē examined: and very vncharitably intreated & at lēgth vniustly and most cruelly by wicked Winchester cōdemned” (11.1492; 6.609). Bonner displays a matching iniquity when he refuses the last request of the prisoner. On 4 February 1555, Rogers “was had downe, first to Boner to bee disgraded. That done, hee craued of Boner but one petition. Boner asking what that should be: nothing sayde he: but that he might talke a few words with his wife, before his burning. But that coulde not bee obtained of hym. Then said he, you declare your charitie, what it is . . .” (11.1492; 6.609).

The inhumanity attached to the bishops in the inset narrative of Rogers is predicated on the text’s religious dialectic and is not unexpected, especially considering the prime responsibility for the persecution which Foxe later imputes to them. A little later in the history of 1555, he transforms Gardiner into a quasi-king and, significantly, the primary agent of the first martyrdoms:

After that Steuen Gardiner Bish. of Winchester, had got the lawes, and the secular arme on his side (as ye haue heard) with full power and authoritie to raigne and rule as he listed, and had brought these godly bishops and reuerend preachers aforesayd vnder foote, namely the Archbishop of Cant.[,] D. Ridley B. of London, M. Latimer, M. Hooper B. of Worcester and Gloucester, M. Rogers, M. Saunders, D. Taylor, and M. Bradford, all which he had now presently condemned, and some also burned, he supposed now all had bene cocke sure, and that Christ had bene conquered for euer, so that the people beyng terrified with example of these great learned men condemned, neuer would ne durst once route against their violent religion. . . . (11.1529; 6.703)

There is no mention of Queen Mary here, for Foxe has bestowed upon Gardiner, at least in terms of the persecution, the role of instigator, furnished with unlimited regal dominion to punish heretics. This characterization of the bishop of Winchester bolsters the authority that accrues to him as the kingdom's chancellor, but, within the passage itself, there is no sense that he is the deputy of his queen. The martyrdoms proceed from his power and his policy alone. The presentation of Gardiner as the sole agent of the persecutions is almost immediately complicated by reintegrating his activities with truly royal authority. In this way, Foxe shows him to be working under the auspices of an informed monarchical power, though with tremendous influence of his own. The bishop and confederates "hauyng Kyngs and Queenes of theyr side, . . . seeke not to perswade by the worde of God, nor to winne by charitie, but in stead of the law of God, they . . .

[compel] men by death, fire, and sworde, (as the Turkes do) to beleue that in very deed they think not" (11.1529; 6.704).

But Gardiner does not remain sole or primary force for the persecution for long. Although Foxe connects him with the origins of the practice, Bonner quickly replaces Winchester as the bishop in charge, once the latter becomes convinced of the futility of the imprisonments and burnings as a means of eradicating heresy in the realm. Gardiner conceives of the early arrests and executions as a kind of instruction for those who refused to conform to the reestablished Church, but it does not take much time for him to realize that this is a hopeless strategy:

And thus condemned they these godly learned preachers and bishops aforesayd, supposing (as I said) that all the rest would soone be quailed by their example. But they were deceiued, for wthin 8. or 9. dayes after that Ste. Gardiner had geuen sentence against M. Hooper, M. Rogers, M. Saunders, D. Taylor, and M. Bradford, being the 8. of Febru. sixe other good men wer brought likewyse before the bishops for the same cause of religion, to be examined, whose names were W. Pigot butcher, St. Knight Barber, Th. Tomkins Weauer, Th. Hawkes gentleman, Ioh. Laurence priest, Will. Hunter prentise. (11.1529; 6.704)

Gardiner's abdication of further responsibility in this matter leaves the arena free for Bonner; Winchester

seyng thus his deuise disappointed, and that cruelty in this case would not serue to his expectation gaue ouer the matter as vtterly discouraged, & from that day

medled no more in such kinde of condemnations, but referred the whole doyng therof to Boner B. of London: who supplied that part right doughtily, as in the further processe of this hystory hereafter evidently and too muche may appeare. (11.1529; 6.704)

In this passage, Foxe establishes Bonner as Gardiner's successor within the Protestant persecution, but he does not grant to the bishop of London a similar insight into its inefficacy as a vehicle for religious change.

In considering the role of these bishops in the commencement and continuation of the bloody policy, Foxe acknowledges their prominence and, at certain points in the text, their preeminence. However, he does not disregard the responsibility of others. The example of George Marsh, the one-time curate of Laurence Saunders who was executed on 24 April 1555, is instructive, for the bishop of Chester is directly implicated in his imprisonment, suffering, and death. Indeed, the manner in which Foxe presents his narrative transforms the bishop into an arresting officer and guard: "Whereupon at length, by detection of certayne aduersaries he [Marsh] was apprehēded, & kept in close prison by George Cotes then Byshoppe of Chester, in strayght Prison in Chester, within the precincte of the Byshoppes house, about the space of foure Monethes, being not permitted to haue reliefe and comfort of his frendes" (11.1561; 7.39). Marsh is also examined by Dr. Cotes, to whom Foxe imputes an almost sadistic enjoyment of the proceedings, for he writes that "Now, after that the sayd bishop had taken his pleasure in punishing this his prisoner and often reuilyng him, geuing tauntes, & odious names of hereticke. &c. hee

caused him to be brought forth into a Chappell in the Cathedrall church of Chester, called our Ladye Chappell before him . . ." (11.1565; 7.49). Cotes eventually passes sentence upon Marsh, who is burnt at the stake, and in response to the populace's characterization of the dead man as a martyr who "died maruelous patiently and godly," he preaches "a Sermon in the Cathedrall Church, and therein affirmed, that the sayde Marshe was an hereticke, burnt like an hereticke, & was a firebrand in hell" (11.1567; 7.53). While the active and obviously gleeful part that Cotes plays in the destruction of George Marsh marks him as a persecutor, the horrible manner of his own death confirms this designation, for Foxe divides the godly from the ungodly according to the kinds of death they experience. The death of Marsh's persecutor occasions the same sort of comments that Foxe uses at the end of the martyrology to support this contrast between the "so manye shamefull lyues and desperate endes of so many popish Persecutours stricken by Gods hand" and "on the contrarye syde the blessed endes geuen of almighty God vnto them, which haue stooode so manfully in the defence of Christes Gospel, and the reformation of his religion" (12.2113; 8.668). Accordingly,

In recompence of this hys good and charitable sermō within short time after, the iust iudgement of God appeared vppon the sayde Byshop: recompensing hym in suche wise, that not long after he turned vp his heeles and dyed. Vpon what cause his death was gendred. I haue not here precisely to pronounce, because the rumour and voyce of þ^e people is not alwayes to be followed. Notwithstanding such a report went in all mens mouthes, that he was burned of an harlot.

Whereupon whether he dyed or no, I am not certayne, neyther dare leane to much vppon publicke speech. Albeit this is certayn, that whē he was afterward searched being dead, by some of hys secret frends & certain Aldermen for stoppyng the rumour of þ^e people, this maydenly Priest and Byshop was foūd not to be free frō certayne appearaunce, which declared but small virginitie in him, & that the rumour was not raysed vp altogether vpō naught, amongst the people. (11.1567; 7.53)

The typical Foxean coyness, which the author attributes to a charity not shared by those who “are cruel in condemning Gods seruants to death” (11.1567; 7.54), on display in this passage does not negate the suspicion that the bishop of Chester died of a venereal disease, an obviously fitting end for the persecutor of the faithful George Marsh.⁹⁸ Foxe’s animus is not restricted to those bishops he considers both ungodly and cruel, but is also obvious against men with lesser religious standing and administrative power than Gardiner, Bonner, and Cotes. For instance, the target of his invective in the case of the Guernsey martyrs discussed above is the bailiff.⁹⁹

But what of the Catholic queen’s culpability? In his summary of Mary’s attitude towards heretics, Loades places the blame for the Protestant persecution primarily on her shoulders:

By the summer of 1555 both Philip and Gardiner had decided that the burnings were a bad idea. The king did not intervene openly, but let it be known that he did not approve. What he may have said to Mary in private we do not know, but it

did nothing to deflect her. Gardiner, in John Foxe's words, was "utterly discouraged" and began arguing for a lower-key policy of sanctions. However, Philip left England in August, and Gardiner died in November. From then on, the persecution was clearly driven by the Queen, dragging a reluctant Pole behind her. ("Personal Religion" 28)¹⁰⁰

Loades fetishizes Mary's devotion to the sacrament of the altar. Mary's persecuting zeal was connected to her deep commitment to the Eucharistic presence; quite simply, she was unable to countenance Protestant rejection of this doctrine, which was so central to her emotional life. Although there is a tinge of hysteria in Loades's description, he maintains that "All the emotional frustrations of her life were channelled into the devotion of the Lord's body, and it made her both holy and perilous" ("Personal Religion" 29).

When he writes that the persecution "was a catastrophic mistake, and in spite of John Foxe's efforts to conceal the fact, it was Mary's own mistake" ("Personal Religion" 28), Loades separates the historical queen from her Foxean construct. Nevertheless, Mary's involvement in the persecution is not erased from the *Acts and Monuments*. On occasion, as in the passages that relate Gardiner's initial involvement in the process of imprisonment and burning, and his disappointment at the failure of the policy to turn heretics towards what he perceives as right religion, no more than a cursory mention of a generalized monarchical power is made. At other times, Foxe connects the queen more firmly to the martyrdoms. Persecution, in the *Acts and Monuments*, is the defining characteristic of Mary's reign. As a consequence, Foxe can begin Book XI, which opens

with “The Story, Life and Martyrdome of Maister IOHN ROGERS,” with the following description: “wherein is discoursed the bloody murthering of Gods Saintes, with the particular Processes and Names of such good Martyrs, both Men and Women, as in this tyme of Queene Mary, were put to death” (11.1484; 6.591). While this heading, as with several other similar statements in the text, creates an interdependence between the Protestant persecutions and Mary’s rule, Foxe’s phrasing circumvents, to some extent, the issue of queenly responsibility.¹⁰¹

Mary’s role is much more active at other places in the *Acts and Monuments*. The marginal notes to the “godly supplication” hold her responsible for the new religious policy. Suggestive also is a letter from May, 1555, from the king and queen to Bonner, which indicates the monarchy as a check against any leniency towards heretics. They urge the bishop to give

regard hencefoorth to the office of a good pastor and Bishop, as whē any such offenders shalbe by the sayd Officers or Iustices of peace brought vnto you, you to vse your good wisdom & discretiō in procuring to remoue thē frō theyr errors, if it may be, or els in proceeding agaynst them (if they shall cōtinue obstinate) according to the order of the lawes: so as through your good furtherance, both Gods glory may bee better aduanced, and the common wealth more quietly gouerned. (11.1582; 7.86)

That this directive portends burning for the recalcitrant is made clear by the marginal note, which reads, “Q. Mary stirreth Boner to shedde innocent blood” (11.1582; 7.86).

Significantly, Philip is excused from blame here. Later in the history of the reign, Foxe discusses “an other bloody Commission from the king and Queene, to kindle vp the fire of persecution, as though it were not hoate [hot] enough already” (12.1970; 8.300), in order that

the Reader may vnderstand how kinges & princes of this world, like as in the first persecutions of the primitiue Church vnder Valerianus, Decius, Maximian, Dioclesian, Licinius. &c. so now also in these latter perillous dayes, haue set out all theyr maine force and power, with lawes, policy, & authorit[y] to the vttermost they coulde deuise agaynst Christe and his blessed gospel. (12.1970; 8.301)

The proclamation, sent to the bishops of London and Ely, as well as to several knights and others, advocates vigilance against heretics and grants to those addressed authority to move against the offenders. Foxe goes on to connect the commission to the intensification of the persecution, for he claims that after its delivery, “these new Inquisitours, especially some of them beganne to ruffle and to take vpon them not a little: so that all quarters were full of persecution and prisons almost full of prisoners, namely in the Dioces of Canterbury . . .” (12.1971; 8.303). What Foxe is emphasizing through the inclusion of these letters is that Mary, far from being divorced from this misguided religious policy, is its champion, involved with setting the terms for its implementation. More importantly, she is also exhorting watchfulness, not just for the sake of her people’s immortal souls, but also because those who “haue sowne diuers heresies, and heretical opinions” inevitably “styrre vp diuision, strife, contention, & sedition, not onely amongst

our louing subiectes, but also betwixt vs & our sayd subiectes, wt diuers others outrageous misdemeanors, enormities, contemptes, and offences, dayly committed and done, to be disquieting of vs and our people . . .” (12.1970; 8.301). At its most basic level, then, Mary’s participation in the policy against heretics is necessary for the safeguarding of her kingdom and her throne.

Mary is more intimately involved in the persecutions, at least in specific instances, than these letters suggest. This role is anticipated by an incident in the early days of her reign, in which she is shown to exhibit the same kind of hypocrisy and duplicity that Foxe had previously attributed to Richard III. The turbulence and uncertainty that ensued when Edward died, leaving Jane Grey as his preferred heir, brought a group of Suffolk men to the aid of the beleaguered Mary. They pledged to her their assistance on the condition that she “would not attempt the alteration of the religion which her Brother king Edward had before established by lawes and orders publickely enacted and receiued by the consent of the whole Realme in that behalfe” (10.1407; 6.387). Foxe ties Mary’s success in defeating the duke of Northumberland to “the power of þ^e Gospellers” (10.1407; 6.387), but she quickly reneges on her covenant with them. When the Suffolk men approach her about this matter, she replies, “For so muche . . . as you being but mēbers, desire to rule your head you shall one day well perceiue that members must obey theyr head, and not looke to beare rule ouer the same” (10.1407; 6.387). One who sought to remind her of her promise, a master Dobbs, is singled out for punishment, so he is “three sundrye times set on the pillory to be a gasing stocke vnto all men” (10.1407; 6.387).

Significantly, Foxe includes both breach of promise and cruelty, differing only by degree, as “e-uill vpholder[s] of quietnes” (10.1407; 6.387). This connection between Mary’s treatment of her early supporters and the persecutions that begin in 1555 is further concretized before Foxe sets aside the topic of Mary’s betrayal of the Suffolk men. He identifies her treachery in the summer of 1553 as a prelude to the later persecutions of the gossellers’ co-religionists:

Howbeit against all this, one shooteanker [sheetanchor] we haue, which may be a sure cōfort to all miserable creatures, þ^t equity & fidelity are euer perfect and certeinly found with the Lord aboue, though the same being shut out of the doores in this world, be not to be founde here among menne. But seeing our intent is to write a story, not to treat of office, let vs lay Suffolke men aside for a while, whose desertes for theyr redines and diligence with the Queene, I will not here stand vpon. What she performed on her part, the thing it selfe, and the whole storye of this persecution doth testifie, as hereafter more playnely will appeare. (10.1407; 6.387)

The new queen’s faithlessness is endemic of oppression, whether it is practised upon master Dobbs or Thomas Cranmer.

Foxe does hold Mary responsible for the execution of Cranmer. Her enmity against him has a history, as the martyrologist relates in the digression on “The life, state, and storie of the Reuerend Pastour and Prelate, Thomas Cranmer Archbishop of Caunterburie, Martyr, burned at Oxforde, for the Confession of Christes true Doctrine,

vnder Queene Marie. An. 1556. March. 21" (11.1859; 8.3). After her possession of the crown is secure, Mary pardoned most of the nobles who had initially opposed her accession and supported Edward's "candidate," Jane Grey,

the Archbishop of Cant. onely excepted. Who though he desired pardon by meanes of frendes, could obtaine none: in so much that the Queene would not once vouchsafe to see him: For as yet the olde grudges agaynst the Archbishop for the deuorcemēt of her mother, remayned hid in the bottome of her hart. Besides this diuorce, she remembred the state of religion chaunged: all whiche was reputed to the Archbishop, as the chiefe cause therof. (11.1871; 8.37)

It is ironic that Cranmer rouses Mary's animosity because Foxe earlier designates the archbishop as the princess's champion, who fostered a reconciliation between her and her father. This idea is repeated in the 1563 version of Cranmer's biography; here the archbishop's dramatic and tearful defence of Mary elicits a prophetic warning from Henry, as well as reminders of her putative illegitimacy and gross ingratitude:

The sayinge is constantly affirmed of dyuers, that the saide Archbyshop, with the L. Wryosley, kneling and weping at the kings bedside saued the life of quene Mary, daughter to princes Dowager diuorced as is afore sayde from the Kinge, whose determination then was to haue of her head, for certein causes of stubbernes, had not the intercessiō and great perswasion of this Archbyshop come betwixt, whereupon the king afterward speaking of the saide Archbyshop (whom cōmonlye he called his priest) saide that he made intercession for her, which

would his destruction, and woulde trouble them al. What recōpense the quene rendered agayne for that benefite receaued, let the world consider and iudge.

(1563:5.2.1478; 8.43)

Furthermore, Cranmer is very reluctant to endorse Jane Grey's right to throne because he is convinced that the succession established in Henry VIII's will is preeminent over that set forth in Edward's revisionist Device.

Eventually, even the force of queenly grievance is insufficient to sustain Cranmer's attainder and, therefore, his imprisonment, but the charge of treason is quickly replaced with a charge of heresy. Afterwards, Cranmer is transferred from the Tower of London "to Oxforde, there to dispute wyth the Doctours and Diuines" (11.1871; 8.39), although allowing Cranmer to participate in public disputations is never envisioned with the possibility of his winning his freedom:

And although the Queene and the bishops had concluded before what should become of him, yet it pleased them that the matter should be debated with argumentes, that vnder some honest shew of disputation, the murther of the man might bee couered. Neither coulde theyr hasty spced of reuengemēt abide any long delay: and therefore in all hast he was caried to Oxford. (11.1871; 8.39)

Foxe describes the Oxford disputations as a form of criminal conspiracy intended to lead to murder. Because they are inherently unfair, they are a showcase for Marian duplicity. The verdict itself, a foregone conclusion to a quasi-show trial,¹⁰² emphasizes Catholic treachery against the once-powerful archbishop, as well as his co-religionists, Latimer and

Ridley. Foxe provides a summary of these convictions:

After the disputation of maister Latimer ended, whych was the 18. day of April, the Friday following whych was the 20. day of the sayde moneth, the Commissioners sate in saint Maries Church, as they did the Saterdag before, and Doctor Weston vsed particularly disswasions wyth euery of them, and woulde not suffer them to answeare in anye wise, but directly and peremptorily, (as his woordes were) to say whether they woulde subscribe, or no. And firste to the Bishop of Canterbury he said he was ouercome in disputations: whome the Byshop aunswared, that where as Doctour Weston sayde, he had answeared and opposed, and could neither mainteine his own errors, nor impugne the veritie, all that he said, was false. For he was not suffered to Oppose as he woulde, nor could answer as he was required, vnles he would haue brauled with them, so thick theyr reasons came one after an other. Euer foure or fiue did interrupt him, that he coulde not speake. Maister Ridley and M. Latimer were asked, what they would do, they sayde, they would stande to that they had sayd. Then were they all called together, and sentence read ouer them, that they were no members of the Church. And therefore they, theyr fautors and patrones were condemned as heretiks: and in reading of it, they were asked, whether they would turne or no, & they bade them read on in the name of God, for they were not minded to turne. So were they condemned all three. (10.1463; 6.533-4)

The archbishop's trip to the pyre is interrupted by his infamous recantation, which

Foxe discusses at some length. The diction reflects the martyrologist's consistent stance on the duplicity of Catholicism. Those "wily papistes," who work to secure the prize of the Protestant archbishop for Rome, use "all craftye practises and alluremēts," including "secretely and sleightly" suborning others to "allure him to recantation" (11.1884; 8.80).

There is a furtiveness inherent in the process, as well as a suggestion of witchcraft.

Significantly, although Foxe identifies "Henry Sydal, and frier Iohn a Spanyarde, De Villa Garcina [Juan de Villagarcia]" (11.1884; 8.80) as the most important members of this cabal, Mary is instrumental in their arguments. She is invoked to persuade Cranmer to pledge himself anew to the faith into which he was born. Thus, his interlocutors "set foorth how acceptable it would be bothe to the King and Queene, and especially howe gainfull to hym, and for his soules health the same shoulde be" (11.1884; 8.81).

Moreover, they contend that his recantation will bring rewards from the queen herself, "whether he would haue richesse or dignitie, or els if he had rather liue a priuate life in quyet rest, in what soeuer place he listed, wythoute all publicke ministry" (11.1884; 8.81). If Foxe's synopsis of the case put to Cranmer is accurate, then the archbishop seems to be accorded some degree of autonomy in his renunciation, but it is ultimately revealed as illusory. Cranmer's choices are limited, and the queen, far from being confined to the role of future benefactress, is clearly the force behind the Catholic efforts for his recantation. Although the act of abjuration is, in the Catholic terms set here, an almost insignificant act, described as to "subscribe to a few woordes wyth his owne hande" and to "set hys name in two words to a litle leaf of paper" (11.1884; 8.81), such

downplaying cannot mask the mortal peril in which Cranmer is placed by the queen. Foxe recognizes Mary as the implacable force against which Cranmer is set when he writes,

but if he refused [to recant], there was no hope of health and pardone, for the Queene was so purposed, that shee woulde haue Cranmer a Catholicke, or els no Cranmer at all: Therefore hee shoulde chuse whether hee thought it better to ende his life shortly in the flames and firebrands now ready to be kindled, then wyth much honour to prolong hys life, vntil the course of nature did cal him: for there was no middle way. (11.1884; 8.81)

But Cranmer's recantation is insufficient to transform his avowed enemy into the Tudor version of Lady Bountiful promised by Sydal and Villagarcia:

All this while Cran. was in no certaine assuraunce of his life, although the same was faithfully promised to him by the doctours: but after that they had their purpose, the rest they committed to all aduenture, as became men of that religion to doe.

The Queene hauing nowe gotten a time to reuenge her old grieef, receiued his recantation very gladly: but of her purpose to put him to death, she would nothing relēt. (11.1884; 8.82-3)

The queen's double-dealing, a characteristic she shares with her co-religionists, and her intransigent loathing for Cranmer create the circumstances for her enemy's death. In spite of the publication of his recantation, recorded in Foxe, and the promise that it would

secure his life,

the Queene taking secrete Counsel, howe to dispatch Cranmer out of the way
(who as yet knew nothing of her secrete hate, and looked for nothing lesse then
death) apoynted D. Cole, and secretly gaue him in commandement, that against
the 21. of March, he should prepare a funerall sermon for Cranmers burning, & so
instructing him orderly and diligently of her wil & pleasure in that behalfe,
sendeth him away. (11.1885; 8.83)

A parallel between Marian dissembling and Cranmer's waywardness is prevented by his final repudiation of Catholicism, and so he is burnt as a martyr to the Protestant faith and not, or not exclusively, as the victim of queenly abhorrence.¹⁰³ What is clear in Foxe's account, however, is that Mary promotes his death, and her pursuit of a very personal revenge, unappeased by any consideration given to her as princess or queen, or to her religion, makes her a monarch of the Richardian mold.¹⁰⁴

Mary's interference in the arrest and punishment of Cranmer is, admittedly, a rare example of queenly participation in the persecution of individual Protestants. The only other truly memorable occasions in which she directly intervened in such activities involved her sister Elizabeth.¹⁰⁵ Foxe identifies the bishop of Winchester as the primary oppressor of the princess; in fact, in the litany of Gardiner's crimes, which end with his death, Foxe gives particular prominence to "that he had thought to haue brought to passe in murdring also our noble Queene that now is. For what soeuer daunger it was of death
pt she was in, it did (no doubt) proceede frō that bloudy bishop, who was the cause

therof" (11.1787; 7.592). However, the designation of "wily Winchester" as "the onely Dedalus & framer of that ingine" (11.1787; 7.592), the man behind the writ of execution preempted by master Bridges, and Mary's own role in the disappointment of her bishop's schemes, fail to discharge the queen's guilt in the treatment of her sister.

In the lengthy inset narrative, "The myraculous preseruatiō of Lady Elizabeth, nowe Queene of England, from extreme calamitie and danger of life, in the time of Q. Marie her sister" (12.2091; 8.600), Foxe describes a change in the relationship between the sisters, with a fracture marked by the coronation: "Queene Marye when shee was first Queene, before shee was crowned, would goe no whither, but would haue her [Elizabeth] by the hande, and send for her to dinner and supper: but after shee was crowned, shee neuer dined nor supped wyth her, but kept her aloofe from her" (12.2091; 8.606). The suspicion of Elizabeth's involvement in the Wyatt Rebellion intensifies the siblings' estrangement and marks Mary's first foray into the victimization of her sister:

it happened, immediatly vpon the rising of sir Thomas Wiat . . . that the Ladye Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney were charged with false suspition of Syr Thomas Wyates rising. Whereuppon Queene Marye, whether for that surmise, or for what other cause I know not, being offended with the sayde Elizabeth her sister, at that time lying in her house as Ashridge, the next day after the rising of Wyat, sent to her three of her Counsailours, to wit, Sir Richard Sowthwel, syr Edward Hastings, then maister of the horse, and Syr Thomas Cornwalles, with their retinue and troupe of horsemen, to the number of 200. and 50. Who at their

sodaine and vnprouided comming, founde her at the same time sore sicke in her bedde, and very feeble & weake of body. (12.2091; 8.606)

In spite of her illness, Elizabeth is removed from Ashridge to make the journey to the court in London. Her arrival begins a brief period of imprisonment: "Now, when she came to the Court, her grace was there straight wais shut vp, and kept as close prisoner a fortnight, which was till Palme sonday, seeing neither King nor Queene, nor lord, nor frend, all that time, but only then the Lord Chamberlaine, Syr Iohn Gage, and the Vicechamberlaine, which were attendant vnto the dores" (12.2091; 8.607). Although Mary remains distant during this time and never meets with her desperate sister, her council appears to be acting with the full knowledge of the queen. When Elizabeth is later questioned about the rebellion, Winchester and nineteen other councillors "came vnto her grace from the Queenes Maiestie, and burdened her with Wiates conspiracie," and the conclusion of this interview is that "they declared vnto her, that it was the Queenes will & pleasure that she should go vnto the tower [of London], while the matter were further tried and examined" (12.2092; 8.607). In the days before Elizabeth's removal from the Tower and in her movements to Woodstock and elsewhere afterwards, she is placed under the close and strict supervision of Sir Henry Benifield [or Bedingfield]. Although he protests that he is Elizabeth's servant, his treatment of his royal prisoner suggests that his first loyalty is to Queen Mary: "Then he kneeling downe, desired her grace to thinke and consider how he was a seruant, & put in trust there by the Queene to serue her Maiestie, protesting that if pe case were hers, he would as willingly

serue her grace, as now he did the Queenes highnesse" (12.2095; 8.617). Foxe implicates Mary in the saving of Elizabeth from Winchester's plot, for it is to the queen that Master Bridges runs "to geue certificate therof, and to knowe further her consent touching her sisters deathe" (12.2095; 8.619). Neither this action, nor her agreement to see her sister, with whom she speaks "very few comfortable words . . . in English" (12.2096; 8.621), nor Elizabeth's release from the wardenship of Sir Henry Benifield in the following week, erases the threat that Mary poses. Foxe emphasizes that this menace, though diminished, continues for Elizabeth until Mary's providential death:

After the death of this Gardiner, followed the death also and droppying away of other her enemies, whereby by little and litle her ieoperdy decreased, feare didminished, hope of comfort began to appeare as out of a darke cloud: and albeit as yet her grace had no full assurance of perfect safetie, yet more gentle intertainment daily did grow vnto her, till at length to the moneth of Nouember, and xvij. of the same, three yeares after the death of Ste. Gardiner, followed the death of Queene Mary. . . . (12.2097; 8.622)

Foxe's connecting the danger to Elizabeth to the duration of Mary's reign gives further credence to the queen's own culpability in the harassment and imprisonment of her younger sister.

The Mary Tudor found in the 1583 edition of the *Acts and Monuments* is a complex figure. Mary, the queenly persecutor, is often portrayed as the antithesis of the godly martyrs who suffered under her regime. Ironically, the scene of her fairly

comfortable death, found almost at the close of the twelfth and final book of the martyrology, contrasts a troubled monarch with the joyous martyrs. Even in death, the materiality of Mary's heart, which is different from the final incorporeality of the martyrs' burned bodies, reflects the corruption of Catholic doctrine. Corruption, both public and religious, is further developed through the presentation of her family life. Unlike many of the martyrs, Mary is unable to have children, and her domestic life lacks the mutual affection and support demonstrated so frequently by the persecuted Protestants and their spouses. Foxe's Mary is barred from another kind of ecstatic union experienced by the martyrs, a form of marital consummation or ceremony connected with their executions that reinforces their godliness and their openness to spiritual comfort and religious fulfilment. In the *Acts and Monuments*, the issue with which her reign is most closely identified is consistently the persecution of Protestants. Indeed, the "cruell practises and horrible persecutiōs of quene Maryes raigne" are itemized at one point to include "the bitter and sorowfull matters of such terrible burning, imprisoning, murdering, famishing, racking, and tormenting, and spitefull handeling of the pitifull bodies of Christes blessed saintes . . ." (1563:5.3.1720 [=1708]; 8.600). Except for isolated cases like Cranmer's and Elizabeth's, Foxe often distances Mary from the actual implementation of her policies through arrest, imprisonment, examination, and execution, in which other authorities are more directly involved. However remote the queen is from the execution of heretics, by making persecution the primary—in many ways, the only—characteristic of her reign, by comparing her to Richard III, and by using marginal notes, Foxe, as I have

shown, designates her as the catalyst. Even if others, like wily Winchester and bloody Bonner, are more immediately involved in the operation of the official policies against heretics, their queen provides the circumstances for their function. The authors discussed in Chapter 1 and Foxe write Mary differently; what they consider a virtue, like the attempt to eradicate heresy, is, for the martyrologist, a vice. Foxe's construction of Mary is always negative, but because his target is Catholicism generally, there are many figures who are treated more unfavourably than the queen. Foxe's Mary is always a necessary evil, necessary in the sense that she is integral to the master-narrative of Protestant suffering, Protestant survival, and the ultimate working of providence for Protestant ends. These themes recur in a series of Jacobean history plays based on Foxe, a study of which forms the next chapter. In them, Mary is more often the autocratic exponent of wrong religion and untruth than the persecuting monarch, implicated directly in the victimization of the godly. For these playwrights, as for Foxe, Mary continues to be significant in the unfolding of Protestant history, most notably in the stories of its heroes and heroines.

Notes

1. The source of this ballad is *A Collection of Seventy-Nine Black-Letter Ballads and Broad-sides, Printed in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, Between the Years 1559 and 1597* (94-7). I cite by line number. For the identification of the poet, see the Introduction (xxi).
2. "Lowlarden Tower," according to the note citing a passage from Stow's *Survey of London* (1603), stood at the southern corner of the west end of St. Paul's. It had "been used as the Bishoppes prison, for such as were detected for opinions in religion contrary to the faith of the church" (*Collection* 291).
3. Foxe believed that his own life demonstrated the working of providence (Wooden 3-4, 5-6). His conception of providence was essentially Lutheran (Fox 45; Levin, "Foxe" 113).
4. Betteridge categorizes three of the editions (1563, 1570, 1583) according to different thematic perspectives (prophetic, apocalyptic, monumental, respectively) ("Prophetic" 212). His *Tudor Histories of the English Reformations, 1530-83* explores the evolution of the text in its first two editions (161-206), which involves the movement "from the archivist to the historian, from chronicle to history and from the world to the spirit" (187). Betteridge also treats the changes in the 1576 and 1583 editions (207-17). For another discussion of the changes from edition to edition, particularly as they affect the theme of the elect nation, see Lander (71-89). Hickerson examines the evolution of ideas from 1563 to 1570, especially as they pertain to the treatment of Elizabeth, Mary, and Prest's wife (129-59).
5. Foxe's response to Nicholas Harpsfield's attack on the text repudiates its popular title: "first ye must vnderstand, that I wrote no suche booke bearing the title of the booke of Martyrs, I wrote a booke called the Actes and Monumentes, of thinges passed in the church. &c. Wherin many other matters be contayned beside the martyrs of Christ" (5.583; 3.392). However, Wooden states that the *Book of Martyrs* "is not a title he [Foxe] disdains" (31).
6. To speak of Foxe's text or texts as if he was the only author responsible for any edition of the *Acts and Monuments* is rather misleading, though common practice. Collinson provides a brief commentary on this issue, glancing at recent scholarship that has identified some of Foxe's collaborators or contributors, like Henry Bull ("John Foxe" 13-17). See also Breitenberg (386-7). Collinson does claim that "What we now know about the multiple, collaborative construction of the *Book of Martyrs* was either unknown to his contemporaries . . . or overlooked. Although the *Book of Martyrs* was its commonest designation, . . . its status . . . was inextricably bound up with the person of

Foxe himself" ("John Foxe" 16).

7. The source of the quotation is Tennyson's "In Memoriam A. H. H." (section LVI, line 15).

8. See Mozley (129). For a discussion of the appeal of the vernacular to a greater English readership, as well as an endorsement of the idea that the printer John Day was integral to persuading Foxe to abandon Latin as the language of the martyrology, see Susan Felch (58).

9. See Mozley on the Convocation order and the installation of the *Acts and Monuments* in parish churches (147-8). Collinson asks a series of questions related to these matters because little is known about the owners of the *Acts and Monuments*, where they kept the text, and how they read it ("John Foxe" 18). He does acknowledge that "If it is an old canard that copies were placed in every parish church, by order . . . , Foxe was set up in many other public places, and it is likely that both privately and publicly owned copies were read aloud in a variety of domestic and other settings: our 'textual communities' again" (25-6). In spite of this dissemination, however, many Englishmen and women, perhaps the majority of the population, neither read nor heard anyone read the *Acts and Monuments* (26). Collinson, in referencing the formation of textual communities based on exposure to Foxe, borrows from other critics, principally Brian Stock.

10. For a discussion of the popularity of the *Acts and Monuments* in early modern England, see Hickerson (5-7) and Wooden (41-3). For its influence on Milton, Bunyan, Donne, Herbert, and others, see Knott (*passim*) and Mueller (179-84). In "Truth and Legend: The Veracity of John Foxe's Book of Martyrs," Collinson identifies the early modern reader for whom Foxe was an authority: "For a certain class of seventeenth-century reader, Foxe was much more than a popular and, indeed, standard author. He was read formally, systematically and, in the language of the time, 'thoroughly,' as men read Scripture" (31). Lander also considers the authority and canonicity of the *Acts and Monuments* (69-70). Although Collinson elsewhere acknowledges "a very far-reaching and more diffuse Foxeian influence" in the form of direct and indirect references, ballads, woodcuts, other objects, and events, he remains "far from convinced that anything resembling 'Foxe' ever did become a national text" ("John Foxe" 31, 30-1). He rejects Haller's argument: "we can no longer elide the godly Protestant community with the national community, as if they were one and the same thing" ("John Foxe" 25). In an earlier article, Breitenberg, following Haller, makes a case for a national outcome to the publication of the *Acts and Monuments*; he posits that the

effect of such an "open" text is to fashion a Protestant community by including a vast number of texts, authors, events and individuals while at the same time discrediting those who are not part of the community. In this way, the *Acts and*

Monuments effaces many textual and formal boundaries to construct a larger boundary that serves to identify (and give identity to) the larger membership of a new state church. (388)

Later in the same article, his discussion of the array of genres, texts, and voices, both Protestant and Catholic, within the *Book of Martyrs* leads to the conclusion that "we can begin to understand the *Acts and Monuments* as a textual body that reproduces the emerging corporate body of Protestant England" (389). Mullaney references Breitenberg before he announces that the *Acts and Monuments* "was one of the most widely disseminated texts of the sixteenth century, not so much the product as the ongoing *production* of the English Reformation" (239). He also develops the nationalistic agenda of Foxe (241-2). Felch's thesis is somewhat more narrow in its focus on Foxe's "shaping of the ordinary reader" (58), particularly in the 1570 edition, in order to produce greater "interpretative coherence" (60). The target of such fashioning is not, or not only, the individual for its goal is to create "morally sensitive and adequately informed readers . . . believers . . . who share a strategy of reading and interpretation, rather than a geographic location" (58). Tribble indicates how access to texts like the *Acts and Monuments* jeopardized "traditional patterns of deference" (95, *passim*).

On the relative lengths of the Bible and the *Acts and Monuments*, see Collinson ("Truth and Legend" 31).

11. For a brief summary of the importance of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* in the sixteenth century, see Levin ("Women" 196).

12. Richards's discussion of a February 1558 report from the Venetian ambassador leads to the comment that this evidence "suggests that the loss of Calais—certainly deeply regretted by Mary—was not necessarily viewed as a disaster by all Englishmen until it became another part of the Protestant black legends of her reign" (222).

13. Master Rise is Rees Mansell, a gentleman of the queen's privy chamber (Loades, *Tragical* 197).

14. Foxe is referring to Susan Clarencius (before 1510-1564?), widow of Thomas Tonge. She entered Mary's service between 1533 and 1536, and developed a close personal friendship with her royal mistress. (Loades suggests that it "brought her as close to personal friendship and mutual trust as she ever came.") Before Mary's accession, Clarencius was described by the imperial ambassador's secretary as "the chief lady in the princess's household"; afterwards, she was named the mistress of the robes. After Mary's death in 1558, she travelled to Spain with the household of Jane Dormer. For a biography, the source of the quotations in this note, see Loades ("Tonge, Susan").

15. All biblical references in this chapter are from *The Geneva Bible* (1560 ed.).

16. Foxe identifies martyrs very broadly. The accounts of the martyrs of the early Church shaped his idea of what constituted martyrdom, and he recognized the acts of the Marian martyrs as an historical extension of the heroism exhibited by the figures described principally by Eusebius (Knott 33-46). See also Wooden (20, 26, 52-3). Foxe was additionally influenced by the works of another Protestant exile, John Bale (Knott 46-59). Dying for the faith was one way to achieve Foxean martyrdom. However, others are designated martyrs who were not executed for their beliefs but stood as witnesses to the true faith (Wooden 30, 33-4, 46-8). Speaking in defense of the freedom with which he designates martyrs, Foxe writes, "And why may I not in my Calēdar cal them by the name of martyrs, which were faythfull witnesses of Christes truth and Testament for the which they were also chiefly brought vnto that end? Or why may I not call them holy sayntes, whome Christ hath sanctified with hys blessed bloud?" (5.583; 3.392).

17. See Fox (49) and Knott (2). Following the model of Christ's death in such a way complies with Foxe's belief that "sixteenth-century Protestantism may be regarded as a mirror of biblical Christianity" (Wooden 37). Wooden shows that through repetition of types, the martyrs function as exemplars within the apocalyptic perspective of the text (52). Sameness is achieved through martyrdom, which contributes to and authorizes a common standard of performance: "Martyrdom provided a role pattern after which those going to execution could fashion their performance of a Christian art of dying" (Höfele 83). The generally homogenous quality of Foxean martyrdom does not cancel a sense of the admittedly "limited individuality" of the martyrs. Woolf notes that this paradox would have been problematic for Foxe, and he addressed it by applying to "his romance skeleton some comic flesh and blood." In this way, he "made his martyrs and Reformers seem more human, less extraordinary, and more immediate to the reader; in short, he gave a work of epic proportions and high sacred purpose a rhetoric that is distinctly 'low-mimetic,' grounding his own version of eschatological history in the dirt, flesh, and cloth of the experiential world" ("Rhetoric" 251). Later, he returns to this idea: "such sameness is a matter of inner character, not of external characteristics, and in order to demonstrate it, Foxe was . . . obliged to pay close attention to the small differences, to the details, if only to show how little they mattered" (264).

18. Knott notes that

Foxe's Reformation martyrs demonstrate the purity of their faith and reject the appeals of the world, including those of family. . . . Yet these martyrs are shown to be more closely connected to a sustaining human community, and more fully human themselves. They may turn away from wives and children at the end but make arrangements for their care and write them letters of consolation and exhortation. (45-6)

For more on the primacy of divine over earthly concerns for Foxe's female martyrs in particular, see Hickerson (101-3, 119).

19. Woolf contends that generally Foxe gives no more consequence to the stories of prominent Protestant martyrs, like Latimer and Ridley. The narratives of such martyrdoms are necessarily longer because more documentation is available, but they are neither central nor climactic to the work as a whole ("Rhetoric" 252-3). For Foxe, "the purpose of the book and its several reeditions was never to extol the high and mighty," which differentiates his from most late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century historiography and biography ("Rhetoric" 252). Differing somewhat from Woolf's thesis is Wooden, who considers Latimer, Cranmer, Winchester, and Bonner, as well as other prominent Protestants and Catholics, "'tent-post' figures" (51), whose lives receive close and prolonged attention. Because "these men are obviously agents in the universal struggle between God and Satan, [Foxe] naturally appends a moral interpretation of the quality of their lives, and deaths, to the narrative of their deeds" (51). In Wooden's estimation, the martyrs of less historical importance than Latimer and Cranmer are consequently "beacons whose true light receives confirmation and added luster from the presentation of the great figures who occupy the world's stage" (52). Wooden, however, acknowledges the significance of typology throughout the text (52-60).

20. It is Höfele's contention that utterances audible to the execution's spectators, the gestures made by the martyr, and the treatment of his/her clothing (costumes) contribute "to a logic of reversal which characterizes the martyr's performance throughout" (84). Paradoxically, it is the martyr who "demonstratively, and histrionically, takes control over a spectacle intended to exert total control over him[/her]. This turning of constraint into liberty is arguably the greatest reversal he[/she] achieves" (84). For similar views, see Knott (80-1) and Mullaney (241).

21. Knott comments on the incidents of such slow burnings in the text (79-80).

22. Relevant here is the argument that "the new Protestant poetics of martyrdom drives forward the physical experience of pain, emphasizing the centrality of suffering for the subject of martyrology" (Truman 37). For a discussion of the treatment of the Latimer and Ridley narrative in the *Acts and Monuments*, see Knott (74-8) and King ("Fiction" 22-4).

23. Stephen Mullaney proposes, based solely upon the duration of other methods of execution used in the period, that burning may not have been the most agonizing form of capital punishment (239).

24. A case-study in Foxe's fashioning of the available material is his treatment of the materials related to the martyrdom of John Rogers (Knott 22-8). In spite of the judicious editing, revising, and fashioning involved in the production of the four editions of the *Acts and Monuments*, Betteridge can still confidently state that for Foxe, "and countless other Elizabethan Protestants, it was a, if not the, true account of the history of the

English Church, and, in particular, of the Marian persecution" ("Prophetic" 210). According to Betteridge, the framing of truth is implicit in the construction of a history: "History is the production of truth-claiming representations of the past. . . . History is not, however, the past. History is the production of a representation of a past which constructs itself, at the moment of its articulation, as the image of the past" (*Tudor* 4). There is an obvious rupture between the historical past and the imagined past in a history. Therefore, truth, in Foxe, is not entirely divorced from fiction because it is allied with another truth, that of the godly Church and its witnesses ("Prophetic" 210-12). See also Collinson ("Truth, Lies, and Fiction" *passim*). Betteridge examines the complication of truth presented by the alliance of history and apocalypse in sixteenth-century historiography (*Tudor* 15-7). One factor contributing to distortion of the historical record in Foxe is the desire to ignore unorthodox belief and practice among the martyrs, which sometimes leads to suppression or falsification of evidence (Collinson, "Truth and Legend" 40-50, "Persecution" 318-32). Another involves his rhetorical style:

His prose style elevated and dignified his heroes, reserving the sharp edge of satire and the blunt instrument of abuse for the villains of the piece. Consequently, an analysis of Foxe's rhetorical and polemical art . . . might depict a style in transition from the racy vulgarity of many of his sources and of his more polemical passages to the decorousness of a text designed for the edification of the pious world . . . (Collinson, "Truth and Legend" 49)

On the issue of historical veracity, Bartlett argues that "Foxe . . . was clearly not content to restrict himself to the role of a compiler. He was much more interested in what his readers wanted and needed than in the troublesome quest for some abstract concept which modern historical studies might label as 'truth' divorced from the real life of his reader" (773). Both Hickerson (13-5) and King ("Fiction" 14-5) also discuss the penetration of fiction into Foxean history. Catholics, of course, considered much of Foxe to be false (Parry 295-7; Tribble 104-5). For discussions of the attacks against Foxe, see Collinson ("Truth and Legend" 31-5) and Mozley (175-203).

25. Collinson also explores the fashioning of Foxean history in "The Persecution in Kent" (*passim*). Wooden addresses Foxe's pioneering work as a historian: "This respect for documentary evidence and the accurate reproduction of primary texts is something new for mid-Tudor England" (23; cf. 21-4). Mozley, who presents a thorough, if dated, examination of Foxe's method, including his honesty and accuracy (152-74), considers the martyrologist "not properly a historian at all, rather he is a compiler on a gigantic scale" (153).

26. In "Ad Doctum Lectorem," Foxe writes that "My story is compiled from the archives and registers of the bishops, and partly from the letters of the martyrs themselves. I say not that all is an oracle, but we have come as near as possible to the old law, to avoid the two pests of history, fear and flattery, saying too much or saying too little." (I am using

the translation found in Bartlett [774].) For comments on Foxe's use of documents, see Collinson ("Truth, Lies, and Fiction" 49). The reliance on and inclusion of such archival material is one important way that Foxe differentiates his martyrology from Catholic hagiography (Bartlett 774), though documentary and eyewitness evidence, usually shaped for the context, is not altogether absent in traditional hagiography (Bartlett 777, 780). Breitenberg also discusses the importance of historical accuracy to and in Foxe (393-7).

27. Wooden discusses how the martyrs exemplify the "good" death (44-8, 61).

28. An early proclamation of the Marian government against performance (preaching and plays), as well as printing, was an attempt to suppress heresy. Ironically, the punishment of those found guilty was inherently theatrical, as Andreas Höfele argues (82-3, *passim*). The result of the program of persecution "generated a veritable theatre of martyrdom, whose dangerous potency was enhanced by the collaborative forces of preaching and printing" (83). Mullaney situates the Protestant burnings as a "theater of resistance" (241), while Knott uses Theodore Bozeman's phrase, "recapturable mythic drama" (7). Knott refers to Latimer's famous last words ("Be of good comfort maister Ridley, and play the man: wee shall this day light such a candle by Gods grace in England, as (I trust) shall neuer be put out" [11.1770; 7.550]) to indicate the extent to which "the role of martyrs was something consciously acted" (78). For a brief commentary on Origen's argument that martyrdom is inextricable from performance, see Betteridge ("Truth" 149n).

29. In attempting to evaluate the *Acts and Monuments* as hagiography, Bartlett discusses the aspect of joy (779).

30. Knott explores the paradox of comfort, serenity, and acceptance in persecution based on biblical precedents (28-32).

31. Höfele makes much the same point (cf. 84-5).

32. See also Knott (28).

33. For a discussion of Foxe's martyrs as instruments for inspiring and strengthening Protestant belief, particularly through suffering, see Thompsett (194) and Truman (55-8). Indebted to an earlier argument by Collinson, Betteridge also touches on this point ("Truth" 148-9). Wooden contends that utterances and actions that confirmed the martyrs' "victory in the flames" were "considered extremely efficacious in bolstering the faith and fortifying the determination of bystanders; examples of final tokens are so common in Foxe's accounts as to suggest that as ritualistic actions they were meant to provide a palpable substitute for the fantastic miracles of the old saints in the discredited tradition of *The Golden Legend*" (45).

34. It is through this transfer of power that the "real rebels" can be identified: "the ecclesiastical and civil forces that over the course of centuries have divided Christendom, just as more recently they have severed, through mutilation, the physical bodies of the saints" (Woolf, "Rhetoric" 259).

35. Truman does not discuss the aspect of joy. Central to his thesis is the experience of torture and martyrdom as physically traumatic events which reveal "the interior truth of the subject . . . through an appropriately theatrical expression of somatic violation" (39-40). Mueller also deals with the way the public burning of Protestant heretics transforms the execution venue into a place for their triumph and the concomitant spiritual and moral defeat of their persecutors (161-2). Her argument involves a reversal of Elaine Scarry's paradigm of torture, which features a powerful persecutor (161). See also Knott, whose focus is on the way punishment brings the martyrs "enhanced spiritual power" (9; cf. 79), and Tribble, who demonstrates how the learning of the persecutor cannot vanquish the truth expressed by his/her uneducated victim (95-6).

36. Knott presents a full treatment of Rogers's martyrdom (11-32). For a discussion of the changes in the treatment of the Rogers narrative in the 1563 and 1570 editions, see Betteridge ("Prophetic" 220-25; *Tudor* 193-9).

37. Wooden would consider Foxe's emphasis on the inner life of the martyrs as part of the concern with the "internal aspects of their voluntary witness" (47). Such attention facilitates their presentation as real people, able to be emulated, unlike the unrealistic perfection of Catholic saints. The Protestant martyrs function as examples because they are sometimes weak, troubled, and in need of spiritual fortification, but ultimately "striving for perfection in their faith" (47).

The spiritual "refreshing" of Saunders exemplifies the divine help available to the faithful in time of need. See Hickerson (82).

38. The true Church may be recognized "by the twin signs of persecution from established authorities and comfort from the Holy Spirit" (Bartlett 772).

39. Woolf discusses the humorous aspects of the text ("Rhetoric" 255-7).

40. See Cattley (6.967n).

41. Collinson elsewhere explores *apatheia* in connection to the martyrs' behaviour ("Truth and Legend" 48). According to Knott, the *Book of Martyrs* "articulated the themes and provided the examples that shaped an ideal of protestant heroism" (2).

42. William W. E. Slights argues that "we can best understand the early modern heart as the primary point of connection between felt interiority and the systems that helped to

make sense of the social and physical universe" (4).

43. The examples from *The Cloud of Unknowing* and *The Book of Common Prayer* are also used by Sykes (1, 2).

44. Woolf considers the terrible deaths of those who persecuted the godly a "providential joke" that forms part of the text's comedy. His example is also Gardiner ("Rhetoric" 256).

45. See Wooden (56-8) for the treatment of the great villains of the *Acts and Monuments*, particularly Gardiner and Bonner. Knott also discusses the handling of Bonner (60-1).

46. Freeman argues in "Fate, Faction, and Fiction in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*" that tales of divine retribution, though often verging on the unbelievable, were of primary importance to the martyrologist, partly because they confirm that the Marian martyrs were the true godly. Otherwise, God would not bother to avenge them (615). This article provides an examination of the various agendas at work in the dissemination of such material to Foxe and in his texts.

47. As Collinson asserts, the "martyrs enjoy perfect control of both emotions and bodily functions. It is their tormentors who fall into uncontrollable passions and often in their ends die 'desperately,' 'miserably' or 'horribly'" ("Truth and Legend" 48).

48. A similar metamorphosis occurs to the fisherman Rawlins White, who was burned in Cardiff:

It is recorded furthermore of the sayd good father Raulins by this Reporter, that as he was going to his death, and standing at the stake, he seemed in a maner to be altered in nature. For wheras before he was wont to go stooping, or rather crooked, through the infirmity of age, hauing a sad countenance and a very feeble complexion, and withall very soft in speech and gesture.

Now he went and stretched vppe himselfe, not onely bolt vpright, but also bare withall a most pleasant and cōfortable countenance, not without great courage and audacity both in speache and behaiour. He had (of whiche thing I shoulde haue spoken before) about his head a kerchiefe. The heares of his head (somewhat appearing beneath his kerchiefe) and also of his beard were more inclined to white then to gray: whiche gaue such a shewe and countenance to his whole person, that he semed to be altogether angelicall. (11.1559; 7.33)

A less incredible transformation can be found in the Foxe's inset biography of Cranmer. After his recantation, Cranmer appears at Dr. Cole's sermon in Oxford as "a sorrowfull spectacle": "He that late was Archbishop, Metropolitane, and Primate of England, and the

Kings priuy Councillor, being now in a bare and ragged gowne, and ill fauouredly cloathed, wyth an olde square cappe, exposed to the contempt of all men . . ." (11.1885; 8.84). His poor clothing represents his fall from worldly power and religious grace. However, after his reaffirmation of Protestant belief, the inferiority of his dress does not retain the same symbolism, and more importantly, he is no longer a miserable sight. The final description of him emphasizes his dignity: "His beard was long and thicke, couering hys face with meruailous grauitie. Such a countenance of grauitie mooued the hearts both of his friends and of his enemies" (11.1888; 8.89). Outward appearance in Foxe is often a convenient signifier of faith and virtue, or lack thereof, as in the case of Gardiner's misshapen feet.

As Hickerson notes, "Foxe uses words like silly and simple to denote either a lack of power (silly) or of education (simple) . . ." (79).

49. For a discussion of Foxe's treatment of miracles, see Collinson ("Truth, Lies, and Fiction" 55-60), Knott (41-2, 81), and Mozley (163-4). Bartlett borrows Hippolyte Delehaye's methodology to demonstrate that Foxe's writing is often indivisible from hagiography (*passim*). For example, he notes that, like the Catholic saints, Foxe's martyrs sometimes experience the miraculous (785-6). However, Foxe, in "Ad Doctum Lectorem," is explicit in differentiating his own work from the Catholic hagiography of the past, like *The Golden Legend*: "As to my book, I make known to all that I have taken pains to put nothing that is fabulous, or in any way like their golden (say rather leaden) legend." (I am using the translation found in Bartlett [744].) Foxe would undoubtedly approve of King's emphasizing that he "designed the *Book of Martyrs* in particular to supplant medieval hagiographies" ("Fiction" 15). For further discussion of how the *Acts and Monuments* uses and repudiates hagiographic genre conventions, see Woolf ("Rhetoric" 246-7). Wooden briefly examines how Foxe's inset biography of Martin Luther both confirms and controverts hagiographic conventions (54).

50. In his discussion of Gardiner in the Elizabeth narrative, King suggests that the treatment of the bishop "alludes further to a sequence of Protestant beast fables published by John Bale and William Turner, which satirize [him] as one who conceals his motives as a crypto-Catholic fox under Henry VIII, only to reveal himself openly as a 'Romish wolf' during the reign of his daughter Mary" ("Fiction" 29). King makes no mention of the bishop's feet.

51. A Catholic explanation for Cranmer's unburnt heart suggests that it was diseased and, therefore, unable to be incinerated. See MacCulloch (604).

52. Slight's argument is indebted to an earlier work by Eric Jager, *The Book of the Heart* (18-9).

53. Knott writes that even in a period when executions were common, "there is a sense of ritualized violence about these burnings for heresy that is remarkable" (79). See Mullaney for commentary on burning as the most humiliating form of execution, partly because of the obliteration of the body and status of the accused (239-41). For a discussion of the motif of fire in the *Acts and Monuments*, see Woolf ("Rhetoric" 261).

54. Central to the religious divide between Catholic and Protestant was the latter's rejection of transubstantiation. Ironically, Mueller relocates this miracle to the pyre and attaches it to the persecuted:

displacing the crucial site of human access to divinity from the Mass to the stake, the Marian protestant ontology of presence centered itself in the physical body and agency of the believer. It invoked no miracle, only the workings of natural processes of dissolution and transmutation. Yet as it burned for failing to believe in the miracle of transubstantiation, the martyr's body experienced just such a miracle. (171)

It is also Mueller's belief that the Marian burnings "confirm opposing ontologies of presence": "On the Catholic side, they operate to silence insufferable, blasphemous rejection of the sacramental mystery by which Christ becomes present. On the other side, the burnings operate to render the protestant faithful present to themselves and to their supporters through their steadfastness in their adhesion to Christ" (168). Although Mueller contends that "On a purely behavioral showing, there indeed appears to be no more for the Protestants than self-presence and communal solidarity," she qualifies this point by connecting the godly to the divine through the individual body's relationship to the body of Christ (168).

55. For a summary of sixteenth-century Protestant opinion of the Mass and the Eucharist, see Wooden (38-9).

56. For a discussion of this examination, particularly the parallels between the beliefs of Jane and Anne Askew, see King ("Fiction" 20). According to Levin, Foxe's treatment of this exchange suggests that Jane prevails over her interlocutor ("Foxe" 127). Mueller indicates how the "protocol of interrogation" (163) forms the first stage of a Foxean martyrology (163-5). Such examinations are important: "by demanding that the accused speak, the mode of destruction became productive because it granted an embodied subjectivity, if only for the purpose of eradicating it" (165). Joseph Puterbaugh considers the appeal of dialogue as a form in early modern religious polemic, particularly Foxe (*passim*). For Knott, who deals at length with the subject of the examinations (59-70), the "bold speaking" that such examinations required "is as important to Foxe's narrative as the examples of heroic suffering provided by his accounts of executions" (7-8; cf. 26). Linked to this boldness is a simplicity of style, which contrasts with the "formality and ceremonialism" (69) displayed by many of the text's Catholics (69-78). Truman

describes Protestant martyrdom in terms of rape. Consequently, exchanges like the one between Feckenham and Lady Jane are early attempts at (theological) seduction, "as the very soul of the victim is assaulted—at first not physically—but by tempting calls for the recantation of her heresy" (41-2). Thompson explores the *topoi* found in the examinations of Foxe's female martyrs (191-3).

57. It is Thompson's observation that the "charge on which most of the martyrs were arrested was failure to attend mass" (193).

58. Merry E. Wiesner writes that "Most historians now see contemporary western ideas of 'public' and 'private' as originating in the early modern period with the development of a new intimate family life among the urban middle classes. Many bourgeois women accepted this ideal and began to develop a new domestic culture centered on the nuclear family" (150).

59. See Thompson (188-9). For Foxe's belief in the holy possibilities of marriage and its connection with the true Church, as well as his horror of clerical celibacy as reality and symbol, see Hickerson (104-27).

60. Wooden designates the *Acts and Monuments* as a Renaissance courtesy book, but unlike other representative texts in the genre, it combines an interest in right living with right dying (43). Levin argues that portions of the *Acts and Monuments* provide women with exemplars of appropriately feminine Protestant virtue ("Women" 197). Foxe's discussion of historical queens becomes part of this didactic purpose ("Foxe" 117-8). See also Dolnikowski on female role models, including queens, in Foxe (*passim*). D. Andrew Penny focuses on Foxe's presentation of positive models of conduct within Protestant marital and family life (600), a point also made by Freeman: "the example of the martyrs was to be followed in daily life. An area of especial concern to Foxe was the maintenance of what modern parlance would term family values. As a result, Foxe was zealous in presenting material designed to instruct women by precept and example on how to be good wives and mothers" ("Good Ministry" 27). For more on the use of the *Acts and Monuments* as a conduct book, see Hickerson (6-8), who recognizes the problems inherent in modelling female and marital behaviour on that of Foxe's women martyrs:

While rejecting the social markers of identity and gender guaranteed by earthly marriage and specific types of gendered behaviour—in the process deviating from the norms of virtuous behaviour expected by modern historians—they conform to the ethics of patriarchy, but with regard to their heavenly rather than earthly marriages. Indeed, their obedience to Christ and complete self-effacement on his behalf are proved in part by their willingness to sacrifice earthly marriage, family and reputation as part of the process of losing their lives. And yet, as brides of

Christ playing the part of his faithful wife, the women martyrs remain subversive—subversive of patriarchal order. (12)

61. In Foxe, the abandonment of a spouse can sometimes be justified on religious grounds, if he or she provides an obstruction to the godly practice of faith. Notable examples of this trend can be found in the life of the Henrician martyr Anne Askew and also in the story of Prest's wife. This woman, ironically known to history as a wife and anonymous except for her husband's surname, left her Catholic family because, against the dictates of her conscience, she was forced to attend various Church ceremonies and functions. For a summary of John Hooper's advice on this subject, which recognized circumstances where a Protestant wife might leave her husband, see Freeman ("Good Ministry" 14). Thompsett considers the abandonment of a husband by his wife one of the ways that Foxe's female martyrs "defied domestic expectations" (188). Although abandoning home and husband did leave the female martyrs open to polemical attack, as Hickerson acknowledges (84, 88, 102), such disorderly behaviour demonstrates the rightful prioritizing of Christ over earthly concerns, like a mortal and irreligious spouse (96, 101-2, 103).

62. An example from the time of Henry VIII shows the lengths to which some spouses would go to bring comfort to their partners. At the time of John Marbeck's arrest in 1543, his wife was nursing "a yong child of a quarter old" (8.1216; 5.480). In fact, her neighbour, Henry Carrike, a servant of the king, details those dependent upon her as "her owne mother lying bedred vpon her hands, beside 5. or 6. children" (8.1216; 5.481). In spite of these other familial ties, she travels to London to see her husband in the Marshalsea. Upon being refused entrance, she intercedes with the bishop of Winchester to be granted permission to visit Marbeck in prison. This takes no small commitment of time as she counts "these 18. dayes I haue troubled your Lordship" (8.1216; 5.481). Her leave to visit the prisoner comes with these instructions from the bishop's messenger to the Marshalsea's porter: "that ye suffer this woman to haue recourse to her husband: but he straitly chargeth you, that ye search her both comming & going least she bring or cary any letters to or fro, & that she bryng no body vnto him, nor no word from no mā" (8.1216; 5.481). Although Marbeck's wife argues that she "thinke[s] his message a great deale more straiter then my Lord commanded the Gentleman," she is willing to pledge "to strip my selfe before you both commyng and goyng, so farre as any honest woman may do with honesty. For I entend no such thyng, but only to comfort and helpe my husband" (8.1216; 5.481). For a commentary on the submissiveness displayed by such wifely behaviour, see Levin ("Women" 199-200). Thompsett briefly explores the encouragement that family members gave to the martyrs (190).

Penny believes that Foxe's text provides ideal examples of marital and familial love, which ultimately "must be governed by and subject to the Spirit of Christ" (603). For a summary of the martyrs' idealization of Protestant marriage, see 607-9.

63. In contrast to the unhappy marital life of Mary and Philip can be set the examples of many of the martyrs: "If we ask whether Foxe's people married the ones they loved, or loved the ones they married, we would be inclined to see something of both. The important point is really the absolute insistence on the presence of love-in-action within marriage and the family unit . . ." (Penny 617). Freeman also writes about the support that the male martyrs received from Protestant women, whom Foxe refers to as "sustainers" ("Good Ministrye" *passim*). For more about the construction of a "holy community" through letter-writing, see Knott (84-116). Truman looks more specifically at the bonds of male friendship in the *Acts and Monuments*, as part of a "network of contrasting forms of homoeroticism": "martyrdom's eroticized suffering could be simultaneously equated both with sodomy, which was to be resisted with abject horror, and the eroticized intimacy of friendship, which was to be embraced as a constitutive element of privileged male subjectivity" (49; cf. 51-5). For more on the friendships involving women, see Thompsett (193-4).

64. Penny contends that "Foxe involves us in real life situations where the experiences of the faithful are often far from pleasant; yet he still wants us to see that there is an ideal for the christian, biblical, protestant family" (616).

65. For a discussion of the kind of censoring undertaken by Foxe and Bull on the correspondence of the martyrs and their female sustainers, see Freeman ("Good Ministrye" 24-31).

66. Apposite here is Penny's remark that there is a "correlation between the renewal of church and gospel . . . and the revival of the biblical ideal for the family in protestantism" (616).

67. Woolf considers this use of marital imagery in the narratives of the persecuted as the "synthesis of the fire image with the comic theme of martyrdom as marriage" ("Rhetoric" 261). See also Mueller (169).

68. In a letter to his wife and "others of the faythfull," the martyr Saunders describes his Saviour as "my deare husband Christ" (1583:11.1500). For the use of the marriage motif in relation to male martyrs, see Hickerson (119-20).

Foxe's use of the motif facilitates his substitution of virginity, central to traditional female Catholic hagiographies (Hickerson 114), for his own ideal of female sainthood, of which it is no longer a condition. Rather than physical virginity, it is now spiritual chastity, of which idolatry rather than marriage would be violation, that is most prized in Foxe's bride of Christ, but this kind of chastity, a marital fidelity replacing the virginity of ancient and medieval female saints, is equally important in the *Acts and Monuments* in men and women. (117-8)

69. See Hickerson (100-3, 154-9) and Tribble (103-4) for a discussion of the narrative of Prest's wife. Hickerson identifies the moral of this story: "Foxe's celebration of Prest's defiance effectively justifies disobedience to political authority when such authority demands betrayal of Christ by members of his 'true' church" (159).

70. Foxe expounds on the difference between the visibility of the Catholic Church and the invisibility of its opposite, the Church of godly Protestants:

Who beholding the Church of Rome to be so visible and glorious in the eyes of the worlde, so shining in outward beauty, to beare suche a porte, to cary suche a trayne and multitude, and to stand in such hye authoritie supposed the same to be only the right Catholike mother. The other because it was not so visibly known in the world, they thought therefore it could not be the true church of Christ. Wherin they were far deceaued. For although the right church of God be not so inuisible in the world, that none can see it, yet neyther is it so visible agayne that euery worldly eye may perceiue it. For like as is the nature of truth: so is the proper condition of the true Church, that commonly none seeth it, but such onely, as be the members and partakers thereof. (Preface 11)

Betteridge also quotes this passage in his brief discussion of the duality of visibility and invisibility in Foxe ("Truth" 146-8).

71. See Richards ("To Promote" 103). The association of military competence with kingship may be an obvious sign of what Levin considers Foxe's ambivalence about queenship, arising from the problem of reconciling traditional female virtue with a monarch's public duty and power ("Foxe" 115-8). However, this intersection of female virtue with a public role is not always problematic for Foxe. Dolnikowski insists that he "effectively defined and significantly expanded the spheres of influence in which women could act for the good of the church" (201). Although Fredrica Harris Thompsett, like Dolnikowski, does acknowledge that women's religious beliefs often forced them to act counter to normative expectations of female behaviour, she also emphasizes that Foxe reinforces masculine hegemony: "although his heroines sometimes speak and act otherwise, John Foxe is clearly imbued with the new Protestant domestic ideology of women's submission within the family" (184-5; cf. 186-9).

Hickerson examines how Mary's troubles, like her military defeat and her infertility, are "evidence of Christ's own condemnation of her and . . . a warning of the bad luck that can befall princes who fail to promote true religion" (145).

72. "Ex opere operato" translates to "from the work performed." See Foxe's *Variorum Online* for further editorial commentary.

73. Betteridge explores the connection between the full text of the *Acts and Monuments* and the public sphere (*Tudor* 162, *passim*).

74. The 1563 edition of the *Acts and Monuments* is cited by section, subsection, and page number. I also indicate the corrected page number in the *Variorum Online*, as necessary.

75. The *Variorum Online*, following the *Oxford English Dictionary*, glosses “wrast” as “an obsolete form of the verb ‘wrest.’ In this case the meaning is to place a false construction on words.” See the editorial commentary.

76. The *Variorum Online*’s editorial commentary for this section begins with the notice that “All of the material on the 1555 efforts by the Marian regime to censor anti-catholic literature was first printed in the 1563 edition and unchanged in subsequent editions. However, as was so often the case, in the 1570 edition Foxe moved this material to place it in its proper chronological order.”

77. On Foxe and signs, see Collinson (“Truth, Lies, and Fiction” 55). Although sixteenth-century English Protestantism was associated with the destruction of images and Foxe claimed that the true Church was invisible, the *Acts and Monuments* is filled with descriptions of outward signs that the faithful are able—or should be able—to read correctly. Most of these would be considered obvious and natural, and so would not require a religious authority to interpret them. An example would be strange phenomena viewed in the skies about London before Philip’s landing in England: “vppon the xv. day of the sayd moneth beyng Thursday, there was seene within the Citie of London about ix. of the clocke in the forenoone, straunge sightes. There was sene two Sunnes both shynnyng at once, the one a good pretie way distaunt from the other. At the same tyme was also sene a Raynebow turned contrary, and a great deale hygher then hath bene accustomed” (10.1396-7; 6.543). The marginal note, “Straunge sightes seene before the comming in of K. Philip, and subuersion of Religion,” indicates the proper reading of these signs. See the *Variorum Online*’s editorial commentary.

78. The *Variorum Online*’s editorial commentary, citing Susan Brigden, notes that in the spring of 1555 there were rumours that Mary was not pregnant and, as a consequence, another woman’s child would be sought to replace the non-existent heir.

79. For a discussion of family size among the Protestant martyrs, see Penny (602-3).

80. For further discussion of this episode, see Knott (22).

81. On the episode of the Guernsey martyrs, see Hickerson (97-9), Mozley (223-35), and Mullaney (235-8, 241, 242). The fantastic story of these Guernsey women was a favourite target for sixteenth-century critics of the martyrologist, like Thomas Harding and Cardinal William Allen (Levin, “Women” 202-3). For a discussion of the female virtues displayed by these martyrs, see Levin (“Women” 202-3).

82. The *Variorum Online* gives the translation of "Ad perpetuam rei infamiam" as "For the everlasting ill repute of the matter." See the editorial commentary.

83. For a discussion of Joan Dangerfield, see Mullaney (243) and Thompsett (189).

84. Such weakness as Joan Dangerfield shows is an example of the martyrs' strength-in-weakness: "Foxe . . . celebrates explicit weakness in his martyrs as dramatically showing up both the cruelty of the papists and the power of God: in this he employs the Eusebian strength-in-weakness paradigm . . . , but his use of it is neither gender- nor class-specific" (Hickerson 80).

85. Penny makes a similar point (606).

86. Penny argues that

the question of family size and responsibility does not appear to have been an overwhelming factor in determining the behaviour of Foxe's people in the light of the threat of persecution. Many obviously chose to remain in England and suffer the ultimate penalty despite weighty familial obligations and little to offer by way of future protection and security. Foxe, in his portrayals, is undoubtedly taking pains to illustrate the difficult line between total commitment to the evangelical faith on the one hand and appropriate natural care and affection for one's dependants on the other. (602-3)

Being truly godly "means that the proper performance of duties and functions requires the unequivocal subduing or harnessing of natural affections" (603). Furthermore, commitment to God "did not reflect lack of affection or neglect towards one's progeny, but rather, a consideration of Kingdom priorities and a determined course based upon what were perceived to be Kingdom ideals" (604).

87. Thompsett itemizes examples that demonstrate the toll of the Protestant persecutions on families (187, 189-91). In her discussion of the punishment endured by the Marian female martyrs in the *Acts and Monuments*, she suggests that "violence against women is presented as violence against the family. . . . By emphasizing acts of cruelty perpetrated by Roman Catholics against women and their families, Foxe was able to score points against the papists for their indifference to family values" (189).

88. While some women were forced to leave their husbands due to religious conflict, they were far more reluctant to desert their children (Thompsett 190).

89. Woolf examines unity at some length ("Rhetoric" 258-72).

90. Repetition, inherent in the deployment of typology, is central to Foxe's narrative. According to Breitenberg, "it is not so much what happens or what is said, but how often

it is repeated" (392). Repetition of the sort found in Foxean *copia* becomes one of the means through which those exposed to the text can apprehend the cyclical nature of history (392). See also Bartlett (773-4). Mullaney's view is somewhat at variance with Breitenberg's: "Treating recent and even current historical figures with the same weight as classical and biblical martyrs, Foxe's text helped to establish the affective power of the contemporaneous and particular over the classical or general or typological" (247). For other discussions of typology in Foxe, see Knott, who includes comments on the martyrs' own awareness of their relationship to the biblical precedents offered by Stephen and Paul, among others (7-8, 31-2), Wooden (51-60), and Woolf (267-9).

91. Mark H. Lawhorn agrees with Paul Griffiths's assessment that age ten could be considered a transitional time between childhood proper and youth in the early modern period (132).

92. For summaries of Foxe's treatment of Lady Jane Grey in the *Acts and Monuments*, see King ("Fiction" 18-22) and Levin ("Foxe" 126-7). The latter argues that although there is much praise of Jane, there is a corresponding awareness of her equivocal status as putative claimant to the throne in place of the legitimate heirs, Mary and Elizabeth (126).

93. For a discussion of Cranmer and the Device, including his reasons for signing it, see MacCulloch (538-41). At his treason trial in November 1553, Cranmer may have used the defence that "he was only consenting to the will made by the previous sovereign monarch" (555). In a letter from December requesting a pardon from Mary, he gives his reluctance to sign as a reason to treat him mercifully (559).

94. Woolf discusses such violations of chronology in Foxe ("Rhetoric" 270-1).

95. My discussion of the "godly supplication" agrees at many points with Hickerson, who examines the importance of the document in the 1570 edition (152-3). My argument here is particularly indebted to her remarks about the effect of Foxe's marginal notes, which do not appear in the 1563 edition. Her interest in the supplication differs from mine. By articulating a doctrine of rightful disobedience to an ungodly monarch, Foxe's work could possibly "threaten the foundations of a society resting on belief in order, social and political hierarchy, rank and obedience" (154). These ideas were insistent in 1570 as Foxe became more and more disenchanted with Elizabethan religious policy (130-2).

96. The attacks on so many members of the Marian regime are fitting for "In a sense, Foxe's subject, and that of all martyrology, was not so much the martyr as the persecuting force which victimized him, and the overweening fault of the catholic Church was . . . malevolent cruelty" (Collinson, "Truth and Legend" 39).

97. In his comments on Pole, Collinson provides a rather equivocal opinion about the cleric's role in the persecution:

The latest biographer of the Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury, Reginald Pole [Thomas Mayer], encounters many problems in his exploration of the personal role of someone who had been on both ends of the inquisitorial process, but it seems to concur with Foxe, who let Pole off lightly. But the symbolism of so many *autos da fe* in Pole's metropolis leaves us with a few questions. ("Persecution" 321)

98. See the *Variorum Online*'s editorial commentary on the revisions to this passage after 1563.

99. Bartlett remarks in his discussion of the persecutors that some, mostly lay people (though not exclusively), appeared to derive pleasure from their activities (779).

100. Loades uses Mary's statement on the persecution, discussed previously, as evidence of her role as the policy's driving force ("Personal Religion" 28). Richards considers it far less damning. She also assigns a greater role in the persecution to Philip than does Loades (199-200).

101. Hickerson, in her analysis of the changes made between 1563 and 1570, comes to a far more emphatic and damning conclusion, though much of her evidence is concentrated on the previously discussed marginal notes related to the "godly supplication" and a rather short section located after the death of Mary and used to reflect on her reign: "In the 1570 edition . . . , Foxe expands on Mary's death, taking the opportunity to excoriate her (and then her joint persecutors) rather than move into praise of Elizabeth" (145). A little later, Hickerson continues,

Mary was a deeply unhappy woman, which Foxe acknowledges. However, he argues, this was her own fault and serves as evidence that she was opposed to God, wilfully resisting him, refusing to be ruled by him. She was not unlucky, misled, badly advised, but personally responsible for the persecution of God's people and thus personally condemned by God to suffer for her crimes. (146)

Hickerson also demonstrates how this characterization of Mary is connected to her designation as a Jezebel, a name used by the martyr Alice Dryver (144, 146). The primary purpose of constructing Mary in this way is to establish "the justifiability of the disobedience shown her by her martyrs—men and women who serve as models not for daily living, but for disobedience to anti-Christian authority: authority—secular authority—that would demand idolatry" (147).

102. MacCulloch makes clear that the Oxford disputations were "not exactly a trial . . . its purpose was more than to act as a giant theological seminar; it would provide material for a subsequent formal heresy trial once the Roman obedience had been properly re-

established" (563-4).

103. For a full discussion of Cranmer's life under Mary Tudor until his burning on 21 March 1556, see MacCulloch (542-605).

104. Mary's antipathy for Cranmer is described by MacCulloch (550, 558). When discussing the setting of the date for Cranmer's burning, MacCulloch appears close to agreeing with Foxe's depiction of the queen as a figure central to the former archbishop's destruction: "Cranmer had every reason for expecting last-minute clemency; he was, after all, now fully repentant of his heresy, shriven, and once more in perfect communion with the Church. By the normal practice of canon law, he should have won his life. Yet Mary was implacable. For her, Cranmer's crimes had transcended the norms . . ." (597).

105. For a discussion of the narrative of Elizabeth, see King ("Fiction" 24-31) and Wooden (58-9). Freeman's essay, "Providence and Prescription: The Account of Elizabeth in Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs'" examines the development of the account of Elizabeth over the four editions of the martyrology, especially Foxe's shaping of the material.

Chapter 3: The Third Panel

“Enter Queene Mary with a Prayer Booke in her hand, like a Nun”: Mary Tudor in the Jacobean History Play

We princes are set as it were upon stages in the sight and view of the world.
(Elizabeth I)

The Henry VII Chapel at Westminster Abbey would undoubtedly convince most visitors of the relative unimportance of Mary Tudor in early Stuart England. Her grave was not treated with much respect by the Elizabethans, who erected neither monument nor formal marker to recognize her resting place; to undertake the organization of such objects would have been lunacy after 1558. Eventually, her grave was informally marked by a makeshift pile of stones, the detritus of the Abbey's Catholic altars erected in Mary's time and pulled down again in 1561.¹ The symbolism is obvious: the religion for which Mary fought was as dead as the Catholic queen. The way that she was permanently memorialized by the Stuarts, however, suggests her insignificance to the history of the Tudor dynasty and in the seventeenth century. James I reorganized the Chapel's physical space to emphasize his dynastic ties with the first Tudor king of England, Henry VII, and to downplay connections with his immediate predecessor. The removal of Elizabeth from her original burial place under the main altar in the Chapel and the relocation of her remains to a north aisle was an attempt at marginalization.² The king instead gave a much more prominent place to his mother's tomb, which is larger, more expensive, and more elaborate than Elizabeth's.³ The location and size of Elizabeth's tomb were not the only ways that James effectively marginalized her within the Chapel's confines, for he

reinterred her with her Catholic sister. Elizabeth's tomb contains the coffins of both Tudor queens regnant, arranged in double-decker fashion with Mary's remains, predictably, at the bottom. Mary's presence is announced not by a substantial monument, for both she and her sister are placed beneath the stone effigy of Elizabeth, but by a deeply ironic Latin verse: "Regno consortes et urna, hic obdormimus Elizabetha et Maria sorores, in spe resurrectionis" ("Partners in both throne and grave, here rest we two sisters, Elizabeth and Mary, in the hope of one resurrection") (Walker, "Reading" 513, 522). These plans for the royal joint burial plot were assuredly not made by Elizabeth, who had a difficult relationship with her older sister and was divided from her by religion. To be buried with "her childless, unpopular, and Catholic sister" is another example of the "posthumous disempowerment" of Elizabeth (Walker, "Reading" 522). While the Jacobean plans for the Chapel marginalized Elizabeth, they practically erased Mary from the Tudor-Stuart dynastic cavalcade.⁴

The treatment of the dead Mary Tudor during James's reorganization of the Chapel does not mean that she was forgotten during the first quarter of the seventeenth century, as a brief examination of a text printed almost at the end of this period reveals. John Reynolds's tract, *Vox Coeli, or Newes from Heaven* (1624), takes as its subject a consultation in heaven between six deceased royal personages.⁵ The reason for their meeting is the danger of Catholic Spain:

the *Catholike* Kings ayme [is], out of the ruines of *Rome* and *Germany*, to erect another Empire in the West, and endeauour by degrees to make most of the

Kingdomes and Free Estates of *Europe* become Provinces unto *Spaine*; as, some by force, some by policie, some by treachery, and now *England* by the Match of the *Infanta* his Daughter, with our most Illustrious and Royall Prince *Charles* (next to his Royall Father King *James*, our most Dread Soueraigne) the hope of *Englands* life, and the life of its Ioy and hope. (2)

Appearing on the Protestant, anti-Spanish side are King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, Queen Elizabeth I, and James's consort and eldest son, Queen Anne and Prince Henry.⁶ After some debate, these five decide to invite Mary I, whom "the praiers, of the Protestants had brought to Heauen" (4), to join their group. Although they recognize that "in heart & soule, she alwaies loved, and preferred *Rome* and *Spaine* before *England* . . ." (4), they decide to include her because "she knew many secrets of *Spaine*, whereof peradventure they were ignorant; . . . also . . . from her innate & inveterate malice to *England*, she might (either in jest or earnest) bewray somthing that might turne and redound to the good of *England* . . ." (4).⁷ Mary's role as spokeswoman for Spanish Catholic power is unwavering as she defends its ambitions in Navarre, the West Indies, Portugal, Italy, Venice, Switzerland, and other jurisdictions.⁸ When it comes to the lengthy discussions about the threat to England posed by Spain, Mary first defends her husband's interests in the realm ("If *Spaine* had not loued *England* and Englishmen, King *Philip* would never haue married me" [49]), but then provides a potent reminder of why her marriage was so feared ("If we had had any Males, *England* had beene long since a Province to *Spaine*" [49-50]). Mary's championship of Spain extends to her stepson's

possible involvement in the Gunpowder Plot. When Elizabeth asks, "But was this King *Philip* the third and his Councell neuer acquainted with that horrible Gunpowder Treason, whereby it was intended and resolved, that *England* should have beene blowne vp, ouerthrowne, and ruined in a moment," Mary protests, "O no, he is too Catholike a King to haue hearkened, much less to haue approued that Passionate plot" (55[I³]). According to Mary, the religion of the Spanish king is also the reason why the marriage between the Spanish Infanta and the Stuart heir, Prince Charles, should not be a source of English anxiety: "this *Philip* of Spaine is the Catholike King, therefore King *Iames* need not feare his sinceritie in the Match" (69). In her announcement that "this Match (notwithstanding) tends to Gods glory, and the good of the Catholique and Apostolique Church, and in the end you shall finde, that *Gondomars*⁹ policie and Spaines Ambition will triumph ore your Scripture" (70), Mary substantiates why the other five speakers are apprehensive. Throughout the text, Mary's commitment to the Spanish cause is expressed in a similar vein, in spite of the details of ungovernable Spanish ambition and duplicity, and of the arguments of the other royal speakers.

Vox Coeli, like the Jacobean plays to be discussed in this chapter, is influenced by the *Acts and Monuments* of John Foxe. Marsha L. Robinson considers it "a dramatic rewriting and updating of Foxean history" (156). Reynolds's construction of Mary Tudor, consequently, demonstrates points of continuity with Foxe's earlier figuration of her, especially insofar as the reaction to her Spanish marriage anticipates the reception of the proposed match between the Infanta and Prince Charles:

Speaking for Spain and the Catholic Church, Queen Mary represents the antagonists of Foxean history. . . . Like Mary's marriage to Philip II of Spain with which it was compared, the Spanish match turned anti-Catholic feeling against royal policy, generating vigorous protest on behalf of England and of Protestantism. [Reynolds] predicts that pacifism will lead to the extermination of the nobility, the blood royal, the very "name of *Great Brittain*," as well as the corruption of the Church by "the thick fogges of Romes superstitious Idolatries, and Egyptian darknes." (Robinson 155-6)

In early Jacobean England, as Reynolds shows, Mary Tudor was remembered as an exponent and a symbol of an alien religion, opposed to English interests, even when used to reflect on contemporary events in which she had no part.

That the seventeenth-century representation of Mary owes much to the Foxean conception of history and the late queen's place within it is also evident in the six plays analyzed in this chapter, Samuel Rowley's *When You See Me, You Know Me* (1604; pub. 1605), William Shakespeare's *Henry VIII* (1613; pub. 1623), Thomas Dekker and John Webster's *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt* (1603?; pub. 1607), Thomas Heywood's *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody, Part I* (1604; pub. 1605), Dekker's *The Whore of Babylon* (1606; pub. 1607), and Thomas Drue's *The Life of the Duchess of Suffolk* (1623; pub. 1631).¹⁰ The plays, therefore, are closely connected with my triptych's second panel devoted to Foxe. The third panel provides a series of glimpses of Mary Tudor, which means that my focus is often on relatively abbreviated portions of

some of these texts, as she appears only twice as a character in the dramas proper.

Discussing textual nuances and references, as well as the actions and speeches of Mary-as-character, develop the particular ways that the late queen was remembered. Although these plays were not uniformly popular in the early seventeenth century (eight editions of *I If You Know Not Me* were published between 1605 and 1639, while *The Whore of Babylon* and *The Duchess of Suffolk* were each published in a single edition), and many scholars consider them lacking in aesthetic appeal, they are significant as a group to my study as they reveal the ways that Mary, dead for forty years on James Stuart's accession to the English throne (1603), still retained significance, though to a lesser extent than her sister, Elizabeth. Mary held a place in the cultural memory, connected to wrong religion, error and blindness, to persecution and cruelty, and to strained familial relationships.

In spite of some quibbles, the dramas discussed in this chapter can be usefully termed history plays. Although the generic designation is the same as that given to those plays composed by Shakespeare, Marlowe, and others in the 1590s, the Jacobean history plays are somewhat different. According to Judith Doolin Spikes, one area of divergence involves character: "The central characters of the nineties plays are kings and warriors, those of the Jacobean plays saints and martyrs" (117).¹¹ The pasts into which these characters are situated are also disparate (Spikes 117). Whereas the two tetralogies of Shakespeare, for instance, dramatize England's medieval past only to the moment of dynastic fracture caused by the future Henry VII's defeat of the last Plantagenet king, Richard III, on Bosworth Field, the Jacobean history plays focus on more recent historical

material, the reigns of Henry VIII and his three children. Of course, to represent Elizabeth or members of her immediate family on the stage during her life would have been an impossibility, given the kinds of state censorship exercised on late Tudor drama, but it seems that the queen's death was a sort of tacit permission for playwrights to explore aspects of their more recent national past. To do so, they turned to a common source in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, and so these dramas can be referred to as Foxean history plays. The use of "Foxean" here can be a little misleading because it wrongly conveys a sense of uniformity—of ideology, if not content—and because the martyrologist was not the only source used by the dramatists, but he assumes an importance commensurate with Holinshed and Hall when the earlier history plays are considered as a group. Yet these caveats cannot invalidate Foxe's seminal position for any writer seeking to explore England's Protestant past.¹² Perhaps with the exception of Shakespeare's *Henry VIII*, the Jacobean history plays

were in tune with the strong traditional anti-Papist, anti-clerical, and national feelings of the popular London audience. . . . they helped to reinforce the Foxeian ideal of post-Reformation England as a united Protestant nation, with a destiny to defeat the Antichrist of the counter-Reformation Papacy through international action, and to bring about the final cosmic victory of true religion and the reign of peace. (Heinemann, "Rebel Lords" 75)

So, as Mary Tudor moves from Protestant historiography to the Jacobean stage, she remains, for the most part, a recognizably Foxean construction: the champion of idolatry,

heresy, and continental Catholicism; the enemy of the rightful English Protestant national identity; and a fitting foil for more godly characters. And like the Mary of the martyrology, she is never the star of the play. That part is reserved for the more deserving, whom Foxe identifies as worthy Protestants, usually the victims of Marian Catholicism.

The appropriations and transformations of Foxe in the Jacobean history play, though not without a place in this chapter, are not of primary interest. To consider these plays as a subgenre of the history play and consequently to see Mary Tudor as character through such a prism is instructive. With the advent of the Jacobean history play, as Robinson remarks,

the popular stage became witness to a past in which religious controversy shaped political conflict. Moreover, while Shakespeare's histories juxtaposed a providentialism that informed the medieval mystery cycles with an emergent humanist historiography, the later history plays invoked a providential historiography revived and reformed by sixteenth-century Protestant writers like John Foxe . . . Drawing on Foxe's account, the later history plays attest to the explanatory force of Foxean historiography in the seventeenth century. (xiii)

Two points emerge from this summary which are meaningful for the construction(s) of Mary in the Reformation plays. The first is the interdependence of religion and politics. The figure of Mary is the political conduit through which unwelcome religious change is implemented, a politicized site of religious contestation. It may be simplistic, but

nevertheless true, to observe that for the historical Mary Tudor religion *was* political, and vice versa, which is reflected in the plays in, for example, Gardiner's designation of Jane and Guilford Dudley as heretics during their trial for treason in *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt*. Within the context of a Protestant dramaturgy, the religio-political nexus necessarily means that Catholicism is deluded at best and evil at worst, and that the regime that underpins Catholicism as the established religion is *de facto* iniquitous. As a result, dramatic representations of Mary as queen reveal a misguided, imperious monarch blind to the concerns of her people and her Protestant sister. In the face of insurrection, unpopularity, and disquiet, she clings to the advice of her corrupt Catholic ministers, to the prospect of a Spanish marital alliance, and to her faith. The Mary of plays like *Sir Thomas Wyatt* and *I If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody* can be narrowly identified as a Catholic monarch, with all the negative associations that accrue to such a position for a Protestant writer. For them, wrong religion inextricably leads to wrong political action.

The context in which Mary is constructed also arises from Robinson's comments: her *locus* is within the Protestant conception of its providential history. Julia Gasper describes the task of the playwrights under discussion as "attempting to mythologise and interpret the events of the Reformation for their Jacobean audience" ("Reformation" 192). In this light, Mary's Catholicism, always her most recognizable feature, lends her a role as an obstacle to the establishment of a Protestant kingdom within England. Her tyranny, therefore, facilitates the testing of committed Protestants, like the Dudleys or Princess Elizabeth, through various trials, which may or may not include formal proceedings in a

court of law. In order to see God's hand in the English Protestant triumph, Mary must be conveniently dispatched, a common Protestant view of the timely death of the historical queen. Although plays like *I If You Know Not Me*, *The Whore of Babylon*, and *The Duchess of Suffolk* correlate with such an attitude, other dramas anticipate the Protestant victory through the vehicle of prediction and/or through a form of erasure or displacement. Gardiner, the Bishop of Winchester, is almost the equivalent of a Catholic bogeyman in the Jacobean history plays, but Mary-as-character presides over a dystopia that God must destroy at an opportune moment to release the true Protestant believers and their Church from government-sanctioned oppression and active persecution.

Using the generic template of the history play is not the only means of foregrounding the centrality of such Protestant providential history within these dramas or of elucidating the common elements within the dramatic portrayals of Mary Tudor. In her influential essay, "'God Help the Poor: the Rich Can Shift': The World Upside-Down and the Popular Tradition in the Theatre," Margot Heinemann groups these plays under the heading of tragicomedy. Although she invokes part of John Fletcher's definition of the genre from his address "To the Reader" that prefaces *The Faithful Shepherdess* (pub. 1609 or 1610), it seems an imperfect fit for the range of plays under discussion.¹³ More apposite is Lois Potter's pronouncement, also used by the editors of the volume in which Heinemann's essay appears:

The evidence suggests that the term "tragicomedy," in the public theatre, never quite lost its sixteenth-century meaning: a play which contained both tragic and

comic elements. . . . *De facto* tragicomedy might be written for both popular and courtly audiences, but it appears that to use the term was to make a social as well as an aesthetic statement. (197)¹⁴

Tragicomedy as a genre, like the Jacobean history play, supports what can be called a providential narrative trajectory: the pressures of comedy interfere with or overwhelm potentially tragic progress. While it might be argued that *Sir Thomas Wyatt*, which ends with the executions of Wyatt and the Dudleys, fits uneasily within the tragicomic genre, Heinemann makes a case for its inclusion because, within the play, "the victory of the true Protestant religion is assured" ("God Help" 154). In terms of tragicomedy, except for isolated moments like her almost miraculous accession in *Sir Thomas Wyatt*, Mary belongs to the tragic aspects of the plays in which she is represented; though never a tragic figure, she is instrumental in contributing to the threat of tragedy and, occasionally, to tragic outcomes.

The very term "tragicomedy," as well as Potter's definition, emphasize contrariety, a fundamental quality within the plays and significant for the constructions of Mary Tudor. Indeed, Sir Philip Sidney's criticism of the genre in *A Defence of Poetry* relies on its melding of opposing elements:

But beside these gross absurdities, how all their plays be neither right tragedies, nor right comedies, mingling kings and clowns, not because the matter so carrieth it, but thrust in the clown by head and shoulders to play a part in majestical matters with neither decency nor discretion, so as neither the admiration and

commiseration, nor the right sportfulness, is by their mongrel tragi-comedy obtained. (67)

The lack of decorum that Sidney ascribes to tragicomedy derives mainly from the disjunction of irreconcilable parts, but the polarity which helps to demarcate the genre for him is also paradigmatic of most dramatists' approach to a fictive Mary Tudor. She is a Catholic antagonistic to Protestantism and its most admirable proponents, principally Princess Elizabeth, and actual menace inheres in her religious difference, so she is the persecutor of an identifiably Protestant opposition; she is a tyrant whose death will herald the accession of a more benign monarch; she is associated, through the Anglo-Spanish marriage and her Roman Catholic faith, with a kind of foreignness, often viewed as a threat to an autonomous English state, and not with the "English values" of more heroic figures like Sir Thomas Wyatt (Robinson 163). Therefore, the handling of Mary within these plays entails using her as a foil; her shortcomings and her problems highlight the virtues of more religiously "correct" characters, like Elizabeth, in her uncrowned and crowned manifestations, and like the tragic Lady Jane Grey.

There are commentators who argue that the dramatizations of Reformation history, by reinforcing aspects of Protestant doctrine, had an instructive function for those who gathered to see them at venues like the Fortune Theatre:

The impact of these religiously oriented plays . . . was not confined to fortifying specifically Protestant sympathies, but extended to the rectification of those who maintained Catholic allegiances; like the nation as a whole, certain communities

remained divided on ecclesiastical issues. Works of popular culture, like the plays in question, are certainly not limited to the advancement of a univocal agenda. Rather, relying on their ability to evoke a strong affective response, as opposed to a rational, hermeneutic one, their value lies in the ability to reconcile apparent ideological conflict, erase contradiction, and convert opposed factions to a single point of view. (Bayer 66)

This model's utility rests in formulating the social grouping of a play-going community according to religious and political parameters. Whether these plays are considered tragicomedies or history plays, it is clear that they shape and are shaped by religious and political concerns. Yet they do more than explore and re-imagine a politics and a religion from a time that is past. They are essentially products of contemporary political and religious conditions, as Robinson notes:

the dramatists participated with Foxe and his editors in writing accounts of the English Reformation, which for many in the Jacobean audience was yet to be completed. The staging and revival of the Foxean history plays in the first three decades of the seventeenth century invited popular audiences to interpret the Jacobean present in terms of Foxe's emplotment of the Tudor past and disclosed dissonances between apocalyptic interpretation and unfolding historical events. Exposing historiographic tensions, the Jacobean stage engaged in the contemporary ecclesiastical, political and social debates which would, in the 1640s, give rise to the English Civil War. (xvi)

The dramatists imbue Mary as discursive representation with significance based on the historical queen's own past or a "re-visioned" version of that past, so that even decades after her own death, she remains a powerful symbol of the threat of Catholic tyranny. Mary within dramatized history, therefore, signifies a kind of "monstrous regiment," an example of the menace of the Roman religion to the not-wholly-reformed faith of the English people. If these plays look forward to a halcyon (and somewhat fictive) Protestant future free of Catholicism and its pernicious influence, then there is some irony in using Mary as a means of criticizing the Protestant monarchs who preceded and followed her, including the king on the throne when these plays were written and staged. The Jacobean plays use Mary to interrogate the nature of monarchy, Protestantism, and popery and anti-popery in the past and in the present.

The first two plays I discuss are earliest in terms of historical material, as they are set during the reign of Henry VIII. Except for a few brief moments in *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, the dramatic possibilities inherent in Mary Tudor's life before her accession to the throne did not excite the same degree of literary interest as her sister's pre-coronation story presented for writers such as Thomas Heywood, whose career is punctuated with dramatic, poetic, and prose renderings of the trials of Princess Elizabeth. To a degree, such neglect is understandable, because to explore the tribulations and humiliations of Mary's history up to 1553 might have risked impugning a hero of the Reformation, like her brother, or portraying Catholicism too sympathetically. Therefore, Mary as a character is unsurprisingly absent from Samuel Rowley's *When You*

*See Me, You Know Me*¹⁵ and William Shakespeare's *Henry VIII, or All is True*,¹⁶ though in neither text is she completely ignored. In the former, Rowley represents an unsisterly princess aligned with the evil Catholic prelature of Wolsey, Bonner, and Gardiner,¹⁷ while Shakespeare's play offers an intriguing and potentially subversive glimpse of a Mary not as undifferentiated from her Protestant sister as others make her.

Many constructions of Mary rely on the easy contrast between her Catholicism and the religious beliefs of Elizabeth. Rowley makes use of this dichotomy in the play. The occasion of Henry's marriage to "Lady Catherin Parry" (8.1486), whom Wolsey characterizes as "the hope of *Luthers* heresie" (8.1490), is an opportunity to strengthen Mary's fidelity to Rome, a loyalty not shared by her sister (Pinciss 62):

You two are Tutors to the Princes *Mary*,
 Still ply her to the *Popes* obedience,
 And make her hate the name of Protestant:
 I doe suspect that *Latimer* and *Ridly*,
 Chiefe teachers of the faire *Elizabeth*,
 Are not sound Catholickes, nor friendes to *Rome*,
 If it be so, weelee soone remoue them all:
 Tis better they should dye, then thousands fall. (8.1496-1503)¹⁸

Wolsey's speech facilitates Mary's identification with the villainous Catholics of the piece and as the antithesis of Protestant Elizabeth, but it also cleverly alludes to the persecutions undertaken by Mary as queen. Although it is the cardinal who "plot[s] the

downfall of these *Lutherans*" (8.1495) and views their deaths as an effective way of safeguarding the realm for Rome, it is the historical Mary who promulgates these policies. Moreover, by invoking the names of Latimer and Ridley, as well as Cranmer, "Tutor to the Prince of *Wales*, / [Who] Will boldly speake gainst *Romes* Religion" (8.1492-3), Rowley reminds his audience of the career of Bloody Mary and three of her most famous victims, without imputing any guilt to the princess overtly. The playwright's use of Wolsey, who, in historical terms, was long dead by the time of Henry's sixth wedding, as an advocate for this proposed reign of terror indicates that Catholic ideology is futile.¹⁹ His policy, in the long term, is as powerless as his own corpse was in 1543.

Prince Edward describes England as "This Land . . . [that] stands wauering in her Faith, / Betwixt the Papists and the Protestants" (10.1991-2). But it is not merely the people who are caught in this religious tangle; the king himself vacillates in his support of the traditionalists and the reformers.²⁰ Rowley, however, is no ecumenical, for virtue is clearly a Protestant characteristic, and so the play ends with the Protestant faction, led by the queen and the Prince of Wales, in the ascendant.²¹ A scene during which Edward quizzes his teacher on eschatological matters demonstrates that Catholic belief is both inferior and illogical. Mary and her tutors have often written letters about the "third place for the soules abode / Cald'd Puragatorie" (10.1996-7), but Cranmer quickly persuades his avid pupil that no such place exists, for "what should neede a third place to containe, / A world of Infinites so vast and mayne" (10.2026-7). The theological misguidedness of

Mary again proves a useful means for the promotion of Protestantism later in the drama, when Rowley juxtaposes two letters sent by Edward's sisters.²² Compared to Elizabeth's text, which begins with a personal greeting, "*Sweete Prince I salute thee with a Sisters loue*" (12.2410), Mary's seems sanctimonious and formulaic: "*The blessed Mother of thy redeemer, with all the Angels & holy Saints be intermissers to preserue thee of Idolatrie, to inuocate the Saints for helpe*" (12.2399-2401). Although the prince gives precedence to Mary as "she is eldest, / And by due course must first be answered" (12.2397-8), he obviously finds her beliefs unpalatable and unconvincing, for he is determined "to him will *Edward* pray / For preservation, that can himselfe preserue me, / Without the helpe of Saint or cerimonie" (12.2405-7). As Foxe and Heywood do in other circumstances, Rowley dislodges the bulk of blame from Mary by shifting it to others, in this case her "blinded Tutors, *Bonner, Gardner*, / That wrong [her] thoughts with foolish herisies" (12.2403-4), but her clinging to Catholicism in the face of Protestant doctrine can only be a source of amazement. There is a degree of bafflement in Edward's declaration of "Alas good sister, still in this opinion" (12.2402).

Mary-as-queen never stimulated the kind of affection that marked many of the interactions between monarch and people during her sister's regime, as well as during the Elizabethan era of the seventeenth century. In *When You See Me, You Know Me*, Rowley retroactively assigns this emotional paradigm to Henry's reign and it is the Prince of Wales who expresses it. Not only does the excerpt from Mary's letter prove her to be doctrinally unsound and lacking in the warmth exhibited by Elizabeth, Edward's effusive

reaction to the second missive reveals a decided preference for his "louing Sister *Elizabeth*" (12.2419). Indeed, Elizabeth's letter and her inherent goodness fortify aspects of his Protestant faith.²³

Louing thou art, and of me best beloued.
 Thy lines shalbe my contemplations cures,
 And in thy vertues will I meditate,
 To Christ Ile onely pray for me and thee:
 This I imbrace, away Idolatrie . . . (12.2420-24)

According to Teresa Grant,

the important (that is, Catholic versus Protestant) religious controversy of 1604 is summed up in *When You See Me* when Prince Edward receives a letter from each of his sisters. As by imputation Prince Henry does, Edward happily accepts the sensible Protestant advice of Princess Elizabeth but cannot even bear to finish the nonsense that Mary pedals. ("History" 142-3)

In the reaction of Edward, an avatar of Prince Henry Stuart, playgoers might have recognized criticism of the new king who seemed dangerously sympathetic to Catholicism and approbation of the Protestant convictions his heir was believed to espouse.²⁴ Rowley's Edward, like Prince Henry, embodies the great expectations of the English Protestant cause. His wavering father recognizes him as "all our hopes, / That what our age shall leaue vnfinished" (9.1557-8), and even the Catholic Emperor Charles is so impressed that he lauds the prince as "True honoured off-spring of a famous King"

and "faire hope of Maiestie" (15.2899, 2903).

In Rowley's play, Mary is not the tyrannical queen of *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt* or *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody*, but nevertheless present are the traces of a future reign mired in Protestant persecution and the institutionalized Protestant hatred that dogged her posthumous reputation. In much the same way, Shakespeare looks beyond Henry's reign to the Protestant inheritance of Elizabeth and eventually to the Stuart James I.²⁵ However, the more balanced way he handles the Tudor sisters suggests that the Mary glimpsed through the dialogue of the play is a more positive figure than Rowley's Catholic princess. Shakespeare pays more than lip service to dominant religious ideology, but his use of Mary, abbreviated though it is, argues for a more equitable approach than the avowedly Protestant, propagandistic efforts of other early modern playwrights who explored aspects of the Mary/Elizabeth divide.

The events leading to Elizabeth's birth begin with the divorce of Henry from Katherine of Aragon.²⁶ In Shakespeare's dramatization of this event, Mary, paradoxically, becomes the symbol of her mother's duty to her husband and of her father's failure and sin. Katherine raises the matter of her children, only one of whom is living, as a means of demonstrating her faithfulness to her husband and king, who is intent on casting her aside in favour of Anne Bullen. She entreats him to

call to mind

That I have been your wife in this obedience

Upward of twenty years, and have been blest

With many children by you. (2.4.34-7)²⁷

Mary, in this way, becomes a kind of legal exhibit mustered to prove Katherine's good wifely behaviour. But the princess is also used by her father in his arguments for the divorce. He cites her, and not his desire for Anne, as a catalyst contributing to his realization that he had transgressed in marrying his dead brother's wife:

My conscience first receiv'd a tenderness,

Scruple, and prick, on certain speeches utter'd

By th' Bishop of Bayonne, then French ambassador,

Who had been hither sent on the debating

[A] marriage 'twixt the Duke of Orleance and

Our daughter Mary. I' th' progress of this business,

Ere a determinate resolution, he

(I mean the Bishop) did require a respite,

Wherein he might the King his lord advertise,

Whether our daughter were legitimate,

Respecting this our marriage with the dowager,

Sometimes our brother's wife. (2.4.171-82)

As this speech indicates, Henry's doubts about his marriage to Katherine have grave implications for his daughter's legitimacy, as well as for her mother's status as queen of England and lawful spouse. While the passage suggests Mary's value on the international

royal marriage mart tied to her rank as rightful heir, Henry's later musings reveal his frustrations with her gender. Shakespeare fills the king's lament for the lack of a male successor with many of the typical attitudes of the time when a prince was not just the preferred option, but also the only comprehensible one. Mary's position as the sole surviving offspring of the king's marriage is not even given consideration, for in Henry's conception of monarchical duty only a son can effectively protect England:

Hence I took a thought

This was a judgment on me, that my kingdom

(Well worthy the best heir o' th' world) should not

Be gladdened in't by me. Then follows, that

I weigh'd the danger which my realms stood in

By this my issue's fail, and that gave to me

Many a groaning throe. (2.4.194-200)

It is almost as if, in not having male issue, Henry is rendered childless. By implication, Mary's gender lends her a kind of invisibility—or at least uselessness—in terms of royal inheritance.

So far, there is little to which a Protestant playgoer could object in Shakespeare's handling of Mary Tudor. But Shakespeare's final play, whether written collaboratively with Fletcher or not, is not wholly an exercise in Protestant self-congratulation, albeit several critics have considered it so based on the text's celebration of aspects of the English Reformation. This reading, however, ignores such elements as the carnality with

which Shakespeare imbues the relationship between Henry and Anne (Rudnytsky 52-5), the generally sympathetic depiction of the Patient Griselda, Queen Katherine,²⁸ and the dignity that even the fallen Cardinal Wolsey achieves through Griffiths's posthumous praise of him. According to Peter L. Rudnytsky, the multiplicity of meaning available in this history play is anticipated by Shakespeare's second tetralogy:

the effect of reinstating *Henry VIII* in its proper generic context is to discover that it is as ambiguous and unorthodox as any of its predecessors. Indeed, in *Henry VIII* Shakespeare carries the complexities of his previous explorations of English history to new heights and into daringly recent waters. One of the hallmarks of Shakespeare's second tetralogy of history plays is that it permits widely divergent interpretations—from the most patriotic and idealistic to the most subversive and cynical. That one can read the *Henriad* as a celebration of royal power and the “Tudor myth” is undeniable; but it is no less undeniable that the tetralogy interrogates and demystifies those very ideals; and *the simultaneous presence of conflicting perspectives precludes the plays from being in any simple sense “orthodox.”* To an even more acute degree, the same interpretative tension pervades *Henry VIII*. (46-7)

One indicator of this tension is the treatment of Katherine's final words about her daughter and of the encomium to the newly born Elizabeth at the play's end.

On her deathbed, Katherine sends a series of “poor petition[s]” (4.2.138) to the king. She begins with the one

In which I have commended to his goodness
 The model of our chaste loves, his young daughter—
 The dews of heaven fall thick in blessings on her!—
 Beseeching him to give her virtuous breeding—
 She is young, and of a noble modest nature,
 I hope she will deserve well—and a little
 To love her for her mother's sake that lov'd him
 Heaven knows how dearly. (4.2.131-8)

This poignant speech of a divorced, dying, and powerless queen contains interesting parallels with the far more ecstatic tribute that forecasts the glorious future of Elizabeth I that marks the conclusion of the drama proper a few scenes later. The new "royal infant" (5.4.17), like her sister, is given a parental benediction, though the source of Elizabeth's blessing is her father. Henry kisses her and says, "With this kiss take my blessing: God protect thee! / Into whose hand I give thy life" (5.4.10-11). Katherine recognizes her daughter as a "model of our chaste loves" (4.2.132) though in the context of both history and the play Henry's unfaithfulness in marriage would have given this line a certain ironic resonance. Cranmer also bestows on Elizabeth an archetypal designation, admittedly more impressive than Mary's, as "A pattern to all princes living with her, / And all that shall succeed" (5.4.22-3). Shakespeare further parallels the episodes through the incorporation of accolades to the princesses' characters: Cranmer effusively praise of the baby's "princely graces," while Katherine compliments Mary's nobility and modesty.

In spite of such similarities, there are significant differences. The occasion for Elizabeth's encomium is a public event, her christening, while Katherine's speech is relatively private. Cranmer's prophesy of "a thousand thousand blessings" (5.4.19) which England will enjoy under its last Tudor monarch finds no correlation with Katherine's rather miserable and unspecific hope for Mary's future. Furthermore, Mary's existence is again erased within the context of the magnificent future predicted for "the maiden phoenix" (5.4.40). Of course, in terms of these predictions relating to a Protestant England under Elizabeth, Catholic Mary has no importance, unlike her sister's successor, James, "Who from the sacred ashes of her honor / Shall star-like rise as great in fame as she was, / And so stand fix'd" (5.4.45-7).²⁹ But Mary's identity as Henry's other child, her own destiny within the Tudor succession, and her reign are completely elided by the reconfiguration of Henry as a father of one daughter: "O Lord Archbishop, / Thou hast made me now a man! never, before / This happy child, did I get any thing" (5.4.63-5).³⁰ One could argue that the stain of Mary's illegitimacy, newly created by the act of divorce, has made her disposable or forgettable, but it cannot negate that the king did get or beget her long before the miracle child that is Elizabeth.

What Shakespeare does in Katherine's few lines devoted to Mary is more complicated than so brief a reference usually sustains. Close examination of Katherine's plea to the king discloses a rhetoric that is not wholly dissimilar to that deployed more vigorously in lavish praise of Anne Bullen's daughter. The former queen's petition as entrusted to Lord Capuchius simultaneously works for and against a Protestant reading of

the play. Its difference from the extravagance of Cranmer's encomium to Elizabeth, its feebleness, and Katherine's very desperation, as well as the revision of Henry's history of fatherhood, support the familiar Protestant narrative of triumph at the expense of Catholicism. However, its similitude to aspects of the christening scene strains, but does not cancel, this interpretation. There is no sense of inconsistency here, for an episodic history play like *Henry VIII* can bear the weight of such ambiguity without transforming the drama into a Catholic apology. Wolfgang G. Müller argues that "Events which might disturb the notion of providential progress such as the execution of Anne Bullen and the reign of Bloody Mary with the execution of Cranmer and other Protestants are not referred to" (237), but he does not acknowledge those elements disrupting or running counter to this neat summary of the play. Much more compelling is Rudnytsky's contention that "Shakespeare constructs a dramatic universe dominated by 'deceptive appearances' and the 'relativity of truth,' in which, in Pirandellian fashion, 'all is true' means precisely that *any* interpretation of the past may be true if one thinks it so, and no point of view is allowed to contain or control all others" (48).³¹

Rudnytsky's proposal is not the interpretative equivalent of solipsism, but it does serve to encompass the discords that readings such as Müller's resist. What underlies Shakespeare's play is a recognition of a Catholic worldview in which two virtuous women, Katherine primarily, but also her daughter, suffer because of divorce. As Annabel Patterson notes, the juxtaposition of Protestant and Catholic sympathy in *Henry VIII* demonstrates that "it is evidently true that there is more than one religion in

England's recent past with claims to being the one true Church" (163). Furthermore, in attributing positive characteristics to both Mary and her mother, Shakespeare's play registers the threads of traditionalist religious partisanship that survived Henry's break with Rome.³² Katherine's invocation on behalf of her only living child modulates the Protestant bias of the play, particularly its climactic conclusion, and problematizes the grand prophecy attached to Henry's other daughter because no longer is Elizabeth the only Tudor offspring with claims to goodness and for whom others have invoked God's blessing.³³ In the text, James Stuart is Elizabeth's obvious successor, but she is not detached completely from a connection with her sister. Here, Shakespeare violates one of the basic tenets of Protestant historiography, the fundamental contrast between tyrannical Catholic Mary and her Protestant sister and in so doing shows that either princess is agreeable to those with whom she shares her faith. Patterson's remarks presage the corollary created by this blurring of the differences between the king's daughters: if *Henry VIII* dramatically recreates an English past in which Catholicism has claims to be the true religion, then it also retrospectively imagines a Catholic princess who is not a sinner, as Mary assuredly became for Foxe and others, but one sinned against, a victim to her father's desire for another woman and for a son.³⁴

The Mary of *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt* is not a victim, but a queen faced with securing her throne in the midst of disloyalty, treason, and rebellion. The plays to which it is probably related underscore these themes. Most scholars agree that it is related to one or both parts of the *Lady Jane* plays and to *The Overthrow of Rebels*

mentioned in Henslowe's Diary. If these are indeed the origins of the play, then as many as five hands may be connected to its earliest incarnation(s), for Henslowe records the payment of one shilling "Lent vnto John thare the 15 of octob^r 1602 to geve vnto harey chettell Thomas deckers thomas hewode & m^r smythe & m^r webster in earneste of A playe called Ladey Jane . . ." (218). However, only two playwrights, Thomas Dickers—or Dekker—and John Webster are given credit on the title-page of the 1607 edition, a bad quarto and the earliest printed copy.³⁵ The representation of Mary Tudor within *Sir Thomas Wyatt's* pages is particularly compelling in its complexity. Although much of her characterization complies with the portrait of Mary in the *Acts and Monuments*, there are occasional notes of a counterdiscourse, especially in the scene in which she enters the play.³⁶ According to Kathleen E. McLuskie, such an "ambivalent dramatic effect . . . demonstrates the discursive complexity which an episodic dramaturgy allows. It reproduces certain conventions of representation which carry contradictory political resonances . . ." (38).³⁷

The full title of the 1607 quarto, which promises "the Coronation of Queen Mary, and the coming in of King Philip," suggests a prominent role for Mary. However, although the play focuses upon her accession and the early months of her reign, her coronation never occurs and Philip never appears. Indeed, the narrative focus is on two other characters: the eponymous Sir Thomas Wyatt, whose early support of the Marian cause ends in frustration and rebellion when Mary decides to marry Philip of Spain, and Lady Jane Grey and her husband, Guilford Dudley, puppets of their ducal fathers, whose

attempt to orchestrate the usurpation of the throne precipitates a crisis in the succession. One critic posits that "Queen Mary has, in deference to her royal sister, been kept in the background" (van der Spek 63), but the queen's role is sufficiently pivotal and potentially inflammatory that respect for Elizabeth fails to provide a plausible reason for the foregrounding of other characters within the drama. What this critic fails to consider is that Mary's limited role in this play is not dissimilar to that of other royal figures in the Jacobean history plays. The dramatists mentioned in Henslowe, unlike Shakespeare or Marlowe, produced history plays that are not preoccupied *principally* with the actions, either foreign or domestic, of kings or potential kings. Their interest instead is with a central figure or figures victimized by the Crown, and *Sir Thomas Wyatt* remains true to this dramatic model.³⁸ While Richard Helgerson connects the Henslowe plays to a balladry tradition's themes of "oppression and innocent suffering" as developed in narratives involving Wyatt and the Dudleys (237), Spikes suggests that Dekker and Webster's drama was shaped primarily by the Protestant ideology of Foxe.³⁹ The playwrights' interest in Wyatt, Jane, and Guilford is understandable in light of the martyrologist's conception of a history fixated on the fates of virtuous characters battling against and ultimately destroyed by the designs of evil, powerful ones within a kind of Christian, historical psychomachia, the *telos* of which is the deliverance and triumph of English Protestants.⁴⁰ Whether the reason for the shift of focus from royalty to its victims is literary or religious or otherwise is immaterial; the result is a play in which a queen's historical consequence is not fully reflected dramatically.

Devotion to the Catholic religion is a preeminent feature of any literary representation of Mary Tudor, and *Sir Thomas Wyatt* does not deviate from this standard. Although the playwrights are indebted to Protestant historiography and polemic, their drama cannot be considered a religious one, at least not in the same way that medieval drama can be termed religious. However, the entrance of Mary in the play signals that Dekker and Webster are by no means ignoring religious material. The stage direction that heads the first act's third scene heralds the arrival of Mary Tudor in religious garb: "*Enter Queene Mary with a Prayer Booke in her hand, like a Nun.*"⁴¹ The first line of her opening soliloquy, "Thus like a Nun, not like a Princesse borne," draws further attention to her appearance as a holy sister. There would have been no Catholic nuns living openly as religious in England in 1553, when this scene is set, much less in 1602-3, when the play was composed and initially produced. Although Mary, unlike her grandmother, Isabella of Castile, was never called "the crowned nun" (Loades, *Life* 332), there were persistent associations with the religious life. A 1533 rumour suggested that the convent was to be Mary's destiny (Loades, "Personal Religion" 10). In 1557, Giovanni Michieli described the diligence of Mary's religious observance by comparing her to a nun:

few women in the world . . . are known to be more assiduous at their prayers than she is, never choosing to suspend them for any impediment whatever, going at the canonical hours . . . with her chaplains either to church in public or to her private chapel, doing the like with regard to the communions and fast days, and, finally, to all other Christian works, precisely like a nun and a religious (*apunto come una*

monaca, et una religiosa). (CSPV 884/1055)⁴²

Mary's involvement with the reestablishment of religious houses is somewhat complex, as Loades notes, but two of the seven houses restored during her reign were the convents at Sion and King's Langley ("Personal Religion" 22-5). Dekker and Webster may also have been aware of and influenced by some portraits of Mary which showed her dressed soberly in dark colours, even if the sumptuousness of her clothes and jewellery could not be mistaken for a religious habit. The entrance of Mary in *Sir Thomas Wyatt* is contrived to emphasize her Catholic piety, which, at this point in the text, marks her religious otherness. Here the playwrights seem less concerned with adhering to historical fact than in highlighting, through costume and dialogue, Mary's religious affiliation for the audience, if its members required such reminding.

Mary's appearance as a nun also performs the function of disassociating her from her brother, King Edward VI. This difference is developed in the remainder of her speech, when she muses on foregoing all the magnificence of the Tudor court for the "euerlasting blisse" (1.3.12) found within her "rich prayer Booke" (1.3.8):

Liue I inuirond in a house of stone:

My Brother *Edward* liues in pompe and state,

I in a mansion here all ruinate.

Their rich attire, delicious banquetting:

Their seuerall pleasures, all their pride and honour,

I have forsaken . . . (1.3.3-8)

According to the details of the soliloquy, she is living in the poverty appropriate to a nun. The result of this contrast between Mary and Edward presents in very negative terms a king whose religion was much lauded by Protestants. Mary's spirituality is set in opposition to the worldly excess of Edward's court. One could argue, of course, that placing such criticism in the mouth of this princess-nun immediately negates it; however, the extant play-text does nothing to counterbalance Mary's judgement. In fact, later in the play, Mary's insistence that "One intire Subsidie, due vnto the Crowne / In our dead Brothers daies" (3.1.29-30) be released to the people, does not reflect well on Edward and his government. Her reason for the discharge of payment is so "The Commonaltie / Shal not be ore-burdned in our reigne" (3.1.30-1), a sentiment that suggests that the financial strains on her subjects during her brother's rule were great indeed. In her study of Shakespeare's history plays, Phyllis Rackin contends that "Once [women] become speaking subjects, they can only subvert the mythology in which their representation plays an essential role" (161-2). A similar subversion is occurring in *Sir Thomas Wyatt*. Mary-as-character is implicated, like Mary-as-historical-queen, in the myth of the election. Within this mythology, which the play does much to promulgate, she is the disruption to the Protestant legacy of Edward, the godly imp. However, Mary, through her criticism of her brother, vocalizes an undeniable note of censure here, one which runs counter to the master national discourse of Foxe and others.

What supports the plausibility of this reading is the generally positive characterization of Mary in the early scene. Although M. C. Bradbrook argues that the

drama's "religious bias is emphasized by having Queen Mary appear at first, quite unhistorically, in the garb of a nun" (103), there is nothing overtly condemnatory in Mary's devotion to her Catholic prayer book. In fact, her dedication to God seems initially quite admirable, and her estrangement from her brother's Protestant court a rightful prioritizing of faith over worldly concerns and pleasures. Mary's opening soliloquy, too, traces the well-documented strains in her relationship with her brother caused by fundamental religious differences, particularly her refusal to abandon the Latin Mass. She fails to express any regret, sisterly or otherwise, for the death of Edward, but such regret is, in general, absent from the play, so that Mary's silence on this point cannot detract from her seemingly good character.⁴³

There are indications that Mary is not satisfied with her lot as heir to the throne: she admits, on being saluted with "the high stile of Queene" (1.3.17), to the "lowring miserie" (1.3.19) of her situation. Charles R. Forker suggests that Mary is "frustrated in her exclusion from 'pompe and state'" (70). However, these indications of unhappiness with her circumstances are overwhelmed by the consideration that living as a nun is a deliberate choice and that the "sweetnesse," "ioy," and "comfort" (1.3.10, 11) of her prayer book are valued as "richer then the Empire of this land" (1.3.14). Her sudden inheritance of the crown becomes, for Mary, God's answer to her Catholic prayer. The antipopery that McLuskie identifies as the underpinning of the text is not much in evidence on Mary's entrance (33). Significantly, both Mary Tudor and her religion are somewhat sympathetically portrayed before she assumes true power in the play, so what

is minatory in the public sphere of monarchical government is shorn of sinister implications in the private. It is no surprise that such dissident ideas do not remain unchallenged in the remainder of the text.

If there is no obvious criticism of Mary's Catholic piety in her first scene in the play, there is a reminder of the issue of her bastardy. Through the end of Mary's opening line, "not like a Princesse borne," Dekker and Webster glance briefly at the taint of Mary's putative illegitimacy, created by Henry's divorce from her mother, Katherine of Aragon. However, for the most part, the play upholds Mary's right to the throne under the terms of her father's will. Even the Duke of Northumberland, Mary's sworn enemy, whose singular goal in the play is to have the crown devolve on his daughter-in-law, Jane, is forced to concede, "What though the King hath left behinde, / Two Sisters, lawfull and immediate heires, / To succeed him in his Throane" (1.1.13-5). Mary's legitimacy has no less an advocate than the eloquent Sir Thomas Wyatt, who convinces Edward's Council to abandon Northumberland's plot, which the members had previously supported. He reminds his fellow councillors of their prior oaths to preserve the succession outlined in the will of Henry VIII. Dekker and Webster are careful, with the exception of the single suggestion of Mary's illegitimacy, to support the claims to the throne of *both* of Henry's daughters, for although Elizabeth is never named explicitly in the play, her rights are usually conflated with her sister's in any arguments against the inheritance of Lady Jane Grey. To do otherwise, while Elizabeth was alive, would have been exceedingly dangerous. The text insists that royal legitimacy, in spite of religious conviction, should

always be supported (Forker 70).

The connections with Lady Jane Grey also undermine the largely positive introduction of Mary.⁴⁴ In Mary's words about her prayer book, audience members who knew their *Book of Martyrs* well would hear echoes of Jane's statement about her own holy book, the New Testament in Greek.⁴⁵ In the poignant letter recorded for posterity by Foxe, but originally written at the end of her book and composed before her execution for her sister, Katherine, Jane discusses the value of her New Testament, as well as its difference from the tangible wealth of those with secular power:

I Haue heere sent you (good Sister Katherine) a booke, which although it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, yet inwardly it is more worth then precious stones. It is the booke (deare Sister) of the law of the Lord. It is his Testament and last will which he bequeathed vnto vs wretches: which shall leade you to the path of eternall ioy: and if you with a good minde reade it, and with an earnest mind do purpose to follow it, it shall bring you to an immortall and euerlasting life. It shall teache you to liue, and learne you to die. It shall winne you more then you should haue gained by the profession of your wofull fathers landes. For, as if God had prospered him, you should haue inherited his landes: so if you apply diligently this booke, seeking to direct your lyfe after it, you shall be an inheritour of such riches, as neither the couetous shall withdrawe from you, neither theefe shall steale, neyther yet the mothes corrupt. (10.1422; 6.422)⁴⁶

Instead of emphasizing a closeness between the two faiths, which was probably never the

playwrights' intention, the allusions to Jane's letter contained in Mary's words reinforce Foxe's contention that things were never destined to go wrong for the new queen until she restored the Catholic religion, for he presents evidence of divine favour in the first days of her queenship. The soliloquy recognizes this sense of the potential at the beginning of her reign. But the primary effect of Catholic Mary ventriloquizing the ideas of her Protestant victim is to subtly remind the astute playgoer of her fall from grace with God and her role as persecutor of the saintly nine-day queen.

Mary and Jane are the only two characters in the play who appear with prayer books, which become obvious signs of their differences, religious and otherwise, and of the playwrights' attempt at dramatic counterpointing (Forker 70). In the scene immediately preceding her execution, Lady Jane Grey is shown with a Protestant "prayer booke" (5.2.47). In this way, Mary's prayer book symbolizes not goodness—or not solely goodness—but a royal, Catholic hegemony that transforms a quasi-nun into a queen with the power to punish those who impeded her succession. On the other hand, Jane's Protestant prayers, part of her preparation for what the text makes clear is an entirely undeserved death, represent her persecution by the Catholic hierarchy of queen and bishop. Consequently, prayer books demarcate victimizer and victim.

The device of the pair of prayer books is paradigmatic of the disruption that occurs in the initial characterization of Mary; the dramatists renegotiate the implications of her piety, so that what originally appeared admirable, becomes personally reprehensible and politically threatening. Accordingly, Mary's Catholic faith is linked to

the play's "pattern of broken oaths that effectively reflects the tensions and the trauma of constantly shifting religious and political values" (Champion 69).⁴⁷ After the ill-fated plot to place Lady Jane on the throne is thwarted, Mary meets with her council and, in her first act as queen, announces her desire to reestablish Catholicism in her kingdom. But in giving such orders, she is, as the Earl of Arundel reminds her, breaking "the late Oathe [she] tooke at *Framingham*" (3.1.23) to maintain the reformed religious policies of her brother. Mary responds in a fittingly imperious Tudor manner and lectures the Earl on his subsidiary role in the exercise of government: "wee remember that, / But shall a Subiect force his Prince to sweare / Contrarie to her conscience and the Law?" (3.1.24-6). Embedded in the more momentous news of the fundamental religious revolution about to occur in England and Mary's broken oath seems to be some sense of the new queen's concern for her people. An insistent note in her speeches before the council is the aphorism, "Better a poore Queene, then the Subiects poore" (3.1.17), which is repeated as "Better a poore Prince then the Nation poore, / The Subiects Treasure, is the Soueraignes store" (3.1.34-5). However, this desire to "share the wealth" through the release of "one intire Subsidie" (3.1.29) to the Commons, if not wholly illusory, is less generous than it at first appears, when considered in the context of the Catholic "reaction" that Mary outlines to the assembled lords. Money will certainly be spent, but primarily for religious purposes as part of a Catholic agenda. In these terms, it is religious "Zeale [that] shall be deckt in golde" (3.1.10), and so the poverty that Mary is determined to relieve is more one of faith and less one of purse. Her promise not to overburden her people has a price,

that they must be “liberall in Religion” (3.1.32). Here Mary is not anticipating freedom of worship, but her subjects’ favourable acceptance of Catholic doctrine and eagerness to practise the true faith.

Although Dekker and Webster undermine Mary’s early representation as a nun by using her religion as a tool to tarnish her virtue and her plans for her kingdom, they further destabilize this image by her interest in Philip of Spain. In the text, Mary’s decision to marry Philip is not a function of her piety—though, historically, a critical factor in his suitability as spouse was his identity as a Catholic prince—or a function of policy but a result of desire. The match is supported by committed Catholic figures, like Stephen Gardiner, the Bishop of Winchester, but Mary’s primary motivation for the forthcoming marriage is love and not political alliance. It is in those terms that Winchester frames the relationship. When the Earl of Arundel informs the queen that the Spanish ambassador is awaiting her to deliver letters from the prince, she uses the occasion to discuss the nature of her attachment to Philip, whom she has never met:

In the behalfe of louely Princely *Philip*,
 Whose person wee haue shrined in our heart
 At the first sight of his delightfull picture?
 That picture should haue power to tingle Loue
 In Royall breasts: the Dartes of loue are wordes,
 Pictures, conceite, heele preuaile by any . . . (3.1.62-7)

By expressing her emotions for her royal fiancé in this way, Mary is made to look

ridiculous. She is not in love with a man, but with a painting. Again, the playwrights set Mary in ironic contrast to Protestant Jane Grey, whose marriage in the play is obviously a love match and whose avowals of love are reciprocated. The devotion of Jane and Guilford is so great that when Winchester pronounces sentence of death upon them, Jane remarks, "I thanke her Highnesse, / That I shall first depart this haplesse world, / And not Suruiue to see my deere loue dead" (5.2.108-10). Guilford admits that Jane's earlier execution will increase his suffering, for his survival of her, however brief, will serve as the equivalent of losing his head three times.

The characters who voice opinions promoting or opposing Mary's proposed alliance with Philip further reinforce the view of the marriage as political folly. Winchester, the archvillain of the play, who treats the doomed lovers, Jane and Guilford, with great contempt and cruelty, is the marriage's strongest supporter, but even he acknowledges that Mary's position is far less powerful than Philip's, who is heir to Emperor Charles V. Ironically, it is Wyatt, eventually driven to rebel against Mary because of the Spanish marriage, who, alone among her councillors, recognizes the stupidity and potential danger involved in pursuing such a course. Here Wyatt reflects both the feelings of the majority of Mary's subjects in 1553-54 and the opinion of the historical sources. In his long argument against the match, Wyatt recognizes the threat of a Habsburg prince within England's borders, a threat opened by the queen herself. He likens Philip to a wily fox; he says, prophesying disaster,

I doe not like this strange marriage.

The Fox is suttile, and his head once in,

The slender body easily will follow.

.....

Spaine is too farre for *England* to inherit,

But *England* neare enough for *Spaine* to woe. (3.1.119-21, 128-9)

Wyatt, historically considered a Protestant (Loades, *Conspiracies* 16), supports Mary vociferously in the text on her accession, not through any shared religious feeling, for Dekker and Webster are scrupulous in avoiding this topic, but through the legality of Henry VIII's will and the oath the councillors swore to uphold it.⁴⁸ In the play, Wyatt is unhistorically made a councillor, who has access to and close contact with Mary, and his fictive role intensifies the heinousness of Mary's betrayal.

In the debate about the marriage, Wyatt reminds Mary and his fellow councillors of another provision in Henry VIII's will, which renders the match untenable. According to him, "King *Henries* last will, and his act at Court, / . . . that royall Court of Parliament, / . . . does prohibit Spaniards from the Land" (3.1.141-3). To allow a Spaniard, therefore, to become the husband of the English queen violates that oath Henry's councillors took to uphold the will in its entirety, and, consequently, Wyatt warns that they may "damme [their] soules with periurie" (3.1.145). But Wyatt also unhistorically renders Mary one of those who swore to preserve her father's will intact when he says, "Which of you all, dares iustifie this match, / And not be toucht in conscience with an oath?" (3.1.138-9).

This adaptation from the source material emphasizes Mary's pivotal role in causing others to commit, in Wyatt's eyes, perjury, through her pursuit of the unpopular alliance. That she cares nothing for the oath is demonstrated when she upbraids Wyatt for his "liberall tongue" (3.1.149) and calls for the councillors to affirm the match. She then invites the Spanish ambassador into her presence to "plight, [her] love to *Philips* heart" (3.1.154). What weighs on her is not her broken oath and its possible ramifications, but Philip's eventual arrival in England.

Dekker and Webster treat Mary's oath-breaking very differently than other such transgressions in the text. After a failed attempt to proclaim Queen Jane in Cambridge, Northumberland, who circumvents the terms of Henry VIII's will for his family's political gain, is eventually arrested by the Earl of Arundel. But his treason is transformed into a kind of religious heroism when he acknowledges his crimes but appeals to God to erase from "the bed-rowle of [his] sinnes" (2.2.116) the "tragick endes" (2.2.115) of his three sons, who are imprisoned in the Tower of London awaiting execution (McLuskie 36). The identity of the Duke of Suffolk as traitor is ruptured when he is arrested after he is betrayed by a man he trusts. Even though Suffolk connived to make his daughter, Lady Jane, queen, Dekker and Webster equate him with Christ when it is revealed that Homes, the manservant the duke trusted to hide him, accepts money, like Judas, to turn Suffolk over to the authorities. After the duke is led away by the sheriff and his officers, Homes regrets his actions and, in a gesture glancing at Judas's own death, "strangles himselfe" (2.3.sd). In this way, the anticipated death of Suffolk

becomes a Christ-like martyrdom. However, there is never any sense of redemption associated with Mary's breaking of her sworn word, which, by its very absence, signals the extent of her perfidy. The dramatists' failure to rehabilitate the queen establishes that she, unlike the sinful Protestants in the text, is irredeemable, which fits with the providential view of history found in their sources.

Mary disappears from the text after she has settled the issue of her marriage, although her representation as victimizer continues. The principle of the wickedness of rebellion is complicated by the virtue of the traitors themselves, so their deaths become, if not martyrdoms in the traditional sense, then sacrifices to a popish queen.⁴⁹ Thus, Lady Jane, Lord Guilford, and Wyatt are all executed for treason, but, in keeping with the Protestant historical narrative, they are represented as victims of the Catholic hierarchy generally and of Mary specifically. Although *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt* upholds the right of the monarch, even a corrupt monarch, to quell rebellion, it also represents Mary, through her ministers and judges, as the persecutor of admirable Protestants. The fact that it is for her purposes and in her name that the so-called traitors are sentenced to die reinforces her culpability. The "Clarke" of the Court declares that Jane and Guilford "haue by all possible meanes sought to procure vnto [themselves], the Royaltie of the Crowne of *England*, to the disinheriting of [the] new Soueraigne Lady the Queenes Maiestie . . ." (5.1.25-7); Wyatt is charged as a "Traitor" (5.2.13) whose death will hasten the arrival of Philip in England. As the person from whom governmental and judicial power emanates, Mary is negatively implicated in the punishments of Jane,

Guilford, and Wyatt.

A play about the difficult transfer of royal power and the relevancy of Henry VIII's will would have had resonance in 1602-03, as Elizabeth's subjects entered the last months of her childless reign facing the prospect of a succession crisis (Gasper, *Dragon* 49). Moreover, the spectacle of armed rebellion against an unmarried queen a year after the Essex rebellion would have granted *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt* a tantalizing topicality.⁵⁰ Rackin describes this early modern conception of the past as a mirror for the present in *Stages of History*:

A major impetus for the Elizabethan interest in history was the often-reiterated faith of the humanists that the past could provide lessons for the present and models for the future. Looking to the past to understand the present, Tudor historians focused on historical figures and situations that provided instructive analogues for contemporary persons and predicaments. (11)⁵¹

Indeed, Dekker and Webster made significant adaptations to the source material to amplify the already numerous historical parallels that exist between the rebellions of Wyatt and Essex. In the play, as has been previously discussed, Wyatt, gentleman of Kent, is transformed into a Privy Councillor, like Essex, an office that facilitates his access to the queen and his involvement in matters of state, including the succession. Furthermore, Wyatt displays an occasional insolence to his monarch similar to the bouts of temper that punctuated the relationship of the Earl of Essex and Elizabeth (Gasper, *Dragon* 53-4).

But what is the end of such deliberate parallelism? As Irving Ribner notes, the “purpose of a history . . . was not to present truth about the past for its own sake; it was to use the past for didactic purposes, and writers of history, both non-dramatic and dramatic, altered their material freely in order better to achieve their didactic aims” (10). At a very superficial level, then, the play is teaching its audience lessons in the fate of rebels and those implicated in rebellion. Thomas Heywood, in *An Apology for Actors*, makes a case for the orthodox political and educational purposes of dramas like *Sir Thomas Wyatt*:

Playes are writ with this ayme, and carryed with this methode, to teach the
 subiects obedience to their King, to shew the people the vntimely ends of such as
 haue moued tumults, commotions, and insurrections, to present thē with the
 flourishing estate of such as liue in obedience, exhorting them to allegiance,
 dehorting them from all trayterous and fellonious strategems. (F3^v)

What complicates Heywood’s reading when applied to Dekker and Webster’s play is the generally positive characterization of the rebel Wyatt, which is echoed by the popularity of Essex, both before and in death. Rebellion is punished in *Sir Thomas Wyatt*, but those who commit it can be considered admirable. Consequently, if the play does not fully support the ideology of obedience to the monarch, in the sense that it fails to preempt the virtuous characterization of Wyatt and reveal the rebel as an irredeemable evildoer, then the queen at the centre of the uprising is placed in an unfavourable position. The lesson contained in the play and its analogue, then, is less about the subject than about the monarch, and so in the shadowing of Essex’s rebellion in Wyatt’s, the pairing of the

sister-queens, Elizabeth and Mary, is instructive and subversive.

Elizabeth, as a student of and player in history, recognized the importance of historical analogy. After all, she once famously remarked in the aftermath of the Essex rebellion, "I am Richard II. Know ye not that?" One doubts, however, that she would ever have chosen her sister as an analogue. While Elizabeth is unnamed in the text and, because of her position as living monarch at the time of its composition, unnameable, her reign is anticipated. She is one of "two such princely Maides, / Lineally descended from our royall King" (1.6.29), so that when Wyatt defends Mary's claim to the throne based on Henry's will, he implicitly looks forward to Elizabeth. A similar anticipation occurs at the end of the play when, in the minutes before his execution, Guilford Dudley, though denying a role as "prophet" (5.2.84), forecasts the end of the Catholic hegemony associated with Winchester and Mary:

Yet knowe my Lordes, they that behold vs now,
 May to the axe of Iustice one day bowe,
 And in that plot of ground where we must die,
 Sprinckle their bloodes, though I know no cause why. (5.2.85-8)⁵²

Furthermore, though Dekker and Webster wisely do not allude to or mention the likelihood of Elizabeth's collusion with Wyatt and the other conspirators, some, if not all, members of the audience would have been aware of the historical connection. While it is difficult to assign an active role—or any definitive role at all, for that matter—to Elizabeth in the historical Wyatt's rebellion, she was implicated in it and eventually

arrested.⁵³ On the scaffold Wyatt denied Elizabeth's involvement, but it would be reasonable to assume that the replacement of Mary with her sister, Henry VIII's only other living offspring, would have been a result of the rebellion (Loades, *Conspiracies* 19).⁵⁴ So, the absence of Elizabeth in *Sir Thomas Wyatt* paradoxically masks a kind of pseudo-presence. Such a contention is strengthened if one reads the text's Wyatt rebellion as a mirror of Essex's revolt, for it raises the perhaps disturbing possibility that Mary is a figure of Elizabeth.⁵⁵

Such doubling is subversive indeed. The pairing of Mary and Elizabeth is not, however, a covert fulmination against the latter's religion, at least not in the sense that Catholicism is preferred over Protestantism, nor is it a censure of the Elizabethan reign as a whole. The conflation of Elizabeth with Mary serves as a critique of a single episode, more specifically, of the monarch's conduct during the rebellion of a popular nobleman (Gasper, *Dragon* 60-1). The protection of the realm and the succession against foreign Catholicism is often cited as Essex's motivation for revolt, which transmutes capital treason into an act of Protestant political commitment. Essex might not be a martyr to the Protestant cause, but his execution revealed recognizably Marian characteristics in Elizabeth. What can, in Protestant terms, be called Mary's reign of terror is not replicated by her half-sister, but in the play she is a corrupt and corrupting force, who treats her subjects with typical Tudor imperiousness. Through the vehicle of *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, Dekker and Webster suggest that their queen, in the matter of the Essex rebellion, is a similar cruel and misguided figure. The nature of her error is not the

religious affiliation of Mary, but her capacity to act as a victimizer, even of Protestants.

In *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, Mary is not a fully realized character. However, her appearance in the play is still of interest because it demonstrates how the dead queen becomes a construction co-opted, for the most part, in support of a particular Protestant version of history. Patrilineal descent and popular support ground Mary's right to rule in the play, as they did in life. But although the play upholds these privileges, it cannot transform Mary into a model monarch, though there are moments of humanity in her otherwise typical characterization as high-handed, inconstant, and callous queen. What is most striking in Mary's portrait is its use to criticize the reigns of her Protestant predecessor and successor, though the censuring of the latter is mostly covert. Rackin argues that in the later Shakespearean history plays "feminine voices . . . become more insistent, threatening to invalidate the patriarchal myths that Shakespeare found in his historiographic sources and implying that before the masculine voice of history can be accepted as valid, it must come to terms with women and the subversive forces they represent" (148). *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt* has subversive qualities associated with its female monarch, but these are insufficient to contradict the Protestant historical master narrative that generally shapes the discourse. Though Mary, as the hated Tudor, is invoked to criticize others within her dynasty, the play sustains her typically negative representation.

The relationship between *Sir Thomas Wyatt* and *If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody, Part I*,⁵⁶ has been the subject of scholarly conjecture.⁵⁷ Queen Mary's

coronation and the arrival of her Spanish husband in England, promised by the subtitle of the former's printed edition, finally occur in the latter (M. Doran xviii), and Thomas Heywood, who was paid for his share of the composition of the "playe called Lady Jane," is the author of both parts of *If You Know Not Me*. Indeed, the first part revisits topics covered more extensively in *Sir Thomas Wyatt*, like Mary's proposed marriage to a foreign prince and the rebellion incited by it, as well as reusing the motif of religious books (Grant, "Drama Queen" 24-5; Martin 278-9). What is significant for my purposes is that Heywood, like the (other) authors of *Sir Thomas Wyatt*, fashions a Mary Tudor for the early modern stage. The extant play-text, while containing the most sustained dramatic panegyric to Elizabeth of the period, also presents the most extensive dramatic representation of Mary and her government.

The play was wildly successful in print; the eight editions produced between 1605 and 1639 attest to its enduring popularity in early Stuart England.⁵⁸ What explains the public appetite for copies of what many consider a flawed drama is the subject matter, described in the play's subtitle as *The troubles of Queene Elizabeth* (Grant, "Drama Queen" 121). Even Samuel Pepys admits of the drama, "I confess I have sucked in so much of the sad story of Queen Elizabeth from my cradle, that I was ready to weep for her sometimes" (8.388). However, what the diarist finds particularly moving, which is obscured by both his review and the subtitle itself, is a drama involving the perils experienced not by Elizabeth-as-queen but by a pre-Gloriana princess, a subject of—and subjected to—the Catholic monarch, Mary.⁵⁹

The simplistic explanation for the use of such material is nostalgia for the past, specifically for the greatness of Elizabeth's past.⁶⁰ However, by the time of James's succession, the glories of the Elizabethan age and of a queen regnant in her prime, including the triumph of Protestantism and the epic defeat of the Spanish Armada, had been supplanted by the image of an aging and unpopular monarch, of whom many of her subjects were weary. Elizabeth's unpopularity in the last years of her reign, exacerbated by the possibility of a succession crisis and the execution of the Earl of Essex, coupled with the genuine relief felt by many upon the accession of her male heir, complicates reading *I If You Know Not Me* as an exercise in nostalgia.⁶¹ Michael Dobson and Nicola J. Watson consider Heywood's mythologizing of Elizabeth an act involving "selectively remembering" and "selectively forgetting" (45). Consequently, the nostalgia which quickly became attached to the "late queen of famous memory" had little to do with the most recent historical reality of Queen Elizabeth I. When Heywood was composing the play in the aftermath of James's accession to the English throne, Princess Elizabeth, as well as Queen Mary, were for most of their former subjects either very distant memories or figures available in the pages of Foxe's martyrology and in the chronicle-histories. What the playwright does is to discard the final impression of the queen in life in favour of the more appealing character of a youthful Elizabeth, devoid of real power, beset by foes, but possessed of the charity, fortitude, and steadfast faith of the truly Protestant heroine (Dobson and Watson 50, 52, 54). Yet, *I If You Know Not Me*'s Elizabeth is less the historical princess than the representation of Foxe, mediated, amplified, and adapted

by Heywood.⁶²

If the play's princess is a Foxean quasi-saint, living dangerously close to true martyrdom, then Mary is co-opted as an enemy and a tyrant who must be overcome if Elizabeth and, by extension, Protestantism are to triumph.⁶³ Although the victimization of this royal princess, who stood in such close proximity to the throne, inevitably had political and religious implications, Heywood also demonstrates that Mary's mistreatment of Elizabeth violates the bond between sisters. Relatively early in the play, Philip advises his betrothed to deal with Elizabeth as a sister: "But royall Queene, yet for her vertues sake, / Deeme her offences, if she haue offended, / VVith all the lenitie a Sister can" (4.299-301).⁶⁴ After his marriage, Philip continues to champion a reunion between sisters. His address to his wife combines the *topos* of the monarch as the sun with the reiteration of his earlier counsel to Mary to treat Elizabeth with the clemency appropriate to a sibling:

For her supposed vertues, Royall Queene
 Looke on your sister with a smiling brow,
 And if her fault merite not too much hate,
 Let her be censur'd with all lenity,
 Let your deepe hatred end where it began,
 She hath binne too long banisht from the sun. (18.1233-8)

This conflation of familial and political connections reappears when Elizabeth meets Mary and emphasizes that the queen's tyranny is simultaneously over sister and subject:

Quee: Sister, I rather thinke they're teares of spleene.

Eliz: You were my sister, now you are my Queene.

.....

Quee: Wee know you can speake well: will you submit?

Eliz: My life madam I will, but not as guilty,

Should I confesse

Fault done by her, that neuer did transgresse.

Ioy to haue a sister Queene so royall,

I would it as much pleas'd your maiesty,

That you enioy a sister that's so true . . . (18.1259-60, 1267-73)

Even Mary's subjects recognize that her conduct contravenes values that exist within their own families. A soldier, who cleverly denies he is discussing the queen, remarks,

Well sirs I haue two sisters, and the one loues the other,

And would not send her to prison for a million, is there any harme

In this? ile keepe my selfe within compas I warrant you,

For I doe not talke of the Queene, I talke of my sisters . . . (6.484-7)

To the soldier, there is nothing that should distinguish commoners from royalty in their dealings within a family unit, and his attempt at cryptic language does not obscure his message (Watkins 44). He recognizes not the dynastic ties that complicate the connections between the Tudor queen and her heir, but the kind of normative affection

and attachment that should ideally govern any relationship between siblings. Mary and Elizabeth fall far short of the kinship bonds enjoyed by the women described by the soldier, who faults the queen for promoting this breach.

It is not only Mary's relationship with Elizabeth that is warped. Although a dynastic union like that of Mary and Philip was rarely undertaken for reasons of love, a motivation that the soldier would probably assign to the marriages of commoners, the queen declares that their proposed meeting is between "Two royall Louers" (2.144). Her "swound" (20.sd), a reaction to the departure of Philip in the final dumb show, underlies the force of Mary's attachment to her husband. She loves, but Heywood, following the historical sources, provides little evidence that her feelings are fully reciprocated. In fact, the playwright indicates Philip's lack of feeling through dialogue in which Mary is either replaced in or distanced from his affection. Love, while not entirely missing in Philip's first speeches in the play, is overwhelmed by the formal and national terms used to frame the marriage. Philip's claim to love Mary is embedded in a discourse laden with imagery relating to the union of two countries. After she and her people "giue a welcome to the Spanish Prince" (4.240), his speech in answer displaces Mary as his betrothed in favour of Mary as a national symbol. The possibility of a real embrace is preempted by metaphorical ones:

Thrise excellent and euer gracious Princesse,

Doubly famous for vertue and for beautie,

We embrace your large stretcht Honors with the armes of loue,

Our Royall marriage, treated first in Heauen
 To be solemniz'd here, both by Gods voice,
 And by our loues consent, we thus embrace . . . (4.245-50)

In the remainder of his address before Mary and "*all the Nobles*" (4.sd), his marriage is transformed into a symbolic union of "two populous Kingdomes, / That haue a long time been oppos'd / In Hostile emulation . . ." (4.251-3), a union that results in a strange conflation of nations and nationhoods: "This shalbe Spanish England, ours English Spaine" (4.254). The reading of their "new vnited Stile" (4.260), the catalogue of their joint titles, merely confirms the political dimension of the alliance.

But the factor that makes Mary's marriage appear so unsatisfactory is that the attention of her husband is rarely on his wife, but on her sister. For instance, immediately after setting a date for their wedding, Philip singles out Elizabeth as the guest whose attendance is imperative:

but royall Queene we want
 One Ladie at this hye solemnitie:
 We haue a Sister cal'd *Elixabeth* [sic],
 Whose vertues and endowments of the mind
 Hath fil'd the eares of Spaine. (4.277-81)

Philip's tribute to the princess's mind is expressed in similar terms to his earlier praise of Mary's virtue and beauty: the attributes of these royal women have made them justifiably famous. What is startling is that there is no differentiation between the greatness of the

sisters, one a queen regnant and the other a prisoner. Moreover, Philip's desire for the presence of "One Ladie" at his nuptials disrupts the natural connection between husband and wife, for he replaces the essential female player in the ceremony, the bride, with her half-sibling.

Grant raises the issue of the possible romantic implications of Philip's interest in his sister-in-law when she asks, "Can we detect in Heywood's choices an early indication of the twentieth-century pulp fiction take on the relationship between Elizabeth and Philip, which continually implies that the King of Spain's offer of marriage to the new queen after Mary's death is prompted by something more personal than political manoeuvring?" ("Drama Queen" 131-2).⁶⁵ The answer is yes.⁶⁶ In *Englands Elizabeth*, the prose rendering of *If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody*, Heywood gives a far less intimate reason for Philip's interest in Elizabeth when he ties her survival to the king's own: Philip fears her death within her own country might set a dangerous precedent and threaten the more precarious security of the Spanish in England (Ziegler, "England's Saviour" 34-5). However, Heywood does not advance that explanation in his play. Indeed, self-preservation cannot account for Philip's reaction to viewing Elizabeth for the first time from the concealment of an arras. He declares, "Myrror of vertue and bright natures pride, / Pitty it had been, such beauty should haue dy'd" (18.1282-3).

Philip is not only an advocate who appeals to Mary's mercy in dealing with the problem of Elizabeth; he also takes on the role of an agent of the Protestant God and protects his sister-in-law from Gardiner's plot to kill her. There is a definite irony here,

considering Philip's fervent Catholicism, yet he exhibits none of the antipathy of those of his faith for a Protestant enemy or of a husband for his royal wife's prisoner. Spikes's reading of Foxe convinces her that Catholic Philip's protection of the princess is a manifestation of divine providence (137-8).⁶⁷ His discovery, through the revelations of Howard and Gresham, that "a warrant for the Princesse death / Before she be conuicted" (15.1155-6) has been slipped into the pile of papers requiring his seal places the king in conflict with the aims of the bishop of Winchester, whose plot it is. Thus, the hiding of the warrant becomes an opportunity to attempt a reconciliation between Mary and her sister and to give Elizabeth more freedom:

In stead of charging of the Sheriffes with her,
 We here discharge her keeper *Beningfeild* [sic]:
 And where we should haue brought her to the blocke,
 We now will haue her brought to Hampton court,
 There to attend the pleasure of the Queene . . . (15.1170-4)

Philip is pleased by his foiling of Winchester's scheme and counts himself not as one of the Marian faction, but as one of Elizabeth's rescuers: "a good dayes worke we ha made, / To rescue Innocence so soone betrayd" (15.1179-80). In announcing the princess's innocence, he echoes Elizabeth's own pronouncements like "Alas I am all the Queenes, yet nothing of my selfe, / But God and Innocence . . ." (5.322-3). Mary has great power over her sister, but cannot make the same claim to personal power in her marriage. On the other hand, Philip's facilitation of the reconciliation between Mary and Elizabeth does

prove his power over his wife. When he discusses his position in arranging the meeting, he again commingles the personal and political:

I doe protest as I am King of *Spaine*,
 My vtmost power ile stretch to make them frends,
 Come Lords let's in, my loue and wit ile try
 To end this Iarre; the Queene shall not deny. (13.970-3)

Philip's objection to the conditions of Elizabeth's imprisonment places him in opposition to his wife and her ministers.

Once the peace has been achieved between Mary and Elizabeth, Philip's remarks, while not directed specifically against his wife, serve to impugn the queen's regime, and by extension, the queen herself. His words to Elizabeth summarize his hostility to those whose harsh policies kept the sisters separated: "Accurst be they that first procur'd this wrong, / Now by my crowne, you ha been kept downe too long" (18.1301-2). In the second scene of *I If You Know Not Me*, it is Mary herself who orders the "Commission" (2.111) that brings Elizabeth to London and to imprisonment. She decrees that the Lords of "*Tame and Shandoyse*" (2.110) will "fetch our sister young *Elizabeth* / From *Ashbridge* where shee lyes, and with a band / Of armed souldiers to conduct her vp to *London* . . ." (2.112-4). Heywood identifies Winchester and Beningfield as the characters who initially agitate against Elizabeth by raising the possibility of her encouragement of heretics, her participation in the Wyatt rebellion, and her threat to a Catholic succession, but Philip's curse is not against Mary's ministers alone. The queen herself is one of the

undifferentiated "they that first procur'd this wrong." And it is not long before Philip's imprecation begins to take effect for, having secured Elizabeth's release "from captiue thrall" (18.1308), he determines, to Mary's great sorrow, to leave her. Although the king hopes to return, the queen's forecast is far more negative: "VVhy should two harts be for'st to seperate, / I know your busines but beleeeve me sweete, / My soule diuines we neuer more shall meete" (18.1313-5). Having fulfilled his role as protector of the Protestant heroine, with whose troubles he is most closely connected in the play, Philip disappears.

The queen as loving wife to a more distant and disinterested husband is but one facet of Mary's representation in the play. The dominant impression of her character, which is set in her entrance scene, is that of a tyrant. Her handling of Dodds, one of the Suffolk men who rallied to the queen's cause in the wake of the Jane Grey *débâcle*, is symptomatic of autocratic rule (Grant, "Drama Queen" 122-3; Watkins 43). He approaches her with all the humility of a suppliant and offers a "poore peticion" (2.54) that entreats Mary to fulfill the promise made to her "liegemen" (2.83) that they should "vse that faith / Which in king *Edwards* daies was held Canonically" (2.84-5). For such "insolence" (2.86) Dodds is sentenced by the bishop of Winchester to three days in the pillory, but not before Mary delivers a speech in which she describes her governance in absolutist terms (Watkins 43-4):

They shall know,

To whome their faithfull duties they doe owe,

Since they the lymbes, the head would seeke to sway,

Before they gouerne, they shall learne t'obay. . . . (2.88-91)

In the same scene, Winchester accuses Sir William Sentlow of "sawcye impudence" (2.120) when the knight defends Elizabeth against "all supposed treasons" (2.117).

Autarchy is central to Mary's expression of displeasure, "Away with him, ile teach him know his place, / To frowne when we frowne, smile on whome we grace" (2.122-3), and to Winchester's reply, "Twilbe a meanes to keepe the rest in awe, / Making their soueraignes brow, to them a lawe" (2.124-5). The focus of monarchical power in both speeches is again the head through the use of metaphors of the face.

Mary's treatment of Dodds is typical of absolutism: power emanates from the person of the queen and is subject to her vagaries. But such remoteness from and contempt for the people is not characteristic of Elizabeth's nascent power. Under Mary's regime, the betrayed Dodds clearly fills the position of the subject, with all its intrinsic powerlessness. He is one of the "Suffolke men . . . [who] was to the Queene / The very stayres, by which she did ascend" (1.38-9), but the queen's absolutism means that she can disregard the very real debt she owes "vnto them for their loues" (1.40). In such a monarchy, no privilege accrues to men like Dodds for their support; no promise must be kept to them now that the queen is secure. Dodds's error is in "imagin[ing] a sovereign who listens to her people and shapes her policies according to their desires" (Watkins 43). Consequently, Winchester can ignore the humility of Dodds's petition and class it as an insult to the queen in the form of "a large recitall & vpbraydinge of [her] highnes

Soueraignty" (2.66-7). In contrast, the loyalty and gratitude that Mary and her minister fail to show towards Dodds are amply demonstrated by Elizabeth's interactions with those who are present when she is made aware of her succession to the throne. Sir Henry Krew, who delivers the news, is instantly made a baron, and Gage, Elizabeth's devoted supporter, is given a "captaine Pentioners place" (21.1467).

Differences in attitude and behaviour mark the loyalists of Mary and Elizabeth.⁶⁸ Mary's closest advisor, Gardiner, is uniformly evil and unscrupulous, traits exemplified in his Machiavellian plot to kill Elizabeth without legal sanction. His flouting of the law in this circumstance makes unsurprising his later disregard for the feelings of the queen after her reconciliation with Elizabeth. Although the bishop, unlike his confederate Benningfield, insists that "this peace is naturall, / This combination is without deceyt . . ." (18.1329-30), he continues his stratagems with the goal of destroying Elizabeth:

But I will once more write to incence the Queene,

The plot is laid, thus it shalbe perform'd:

Sir *Harry*, you shall goe attach her se[r]uant

Vppon suspition, of some trechery,

VVherin the Princesse shalbe accessary . . . (18.1331-5)

Manipulation of the queen and the perversion of law are integral to Winchester's protection of his "pollicy" (18.1336).

In Heywood's recreation of the absolutist Marian hegemony, corruption and cruelty are commonplace. The Constable of the Tower bars Elizabeth "any walke, or

garden, or to ope / Her windowes, casements to receiue the ayre" (7.619-20). He appears to acknowledge that such conditions are outrageous, when he promises, "Ile vse her so, the Queene shall much commend / My diligent care" (7.613-4). The earl of Sussex complains that the Constable treats the royal prisoner "without respect, / And worse than your Commission can maintaine" (7.621-2), even though the officer protests that he is doing his duty only. While Beningfield, to whom Elizabeth refers as her jailor, persists in citing his legal commission as the reason for his harshness, his vigilance seems to proceed from a more personal emotion and not entirely from his warrant:

I doe write and send, Ile crosse you still;
 She shall not speake to any man aliue,
 But ile ore-heare her, no letter nor no token
 Shall euer haue accesse vnto her hands,
 But first ile see it;
 So like a subiect to my soueraigns state,
 I will pursue her with my deadly hate. (14.1078-84)

The courtesy which others extend to the princess supports the conclusion that Beningfield's guardianship is excessive. The jailor objects, for instance, to the "townesmen of the country gathered here, / To greete [her] Grace" (11.850-1) and orders the soldiers to be ready to "stop their mouthes" (11.855). Tame's reaction is quite different and so highlights Beningfield's unreasonableness. He calls the assembled crowd "honest contrey men, / That much reioyce to see the Princesse well" (11.862-3). Even though

Beningfield explains his actions by invoking his "charge" (11.864), Tame refuses to make that an excuse for such behaviour, for he argues that his responsibility is as great. In fact, he later ignores the strictures of the commission altogether so that he can offer the princess lodgings for the night. Although Mary entrusted Tame with the moving of Elizabeth to London, he, unlike his officious counterpart, is capable of flexibility and autonomy. He assures Elizabeth, "No prisoner are you Madame for this night" (11.882) and for "what I intend to do ile answere" (11.884). Tame technically violates the nature of his commission in granting this degree of freedom to the queen's prisoner, but such a breach is of a different kind from Winchester's legal transgressions. Furthermore, it momentarily restores Elizabeth's status as a princess and heir to the throne by recognizing the traditional importance inherent in her person.

Lest one think that Tame's virtue distinguishes him from the ignobleness of those most closely associated with Mary in the text, Heywood attaches to him a more generalized loyalty to the institution of the English monarchy. He follows Mary with enough assiduousness that he and Shandoyse deliver Elizabeth to London in spite of her illness and her entreaties "that she might be spar'd / Vntill her health and strength might be restor'd" (4.289-90); and that he can question the princess about her participation in the Wyatt rebellion. After Mary's death, he can gently reproach the Clown for failing to mourn for her: "and yet me thinke 'twere fit, / To spend some funerall teares vpon her hearce. / VVho while she liu'd was deere vnto you all" (21.1483-5). However, a scene later, Tame can, with equanimity, participate in Elizabeth's accession ceremony by

bearing and presenting "*the Coller and a George*" (22.sd), which she returns with the injunction to "Possesse them still my Lord . . ." (23.1557). Because Shandoyse, Howard, and Sussex share Tame's attitude towards Mary and Elizabeth, it is not exceptional in the text.

Elizabeth's supporters often demonstrate a personal devotion to their mistress and a kind of moral strength in expressing it.⁶⁹ After her household "is desolu'd / And quite broke vp" (5.318-9), her servants return to attend her. Her cooks, in particular, are upset at the princess's plight and weep for her:

Nothing but such a Princesse grieve as yours,

So good a Ladie & so beautifull, so absolute a mistris,

And perfect as you haue deliuered been,

Have power to doo't, your sorrow makes vs sad. (5.328-31)

When the Constable of the Tower determines to "vex" (9.752) Elizabeth by having his own cooks prepare her meals with his and by replacing her officers with his men, one of the princess's cooks fights to retain his service. He beats the soldier who presumes to take his place and vows that "The proudest he that keepes within the tower, / Shall haue no eie into my priuate office" (9.763-4). His motivation is fidelity to Elizabeth: "I haue been true to her, and will be still" (9.770). An incident of a similar type follows the cook's campaign to maintain the small privilege of separate food preparation for his lady. A boy dares to bring Elizabeth a nosegay in spite of threats to his safety: "My Lord said I should be soundly whipt / If I were seene to bring her any more, / But yet Ile venture once

again, shee's so good . . ." (10.775-7). These two situations give ample evidence of the commoners' love for Elizabeth, which arises from her own worthiness. That she is a friend to such people even in the time of her own troubles is demonstrated by her reciprocal charity from prison. She remarks, "This tower hath made me fall to huswiffry, / I spend my labors to releue the poore, / Goe *Gage* distribute these to those that neede" (10.808-10). Here is the saintly and domestic Elizabeth caring for those who will be among the poorest of her future subjects. The text does not allow Mary any similar show of domesticity, even within the scope of her marriage, or of any concern for the poor. Her preoccupation is predominantly political.

The loyalty to Mary shown by Winchester and Beningfield is also of a different type than that which makes the cooks defend their lady, for assuredly it does not emanate from the same kind of affection that her future subjects feel for Elizabeth. Often concern for the religion for which the queen stands seems as or more significant in motivating her adherents than personal commitment to their monarch. Because she is the instrument essential to the perpetuation of a Catholic England, Winchester feels no compunction in falsifying proof of Elizabeth's wrongdoing in order to convince the queen of her sister's guilt. Mary's personal feelings, in the wake of her satisfactory reconciliation with Elizabeth, do not matter to Gardiner. What is essential here is his fear that "our true religion will decay" (18.1323). Beningfield also invokes the Catholic faith in his opposition to Elizabeth. At the beginning of the play, he bases his dread of her succession on its religious ramifications. He argues that under such circumstances, "The

state of our religion would decline" (2.109).⁷⁰

When Mary dies, the commitment of those who most enthusiastically served her evaporates in the wake of self-interest and self-preservation, revealing the base nature of those who prosper under a totalitarian government. Their obedience to the monarch is, consequently, redefined as blind servility.⁷¹ These are not men like Tame and Sussex who, while serving Mary, showed her heir some compassion, but those who dealt with Elizabeth punitively within the scope of their mandates. The Constable of the Tower appears before the new queen to present his "Cap of mayntenance" (23.1525) and make excuses for his earlier severity:

Pardon me gracious Madame 'twas not spleene,

But that alegance that I ow'd my Queene,

Madame I seru'd her truly at that day,

And I as truly will your Grace obey[.] (23.1528-31)

The Constable's desire for Mary's commendation, stated earlier in the text, negates the veracity of his explanation. The new queen is capable of recognizing that his apology cannot redress his mistreatment of her, for her pardon is not without a price: "We do as freely pardon as you truly serue, / Onely your staffe of Office wee le displace, / In stead of that wee le owe you greater Grace" (23.1532-4). Certainly, the last line of Elizabeth's speech seems to promise other employment to the Constable, but the nature of his new service never moves beyond this stage. As "Grace" may also refer to mercy, the implications of the last line may be more negative. Elizabeth's benevolence in her

moment of triumph means that she will demonstrate greater clemency than the Constable and so deprive him of his office only and not his liberty.

Hoping to be the "first reporter, / Of these glad tydings first" (23.1536-7), Beningfield materializes immediately following the conversation between Elizabeth and the Constable. As in the earlier case, a contrary note counterbalances a display of queenly mercy.⁷² Although Elizabeth, in return for Beningfield's "kindnes" (23.1545), assures him that he may be called upon to be the jailor of "one [she] would have hardly vs'd / And cruelly delt with" (23.1546-7), she ends her interview with him on a very equivocal note: "This is a day for peace, not for vengeance fit, / All your good deeds wee'le quit, all wronges remit" (23.1548-9). John Watkins argues that men like the Constable and Beningfield are essential in an absolutist regime like Mary's, "but Heywood's Elizabeth envisions a future in which she governs without coercion" (45-6). The new queen does not give such men the same kind of defined placements they enjoyed under Mary. In spite of Elizabeth's vow that "Some we intend to rayse, none to displace" (23.1561), her attitude towards the Constable and Beningfield shows a degree of political discernment.⁷³ Unlike Mary, who imprisoned her heir on little more than rumour and punished others to whom she ought to have shown gratitude, Elizabeth is aware of her true enemies. That she deals more leniently with them than they probably deserve merely emphasizes her sister's intransigence and induration.

The contrast of Elizabeth's embryonic power, political acumen, and respectful dealings with the people, both high and low, with the characteristics of Mary's regime

allows Heywood to define a new citizenry over the course of the two parts of *If You Know Not Me*.⁷⁴ According to Watkins, the playwright

replaces absolutist discourse with a new social order in which citizens share with the monarch the rewards and responsibilities of effective governance. By the time the play ends, Elizabeth's subjects have learned the limits of mere obedience and the value of taking their own initiative in preserving the nation's legal and religious heritage. As Mary's despotism yields to Elizabeth's respect for law and custom, the common English subject emerges as a citizen. (40)

Mary's governance, homologous in *If You Know Not Me* with oppression of the worst sort, breeds a subversion of class and societal norms, which has both positive and negative effects. Thus, Elizabeth, the heir to the throne, can become the lowest kind of subject, the prisoner, who is treated worse than the commoner Dodds and the knight Sentlow, and over whom her social inferiors have control. Additionally, she is the object of care and sympathy by those who are not her equals in terms of class. In this way, the brutalities of the Marian regime foster not social conflict or dislocation, but a sense of community, because it provides a central focus for discontent and anger, in spite of class or station (Watkins 43). Even the queen herself is implicated in such hierarchical perversion when, at one point in the text, she becomes simply a pawn in Winchester's unrealized plot to rid the kingdom of the princess.

Ceremonies and pageantry are useful signifiers of the contrast between old and new monarchies in the play.⁷⁵ Such spectacles, of course, expose the theatricality of

queenly—and kingly—display of any kind and how performance is central to sovereignty. Mary enters the play as a member of a stately parade: “*Enter Tame bearing the purse: Shandoyse the Mace: Howard the Septer; Sussex the Crowne: then the Queene, after her the Cardinall, Sentlow, Gage, and attendans*” (3.sd). Heywood reuses aspects of this first procession in one of many dumb shows later in the play. Such a reprise within the context of the dumb show, a theatrical convention considered old-fashioned by the time *If You Know Not Me* was staged (Mehl 157), comments on the equally outmoded Catholic monarchy of Mary, soon to be supplanted by the magnificence of Elizabethan sovereignty. In case this idea should escape the audience, the events that follow the procession in the dumb show, the departure of Philip and the death of Winchester, mark the end of two principal players in the Marian hegemony and the beginning of the telescoping of time, which sees the swift removal of anyone who opposes the Protestant succession. The “*six Torches*” which begin the parade, the sounding of “a dead march,” and the presence of “the herse of *Winchester*” (20.sd) render the entire dumb show, even those parts which have nothing to do with death, as something funereal and connect the queen to that which is dead. Retrospectively, both of Mary’s pageants seem very poor indeed when compared to the magnificence which accompanies Elizabeth’s ceremonial entrance in the final scene. Although the unspecific group of “*attendants*” swell the ranks of Mary’s first parade, the details of names, stations, and numbers assigned to Elizabeth’s procession are explicit:

A Sennet. Enter 4. Trumpetors, after them Sargeant Trumpetor with a Mace, after

*him Purse-bearer, Sussex with the Crown, Howard the Scepter, Cōstable with the
Cap of mayntenāce, Shandoyse with the Sword, Tame with the Coller and a
George, foure Gentlemen bearing the Canapy ouer the Queene, two Gentle-
women bearing vp her trayne, six gentle-men Pensioners, the Queene takes state.*
(23.sd)

The greater use of royal props and the blast of trumpets heralding the march lend an increased grandeur to this cavalcade and to the Protestant queen it celebrates.

The triumph of the play's conclusion is a religious one, the reemergence of Protestantism⁷⁶ in the realm, and the crypto-Catholicism of James's queen Anne and other signs that boded ill for the future of Protestantism, like the king's Hampton Court conference (1604), made particularly timely a play that revisited the old and unforgettable Catholic menace and the struggle to overcome it (Pinciss 58, 59-60; Spikes 125-6). It replaces the religion of Mary that was initially connected to her vanquishing of her enemies, in particular, "*Wiatt* and the Kentish rebels" and the "rebell Dukes" (1.21, 22). For Mary, the quelling of the uprising is a sign of divine favour, so her victory speech is a profession of faith:

By gods assistance and the power of heauen,
We are instated in our brothers throane,
And all those powers, that war'd against our right,
By helpe of heauen and your freindly ayde,

Disper'st and fled, heere may we sit secure,

Our heart is ioyfull Lords, our peace is pure. (2.48-53)

In order to revoke the characterization of Mary as an exponent of true religion, there is a renegotiation of the positive terms under which the queen and Catholicism are introduced. The next part of the scene portrays, through her interactions with Dodds and Sentlow, her absolutism and her obstinacy, later reinforced by her role in Elizabeth's troubles. As in *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, the activities of Mary's followers tarnish the brief, potentially favourable view of her regime. The providential God to whom Mary attributes her victory at the outset begins to act for the salvation of Elizabeth, and, as a consequence, her success appears increasingly hollow. Elizabeth's dream, dramatized in a dumb show, reveals the extent to which providence is on the side of the princess and against those Catholics determined to be rid of her (Baines 30-1; Spikes 135): "Enter *Winchester, Constable, Barwick, and Fryars*: at the other dore 2. *Angels*: the *Fryar* steps to her, offering to kill her: the *Angels* driuves them back. *Exeunt*. The *Angel* opens the Bible, and puts it in her hand as she sleepes, *Exeunt Angels, she wakes*" (14.sd). The appearance of the English Bible in her hands when she awakens moves the incident from wishful thinking to a real prophecy that "heauen . . . / With his eternall hand, will guide the iust" (14.1062-3). The chapter to which Elizabeth's Bible opens, "*Whoso putteth his trust in the Lord, / Shall not be confounded*" (14.1064-5), further emphasizes the promise of deliverance.⁷⁷ In terms of the Protestant, providential history that underlies the play, Mary's belief in herself as the chosen of God is illusory.

Far from being the recipient of divine approbation, she is just an impediment separating Elizabeth, for a time, from freedom and from the throne. Once the princess and the queen are reunited, which delineates the reduction, though not disappearance, of Elizabeth's troubles, Heywood swiftly dispatches her Catholic foes in the space of scene 20. First Sussex announces the news of Winchester's death (1555), which had been previously introduced through the vehicle of the dumb show; Beningfield then brings tidings that "The *Cardinall Poole* that now was firmly well, / Is sodenly falne sicke and like to die" (20.1386-7) (1558); and finally the Constable repeats the rumour that "They say the Queene is craysy very ill" (20.1393) (1558).⁷⁸ With these deaths, nothing further hinders Elizabeth's progress to the crown. Her release from Catholic oppression betokens a new Protestant freedom symbolized by the unclasping of the English Bible at the end of the play.

The flaw that Elizabeth ascribes to her sister in the play is impatience. Before she writes her famous letter, "Much suspected by me, nothing prou'd can be, / *Finis quoth Elizabeth* the prisoner" (14.1036-7), she prays, "Giue to my pen, a true perswasieue stile, / That it may moue my impatient sisters eares, / And vrge her to compassionate my woe" (14.1030-2). The dominant characterization of Mary Tudor in *I If You Know Not Me* is not of a querulous monarch, but of a tyrant, a foil for her sister's saintliness, popularity, and populism.⁷⁹ While she is not without strength, influencing matters in the play for a time and gaining physical control of one whom she considers a recalcitrant sister, she always seems, paradoxically, somewhat pathetic. Her husband marries her for duty and

then devotes himself to Elizabeth's cause; her efforts to reestablish Catholicism are just a prelude to a Protestant triumph; she functions merely as a delay to Elizabeth's inheritance of the throne. Ultimately, the significance of her regime resides in its brief intersection with the history of Elizabeth and English Protestantism.

Like *I If You Know Not Me*, the focus of Dekker's second play on the history of the Tudor dynasty, *The Whore of Babylon*, is Elizabeth. To form the allegorical framework for his idealization of her, he borrows from Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, most recognizably names and locales.⁸⁰ In spite of the fact that Dekker's monarch is "Titania the Faerie Queene: vnder whom is figured our late Queene Elizabeth" (496),⁸¹ and not Gloriana, he shares with the epic poet a similarity of purpose: like Spenser who, in *The Faerie Queene*, "conceiue[s] the most excellent and glorious person of our soueraigne the Queene" (737),⁸² Dekker intends that "*The Generall scope of this Drammaticall Poem, is to set forth (in Tropicall and shadowed collours) the Greatnes, Magnanimity, Constancy, Clemency, and other the incomparable Heroical vertues of our late Queene*" (*Lectori* 497).⁸³

Although Dekker's representation of Elizabeth is more equivocal than his statement of intent suggests (Champion 77-8),⁸⁴ she is still the Protestant queen battling the pernicious forces of the Empress of Babylon, through whom he adumbrates Rome, and, so, the iniquitous Catholicism of the Whore displaces the ideological opposition of Mary Tudor previously rehearsed in Heywood's *I If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody* (Dobson and Watson 60). The foiling of Titania and the Empress seems to

render Mary superfluous, and the brevity of her appearance in the play—if appearance it can be termed—initially confirms her apparent lack of importance. In *The Whore of Babylon*, she is confined to the opening “Dumb shew,” in which she is a corpse. In fact, her single function as a character is to facilitate, through her death, the awakening of the allegorical figure of Truth:

Then enter Friers, Bishops, Cardinals before the Hearse of a Queen, after it Councillors, Pentioners and Ladies, al these last hauing scarfes before their eyes, the other singing in Latin. Trueth suddenly awakens, and beholding this sight, shews (with her father) arguments of Ioy, and Exeunt, returning presently: Time being shifted into light Cullors, his properties likewise altred into siluer, and Truth Crowned, (being cloathed in a robe spotted with Starres) meete the Hearse, and pulling the veiles from the Councillers eyes, they woundring a while, and seeming astonished at her brightnes, at length embrace Truth and Time, and depart with them: leauing the rest going on. (500)⁸⁵

The playwright's hope that “the weakest eye, / (Through those thin vailes we hang betweene your sight, / And this our peice) may reach the mistery” (Prologue 5-7) is not in vain for his allegory is more immediately accessible than his model in Spenser. Mark Bayer argues that much of the play's allegory, as well as the religio-political history and polemic that underlie it, could be readily understood even by the lower classes who comprised the audience at the Fortune playhouse (62, 78-9).⁸⁶ Therefore, Dekker's failure to identify the dead queen in this section definitively is no hindrance. Because the

entrance of Titania, which is patterned after aspects of a pageant for Elizabeth on the day before her coronation (Hoy 2.312) and contains obvious parallels with the final ceremony of *I If You Know Not Me* (Dobson and Watson 59; Spikes 139), follows the first movement within the dumb show, the dead monarch can be designated as Mary Tudor. Additionally, the sense of truth flourishing only upon the accession of the Protestant Elizabeth is a commonplace in Foxe, Holinshed, and Stow, Dekker's sources. As the ascendancy of Catholicism, signified by the Latin hymns, interferes with the truth, the figure of Truth sleeps, unable to be roused even by the efforts of her father Time, and the veiled entourage, presumably representative of England under Mary, is blind and oblivious to her slumber. It is only upon the death of Mary that Truth, obviously of the Protestant persuasion, awakens, and the scarves are removed from the eyes of the late queen's subjects. This is a moment of triumph for Truth, because, within the dumb show, she first succeeds Mary; she begins the play "*in sad abiliments; vncrownd*" (500), and immediately after the death of Mary appears "*Crowned, (being cloathed in a robe spotted with Starres)*."⁸⁷

In the main narrative of the play, there are allusions to Mary or to her reign that bolster the initial identification of the dumb show's dead queen. The hegemony of the Empress for five years matches the span of Mary's reign (Conover 113). The Babylonian monarch details the hiatus of (Protestant) attacks and incursions against her Church (in England, by implication) before the accession of the Faerie Queene:

Fiue Summers haue scarce drawn their glimmering nights
 Through the Moons siluer bowe, since the crownd heads
 Of that adored beast, on which we ride,
 Were strucke and wounded, but so heal'd againe,
 The very scarres were hid. But now, a mortall,
 An vnrecouerable blow is taken,
 And it must bleed to death. (1.1.47-53)

In terms of historical allegory, Mary's ascendancy brings a cessation of assaults against Catholicism, symbolized here by the Whore's beast,⁸⁸ and the Protestant reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth cause further strikes against the religion of Rome. The Catholic Empress, of course, views the Marian half-decade as positive, whereas Titania's first speech implicitly implicates it in her pre-succession troubles. Upon her entrance into the play proper, the Faerie Queene provides a summary of her life, with a replay of the rhetoric of danger and salvation familiar from accounts of Elizabeth's own life. Though Titania's peril, which began in infancy, is more protracted than that suffered by Elizabeth, it would recall for the audience their former queen's fear for her life under the Marian regime and the force of providence that sustained and eventually raised her.⁸⁹

Wee thought the fates would haue closde vp our eyes,
 That wee should nere haue seene this day-starre rise:
 How many plots were laid to barre vs hence,
 (Euen from our Cradle?) but our Innocence,

Your wisdom (fairy Peeres) and about all,
 That Arme, that cannot let a white soule fall,
 Hath held vs vp, and lifted vs thus hie:
 Euen when the Arrowes did most thickly flie,
 Of that bad woman, (*Babilons* proud Queene)
 Who yet (we heare) swels with Inuenomed Spleene. (1.2.1-10)

In this passage, the enemy is not the dumb show's dead queen, but the Babylonian Empress, in spite of the comment on the role of the "fates." The Faerie Queene's second speech echoes this idea. While alluding parenthetically to the Marian entourage's blindness and to the historical Protestant persecutions, it inculpates the Whore:

Truth be my witnes (whom we haue imployde,
 To purge our Aire that has with plagues destroyed
 Great numbers, shutting them in darksome shades)
 I seeke no fall of hers . . . (1.2.13-6)

The "hir" to whom Titania refers is the Empress, and this second displacement of guilt from Mary Tudor—or the dead queen who stands for her—internationalizes the Catholic threat and accords with the shifting of blame from Mary found in some of the source materials.⁹⁰ One of Titania's councillors, Florimell, briefly revisits the topic of the perils of Elizabeth-as-Titania and the connection between his queen and the dead monarch of the dumb show. The speech is a cataloguing of the Tudor dynasty transformed into rulers of Fairy Land. After Elfline, avatar of Henry VII, according to the marginal note,

“(Fames minion) great King *Oberon*, / *Titaniaes* royall father, liuely springs, / Whose Court was like a campe of none but Kings” (1.2.34-6). Oberon/Henry VIII is the parent of three monarchs:

From this great conquering Monarchs glorious stemme,

Three (in direct line) wore his Diadem:

A King first, then a paire of Queenes, of whom,

Shee that was held a downe-cast, by Fates doome,

Sits now about their hopes . . . (1.2.37-41)

The distinguishing of Titania through a short recapitulation of her problems and their happy resolution fractures the subsuming of both Mary and Elizabeth into an allegorized pair, with the pun on a deck of cards. Unlike in the earlier passage, Dekker ascribes Titania's plight here not to the Empress or to her deceased predecessor, but only to the machinations of Fate. The creation of the Whore as the villain of the piece, the previous example notwithstanding, does not prevent Dekker from reminding the audience at the Fortune of Protestant suffering during the reign of Mary. Titania knows what she must accomplish if she wishes her reign to be successful. Her speech alludes through the vehicle of metaphor to a kind of religious persecution, involving the elements of fire and blood, resonant of the oppression of Protestantism and Protestants under Mary:

your stately towers

Shall keepe their ancient beauty: and your bowers

(Which late like prophan'd Temples empty stood,

The tops defac'd by fire, the floores by blood,)

Shall be fill'd full of *Choristers* to sing

Sweet heauenly songs, like birds before the Spring . . . (1.2.49-54)

The namelessness of the dead queen cannot be attributed to a complicated literary strategy, such as the perpetual postponement Spenser uses with Elizabeth in *The Faerie Queene*. Neither is it a method of expediting a correlation between the historical Mary and the Whore. They share a religion antithetical to a Protestant establishment, and Dekker also transfers the majority of responsibility for Mary's treatment of her sister onto the character of the Empress, but Mary could not be described even by her enemies in terms of the (metaphorical) pornocracy which, for Protestants, is Rome:

Thus then: the Faiery Adders hisse: they call you

The superstitious Harlot: purple whore:

The whore that rides on the rose-coloured beast:

The great whore, that on many waters sitteth,

Which they call many Nations: whilst their Kings,

Are slaues to sate your lust . . . (4.4.23-8)

Indeed, the dumb show's nameless queen could have been excised from the play without a loss of meaning: without the prompt of the hearse, the plight of Fairy Land before the accession of Titania could still have been signalled by the awakening of Truth and the removal of the scarves from the eyes of the assembled people. However, the dead queen, while not integral to the play, possesses a significance greater than the brevity of her

appearance and her anonymity in the allegory suggest. In the text, her role is typical of other constructions, both dramatic and otherwise, of Mary Tudor: her death, after a reign of (Catholic) blindness, enables the ascent of one whose government can be termed "peacefull, golden" (1.2.48). To read any further importance into her character involves recalling not only the disquiet precipitated by her own religious faith, but the furor aroused by her marriage to a Spanish prince. It is the Empress, and not the dead queen, who is responsible for the Catholic threat to Fairy Land, part of the origin of which is the Third King, Satyrane of Spain. Nevertheless, in historical terms, the queen most closely associated with Catholicism and with Spain is Mary. Dekker's play is reliant upon the emblematic tradition (McLuskie 51), and the figure of Mary in the dumb show seems to be constructed in that light: as an emblem of the sort of anti-Papist, anti-Spanish sentiment rampant in late Tudor and early Stuart England and in *The Whore of Babylon*.

The play revisits, through allegory, the Catholic menace against the life of Queen Elizabeth, particularly through assassination attempts. These threats are part of the general Babylonian enmity for Titania, but Dekker is careful to emphasize that much of the danger has a direct or indirect Spanish source. He does this, as Susan E. Krantz shows in her discussion of the second scene of Act II, "by transferring source material from its historical origins to the Third King" (278). For instance, the text's "Campeius, a Scholler" (496) represents the similarly named English Jesuit Edmund Campion, executed in 1581 on a charge of "treasonable conspiracy, . . . to raise rebellion, invite foreign invasion, overthrow and kill the queen, and alter both the government and religion" (Graves, "Campion"). Disgruntled because his learning has gone unrecognized and unrewarded in his own

country, Campeius becomes an easy target for the persuasions of the king of Spain, who, unhistorically, facilitates his Catholic conversion by entreating him to seek his fortune in the more receptive Babylonian Court. Satyrane, moreover, assures the scholar that "th'art made" (2.2.153) by going to the Court of Babylon where its queen "with her owne hand / Will fil thee wine out of a golden bowle" (2.2.149-50). After this meeting, the king, disguised and wandering through Fairy Land, contracts a Conjurer to practise his "blacke Arte" (2.2.166) against Titania by moulding her "picture" from "virgin waxe" (2.2.168).⁹¹ The magician's plan seems to be a form of early-modern voodoo, for he intends to bury the waxen image

in slimie putred ground,

Where it may peece-meale rot: As this consumes,

So shall shee pine, and (after languor) die.

These pinnes shall sticke like daggers to her heart,

And eating through her breast, turne there to gripings,

Cramp-like Convulsions, shrinking vp her nerues,

As into this they eate. (2.2.169-75)

This incident, like the earlier Campeius-Satyrane encounter is not historical, though Dekker's sources record similar ones. According to Krantz, "That Dekker chose, in a play teeming with treasonous characters, to concentrate so much evil in a single character testifies to the playwright's strong political and religious bias" (278). While it is never mentioned in the play, the members of the audience would assuredly remember that the

Spanish king for whom Satyrane is an avatar was Philip II, husband of Mary Tudor.

Early modern historiographers routinely trace the genesis of the Armada crisis back to the previous reign, when Philip was still king of England. It is reasonable, therefore, to view the figuration of the dead Mary as emblematic of the looming Catholic/Spanish threat, especially as the play culminates with a replay of the Armada relocated to the seas off Fairy Land. Dekker's Armada is not specifically Spanish, as the historical fleet was, but the Third King is part of the collective Catholic force battling Titania (Gasper, *Dragon* 87). This is the playwright's major innovation. Other incidents, including the addressing of the troops by Elizabeth-as-Titania, are familiar, as is the glorious result. The defeated Satyrane reports on a single day's losses to the assembled Empress, cardinals, and kings:

In one day fell five hundred. Galleons fifteen
Drownd at the same time, or which was worser taken;
The same day made a thousand prisoners.
Yet not a cherry stone of theirs was sunke.
Not a man slaine nor tane, nor drownd. (5.6.102-6)

The Whore of Babylon does more than investigate the hazard posed by Spain and Rome to English Protestantism during Elizabeth's reign, for the play glances at a more recent event, the Gunpowder Plot of November, 1605, in which a Catholic conspiracy planned to blow up Parliament House with all its occupants, including King James and his heir, Prince Henry.⁹² One allusion to the hiding places of the conspirators in the aftermath of their failed plot underscores the event's topicality (Dodson 257):

if that bloud-hound hunt you,
 (That long-ear'd Inquisition) take the thickets,
 Climbe vp to Hay-mowes, liue like birds, and eate
 The vndeflowred come: in hollow trees
 Take such provision as the Ant can make:
 Flie with the Batt vnder the eeues of night,
 And shift your neasts: or like to Ancresses,
 Close up your selues in artificiall wals . . . (3.1.153-60)⁹³

That members of the royal family, as well as many others, were saved by the timely discovery of Guy Fawkes and his barrels of gunpowder in an undercroft on the eve of the planned explosion seemed, to English Protestants, further evidence of God's providential care for His people, but the news of the intrigue also engendered or hardened negative factional attitudes towards the Catholic enemy within. As Hoy argues,

The Whore of Babylon is a product of the same emotional climate that produced [Dekker's] *The Double P P*: the mood of revulsion against the Roman Church that descended on England in the months following the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, when others besides Dekker were prompted to look back over the past half-century of English history and to see in it an unbroken record of Romish outrages practised against the peace and security of their land: outrages specifically directed against the person and authority of the late Queen. (2.301)

The record of Catholic wrongdoing to which Hoy refers begins with Mary Tudor, and

Dekker symbolizes its origin in her reign through her appearance at the start of the play. The conviction that Spanish interests were integral to the Gunpowder Plot (Krantz 273-5) lends further credibility to her symbolic value.⁹⁴ In the days and months after the thwarting of the plot, rumours abounded of Spanish involvement, hearsay from which the peaceable James tried to distance his new allies (Krantz 274-5). In spite of such manoeuvres, the king apparently shared—or came to share—his subjects' suspicion of the Spanish, if his words on the matter were accurately recorded:

I do not believe that the King of Spain or the Archduke have any hand in such execrable designs; I do not see what they would gain by my death, for it is thanks to me that they enjoy the peace they so greatly desire; still it is a very remarkable fact that every *plot* against myself and my kingdom has had its roots in Spain or in Flanders. (CSPV 553/378)⁹⁵

The frequent contemporary connections of the Gunpowder Plot to the earlier threat of the Spanish Armada (Watkins 26-7) also strengthens Mary's emblematic utility in *The Whore of Babylon*, which uses the latter to shadow the former.

In the play, Dekker praises his monarch by invoking him as a "second Phoenix" (3.1.235) ready to challenge Babylon/Rome, but he does not ignore that James's conciliatory position towards English Catholics and the Spanish aroused at least a measure of disquiet in his subjects (Krantz 275-7).⁹⁶ In fact, his tolerant and pacifist attitudes towards these two groups diverge from the militant Protestantism of Titania in the play.⁹⁷ In vaunting the Faerie Queene's increasingly confrontational stance towards her enemies,⁹⁸

including the Spanish, and her defence of anti-Babylonian religion, the play is implicitly critical of those Jacobean policies which register political and ideological disparity.⁹⁹ With Webster, Dekker had previously represented Mary, in *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, as a committed Catholic queen who opens the realm to foreign threat through an Anglo-Spanish marriage alliance. In *The Whore of Babylon*, he detaches her from the facts of her historical past and casts her as an exemplification of untruth and blindness. For many of his subjects, James, in his approach to English Catholics and to the Spanish, had more in common with the ignorance associated with the dead queen than with the idealized, more aggressive Titania, and so the avatar of a Catholic, pro-Spanish Mary may act as a subtle condemnation of similar royal imperceptibility.

The virtuous Protestant woman in danger found in *The Whore of Babylon*, as well as other plays in this panel, is a central concern of Thomas Drue's *The Life of the Duchess of Suffolk*, performed in 1624 and published in one edition in 1631. It reads like an early modern *Perils of Pauline*, with Katherine Willoughby, the fourth wife of the late Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, as the endangered heroine.¹⁰⁰ Her history survives in at least three sources which were available to the playwright: it is given prominence in Foxe and later included in Holinshed's *Chronicles*, and it appears in ballad form in Thomas Deloney's *Strange Histories* (1602) (Spikes 143, 143n; Ribner 293-4). In its focus on an aristocratic, devoutly Protestant woman placed in jeopardy on the accession of Mary Tudor, it resembles *I If You Know Not Me*. However, unlike Elizabeth in Heywood's earlier play, the duchess flees England to escape the predatory bishops, Bonner and

Gardiner, who seek her annihilation. Although Mary does not appear as a character in this play, as she does in *I If You Know Not Me*, the representation of her reign is not without interest. Through the exemplar of Katherine, Drue illustrates the necessity for Protestant exile during the Marian hegemony. More significantly, *The Duchess of Suffolk* is the sole Jacobean history play to confront the spectre of the Protestant burnings, martyrdoms which retained an imaginative hold on the English people primarily through the established Church's institutionalization of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*. But in Drue's play Mary is merely the catalyst who provides the conditions for Protestant exile and execution. She is removed from much of the activity in the play, so her populist role as persecutor of the godly is almost entirely displaced upon the heads of her two devilish prelates.¹⁰¹

In the text, Drue reiterates the extraordinary sense of deliverance which marked Mary's inheritance of the throne, at least for the new queen and some of her loyal supporters. The play's opening act sees Bonner and Gardiner housed in the Marshalsea as prisoners of the crown. In lamenting their ordeal, Bonner communicates a treasonous desire that Edward VI might die, which would leave his royal office available for Catholic Mary:

I, pray man, pray, that heaven would take
 Our good king *Edward* to yon happy land,
 Hee's sicke, hee's sicke, heaven take the infant child:
 For this crack'd world his vertues are too milde:

.....

And princes *Mary* vvell,

Oh how I long to heare his passing bell. (B3^v)¹⁰²

As if the wish conjures the deed, Clunie arrives with tidings of the king's death and Mary's accession, uncomplicated by the *putsch* centred on the rival claimant, Lady Jane Grey. Expressions registering a desire for death framing this transfer of sovereignty signal that the event is part of the struggle for the godly, who reject the influence of Rome, and nothing more, therefore, than a momentary victory for a corrupt religion and its adherents. The contrast with the happy inheritance of Elizabeth towards the end of the play gives added force to the illusory nature of the Marian triumph.

Aside from facilitating the release of Bonner and Gardiner from the Marshalsea, the succession of Mary provides the circumstances for the persecution of Protestants. The manner in which the persecutions are initially framed and through which they develop, as well as the heroic portrayals of Protestants in the face of Catholic vice, emphasizes the degeneracy of Marian government. Immediately after the newly restored bishops receive the news, they commit themselves to a course of murderous revenge. Bonner asks, "where is my rivall *Ridley* and the rest, / They now shall fire for this" (B3^v). When Clunie informs him that the men are in Oxford, Gardiner determines that from "Thence they shall not stirre, / Till fire consume them, if I be Winchester" (B3^v). In fact, Bonner views Gardiner's restoration to the see of Winchester and his fresh appointment as Mary's chancellor as a means of expediting the destruction of their own adversaries: "An office good my Lord may coyne revenge / With Iustice stampe to pay our enemies" (B3^v). Drue

sites the origin of the Protestant burnings not in the crown, but in the evil pairing of the bishops of London and Winchester, who initially contemplate the persecution in very personal, rather than religious, terms. Bonner's pursuit of the Duchess of Suffolk throughout the text exemplifies the primacy of personal motivation in such persecution, for it begins with his reaction to Katherine's contemptuous pronouncements on his being taken under guard to prison during Edward's reign.¹⁰³ He promises vengeance for her treatment of him, if opportunity permits:

Time flatters you awhile, heaven has a power,
Can change the White to Sable in an houre,
My welthier thoughts, yet tell me I shall liue,
these scornes to quittance, your free heart to greeue,
For time is rich in ransome, she may rayse,
the scorn'd and captiv'd *Bonner*, ware those dayes. (A4^r)

Though the Protestant persecutions in Drue's text never entirely lose this personal dimension, they are given royal sanction when Mary issues a "ioynt commission" (B3^v) to Lord Paget and her two bishops "to peruse, / And clense the state of impious sectaries, / Wherewith it was infected in the dayes / Of her deceased brother *Edwards* raigne . . ." (B3^v). But immediately after Paget delivers the contents of "this Patent" (B3^v), Bonner pledges to harrass the Duchess of Suffolk as recompense for her earlier conduct, which restores state-sanctioned terror to the purview of personal revenge:

Then let our Suffolkes Dowager expect
 Answere for her scorn'd taunts, she threw at me of late
 That hot spirit, fire and flax, Madam fagot stick,
 If she recant not I will fagot her,
 If all the wood in Middlesex can doot [do it],
 Or Londons Bishopricke haue meanes to pay fort [for it]
 Ile not niggard her bones and I doe, arayne my charity. (B3^v-B4^r)

Drue's representation of the Protestant persecutions repositions Bonner and Gardiner as the pioneers of the policy, even if Mary's patent speedily lends their plans for revenge official licence. To provide convenient scapegoats for Marian policy was a commonplace of early modern accounts of her reign, which allowed historiographers to shift some or all of the blame to members of her government. Drue takes this proposition one step further by rendering Bonner and Gardiner not simply royal instruments, but also men of power advancing their own agenda. Mary seems almost immaterial here. Except for Paget's confirmation that not even Mary's sister is exempt from the patent, the new monarch does not choose the victims or, in modern parlance, persons of interest.

Mary's distant, almost inactive governance contrasts with the more vigorous queenship exercised by her successor later in the text. Though Elizabeth, like her older sister, is absent from the play, Drue conveys a sense that the second Tudor queen regnant is a more dynamic figure. For instance, after her accession, she, through intermediaries, sends Atkinson to arrange for the immediate release of the duchess, who has been found

on the Continent by the Catholic Duke of "*Brunswicke, English Captaines, and Souldiers*" (H4'); later restores Katherine to her titles and lands; and offers Richard Bertie, Katherine's former servant and second husband, the office of Secretary of State. Men act for both Mary and Elizabeth, but the former does not exert—and, consequently, seems to lack—much real power, a problem further highlighted by the "female independence" of Katherine revealed in "her powerful female roles as aristocrat and widow" (Robinson 136). Nowhere is this deficiency more evident than in Drue's treatment of the Protestants in *The Duchess of Suffolk*, who are persecuted because they have somehow come to the attention of Bonner and Gardiner. If the duchess is an avatar for the stalwart Protestant Elizabeth of Bohemia, as Robinson posits, then her representation is an attack on a pre-Elizabethan style of female Catholic monarchy, whether real or not, that eschews the kind of "reforming zeal and populist affiliation" (90) that Katherine demonstrates in the text. Her insistence that she is, though a wife and a mother, "Mistris of a Virgin heart" (A4') and the near reenactment of the sort of exigency experienced by the Virgin Mary at the Nativity in the duchess's delivery of her son corroborate her characterization as a true royal and moral authority.¹⁰⁴

Much of the harring of the duchess has a comic element.¹⁰⁵ Indeed, Bonner contributes to some of the hilarity by conveniently falling into a well, a mishap that is instrumental to the escape of Katherine and her entourage. The ease with which Bonner and Gardiner are thwarted in their designs on the duchess, and the comedy that ensues from the frequent frustration of their plans, makes them figures of ridicule and the Marian

regime to which they belong look exceedingly foolish. Yet the text contains powerful reminders that the Marian persecutions were horrific. A scene involving a humble tiler, misdirection, and a case of mistaken identity leads Bonner to stipulate the violence intrinsic to the anti-Protestant policy:

Goe too, he must frye fort [for it], he, shall I say the word,

Bonner that ere long will purge this land with bonfiers,

We come not with the Oliue branch of Peace,

But with the sword of Iustice, these Hidraes heads will still

Be flourishing, vnlesse at once we giu't a fatall stroke,

Let them convert to ashes, let them burne,

So shall the State be quiet . . . (D3')

Later in the text, Gardiner's dream furnishes the bishop with another opportunity to discuss the prospects of a Protestant annihilation, which blends imagery of the apocalypse and the Last Judgement. He declares that

every towne should blaze,

And every streete, in every towne looke red,

With glowing sinders of the Miscreants:

Till like to Cockle, they were quite extinct,

And nothing seene to flourish but pure Corne . . . (G3')¹⁰⁶

The inclusion of a scene unrelated to the tribulations of the peripatetic duchess and her family, except insofar as it emphasizes the martyrdom that Katherine's flight is

intended to avoid, is a potent affirmation of the human cost of Marian religious policy.¹⁰⁷ Drue shows Latimer and Ridley, for whom the Catholic bishops express enmity early in the play, on their joint progress to the pyres. They demonstrate a dignity in death that the mighty Bonner and Gardiner cannot match.¹⁰⁸ Because of "the weake age of *Latimer* . . . , / They cannot come so fast, as else they would . . ." (G3^v), so the audience's first glimpse of the two martyrs is arm-in-arm. Ridley begins with "Come brother *Latimer*, lend me your arme, / The weake, the weake, but not the blind, the blind, / This day in Oxford, shall be seene to guide" (G3^v). Although suffering from an infirmity of the legs, Latimer assures his friend, "My heart is iocund, brother *Ridley*, still, / And in my Spirit, I flye vnto yon place . . ." (G3^v). Their impressive conduct, at such a difficult time, as well as the revelation that they have remained faithful in spite of the threat that they will suffer the heretic's death of burning, inspires the recalcitrant Archbishop Cranmer, who happens upon the "reverent fathers" (G4^r) as they proceed to the place of execution. In the face of this irrefutable proof of the steadfastness of Latimer and Ridley, Cranmer recognizes that Bonner has lied to him: "Did you not tell me, they were likewise changed, / And haue you falsely circumvented me?" (G4^r). Cranmer repudiates his recantation of Protestantism and seeks to share the fate of the condemned men. Bonner's question, "Thy recantation vnderneath they hand, / Is publisht, and wilt thou now contradict it" (G4^r), leads Cranmer to pledge,

This hand that writ that faithlesse recantation,
Since I am bard, from dying with my friends,

Marke how I punish in this lingering flame,

It shall burne off, as an assured signe,

Heereafter of my constant Martyrdome . . . (G4^v)

This proclamation causes Bonner to order the "Iaylor" (G4^v) to bring Cranmer to a dungeon and torture him. The three Protestants now under guard paradoxically triumph over the craven and dissembling Catholic bishops because they have the prospect of heaven before them. Indeed, Latimer is so eager and so courageous that he tries to hurry the proceedings: "What stay we for, my quiet thoughts desire, / To cloth this flesh, in purple robes of fire" (G4^v). This speech points to the transcendence of Protestant faith over the spiritual bankruptcy of Catholics like Bonner and Gardiner. For the Marian bishops, fire provides an effective method for the dispatch of the physical body, but for Latimer and the other martyrs it is a means of metamorphosis: "images of fire develop the contrast between the limits of the material world presided over by tyrannical authority and the interior world claimed by the martyrs" (Robinson 71).¹⁰⁹

The felicitous accession of Elizabeth, which has the quality of a *deus ex machina* device in the text, terminates the persecution of the duchess and her family. The new queen swiftly acts to rescue Katherine and the others from the terror they have suffered since Mary's succession to the throne. In a reversal of the bishops' irreligious pledges, on the earlier accession, to destroy their enemies, the duchess, now free from their menace, offers a prayer of gratitude for her royal saviour's providential inheritance and deliverance:

Hath the director of all humane liues,
 Preserv'd my Soveraigne, that heroicke Maide,
 From the intangling snares of blood and death,
 And chang'd her prison, to a royall Throne?
 Heere on this ground, where first I heard the newes,
 I render thanks vnto the gracious heavens,
 Thou that send'st Balme of comfort to the wounded,
 Ioy to the brused heart, opprest for truth,
 Lengthen her dayes as long as heaven hath starres . . . (I1^v)

The restoration of the duchess to her "ancient Siegnories" (I3^v) at the end of the play results from her unwavering devotion to a Protestant cause that ultimately claims the ascendant. The timely reversal of circumstances to which the duchess owes her present security is complete when Bonner, harried by three Protestants, is brought under armed guard to the Marshalsea, the place where he and Winchester began the play.¹¹⁰ To emphasize the difference between the bishops' petty and highly personal revenge against the duchess and the fairness of the new queen, one of the officers who accompanies Bonner prevents the "rude Multitude" (I1^v) of two men and a woman from interfering in any way with the course of Elizabethan justice. He warns them, "Tis her highnesse pleasure, / He shall not be convicted but by Law" (I1^v-I2^v). That "Master *Grindall*, *Scory*, *Cox*, / Such reverent men, as, *Bonner*, by your meanes, / These many yeeres haue suffered much distresse" (I2^v) greet their former persecutor without rancour and pledge that "we

will labour too, so such as in vs lies, / Vnto the Councell, you may be favorably / Dealt withall . . ." (I2^r) further reveals the perversion of good order and the malice that can be attributed to the two Marian bishops. Bonner's offer to recant, when faced with the prospect of prison or worse, is a final condemnation of the waywardness of this character, as well as the Catholic regime for whom he is one of the chief proponents in the text.

Little claim can be made for the aesthetic appeal of Drue's *The Life of the Duchess of Suffolk*.¹¹¹ Much of its significance lies in its representation of the Catholic administration under Mary Tudor as uniformly debased and often ridiculous, though the queen's political role is confined to that of a figurehead. Her accession is what facilitates the restoration of the Roman religion, and her one policy, authorizing the persecution of Protestants, gives some measure of royal endorsement to the activities of Bonner and Gardiner. While there is little new in Drue's conflation of villainy with Catholicism, particularly the Catholicism associated with the Marian bishopric, his primary innovation is to stretch the historical limits of the Catholic programme of terror so that it encompasses the entirety of Mary's reign. Though other dramas, like *Sir Thomas Wyatt* and *I If You Know Not Me*, represent similar oppression of Protestants by their Catholic queen, *The Duchess of Suffolk* is unique in its concentrated vision on a specifically religious tyranny unconcerned with rebellions and foreign marriages. The text's unrelenting focus on persecution through scenes involving the victims or the victimizers underscores the centrality of Protestant martyrdom and exile to the memory of Mary's rule.

As a character, Mary does not appear at all in *The Duchess of Suffolk* and in two

other plays examined in this chapter, and in another, *The Whore of Babylon*, she is a corpse in a dumb show. In fact, the chapter begins and ends with discussions of plays in which Mary has no formal part. What these Foxean history plays prove, as a collection, is that the Marian past had a residual life in early seventeenth-century culture. For these Jacobean playwrights, Mary-as-character is constructed of actions and pronouncements, like those relating to the Protestant persecution, but she can also be found in the nuances of the text. Tracing the processes through which Mary is imagined for the Jacobean stage reveals the way such a historical personage is recreated in the popular imagination. The queen that people remembered in these plays is mythologized, though not in the same way as her more Protestant sister. It is by studying the ways that this memorialization is achieved that a reader becomes aware of thematic links between plays and their representations of Mary. There are relatively few deviations from Foxe's construction of the Catholic queen. When Protestants are virtuous victims, there is no other role for Mary to play but that demarcated by dialectic. Catholicism—or religious error—is always Mary's most recognizable characteristic. Mary the tyrant and the persecutor is an obstacle that must be endured before a Protestant hegemony can be finally realized. What these plays indicate above all is that Mary's significance resides within the stories of others, like her father, her sister Elizabeth, Lady Jane Grey, Sir Thomas Wyatt, and the Duchess of Suffolk, and in the retelling of the national narrative of Protestant providential history.

But looking backwards was only one motivation for these playwrights to revisit events involving Mary Tudor. Certainly, they seemed to have a real desire, in the wake of

Foxe's work and the end of the Tudor dynasty, to dramatize events and narratives associated with the struggles and triumphs of the Reformation, in which the historical Mary had a role. The return of a male monarch to the throne who governed differently from his queenly predecessors and contemporary problems, especially the continuation of the perceived threat posed by an international Catholicism, meant that Mary could be used to reflect on these issues. As the two regimes after Mary negotiated the Protestant/Catholic question in England, the history of Mary Tudor still had its place.

Notes

1. For a discussion of the treatment of Mary's grave, see Richards (*Mary Tudor* 230-1).
2. Jonathan Baldo argues that "One of the most challenging tasks for Queen Elizabeth's successor, King James VI/I, was to make his recently acquired English subjects forget his famous predecessor" (132).
3. In spite of the reburial of Mary Queen of Scots in Westminster Abbey and the ostentation of her tomb, the legacy of the late queen was problematic for her son. See Baldo (135-6) for a summary of this issue.
4. For a discussion of the joint burial space provided for Mary and Elizabeth, see Julia M. Walker's "Bones of Contention: Posthumous Images of Elizabeth and Stuart Politics" (253-7) and "Reading the Tombs of Elizabeth I" (*passim*).
5. The STC, as well as Carole Levin (*Heart* 169), identifies the tract's author, given as S. R. N. I. on the title page, as John Reynolds and not Thomas Scott, to whom it has wrongly been attributed. Marsha S. Robinson designates the writer as Scott (154). All references to Robinson in this chapter are to her book, *Writing the Reformation: Actes and Monuments and the Jacobean History Play*.
6. Anne fits uneasily in this group because of her crypto-Catholicism (Frye, "Anne of Denmark" 184). Robinson, however, includes her in the "celestial assembly of England's godly Reformation monarchs" (154).
7. Levin considers Mary "the oddest person to be there" (*Heart* 169).
8. Levin states that "Despite her [Mary's] celestial home, she is characterized as vindictive and ill-tempered, just as Protestants would have viewed her on earth. Reynolds needed Mary as a foil . . ." (*Heart* 169).
9. Gondomar is Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, conde de Gondomar (1567-1626), the Spanish ambassador.
10. For an overview of the importance of Foxe and anti-Catholic sentiment in the seventeenth century, see Richards (*Mary Tudor* 6-7).
11. A similar shift is found in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*. Woolf recognizes that "Comparatively late in the narrative, when Foxe reached the age of the Lollards and the Tudor Reformers, he ran into a further complication: the backbone of the Reformed Church was neither the godly prince nor the reforming bishop, but the commoner. . . . the very subjects he wished to memorialize fit ill with any of the traditional 'high' genres" ("Rhetoric" 251-2).

12. For a summary of the relationship between the Jacobean history play and Foxe, see Grant ("History" 125-7).
13. In *The Faithful Shepherdess*'s "To the Reader," John Fletcher defines tragicomedy as

not so called in respect of mirth and killing, but in respect it wants deaths, which is enough to make it no tragedie, yet brings some neere it, which is enough to make it no comedie: which must be a representation of familiar people, with such kinde of trouble as no life be questiond, so that a God is as lawfull in this as in a tragedie, and meane people as in a comedie. (15-6)
14. See McMullan and Hope (Introduction 4-5).
15. In F. P. Wilson's summary of the publication history of *When You See Me, You Know Me* (v-xii), he dates the first staging to 1604, the entry in the Stationers' Register to 12 February 1604/5, and the publication to 1605. It was not without popularity, for Butter, the original publisher, brought out further editions in 1613, the same year as Shakespeare's *Henry VIII* was initially produced, 1621, and 1632.
16. That *Henry VIII* was staged in 1613 is verified by accounts of the burning of the Globe on 29 June, when, during a performance, the cannons ignited the thatched roof. There is also speculation that the play is connected to the February wedding of the popular Princess Elizabeth, James I's daughter, to the Elector Palatine. *Henry VIII* is one of the plays first published in the First Folio of 1623.
17. Pinciss comments upon the nature of Wolsey's evil (62), while Ribner sketches the three together (281-2).
18. All references to *When You See Me, You Know Me* are to the Malone Society Reprint (1952), edited by F. P. Wilson. I have cited by scene and line number(s).
19. Ribner views Wolsey as a convenient Catholic symbol (281). Pinciss pushes Ribner's proposal further when he argues that "Rowley keeps [Wolsey] alive in the play not as a means of unifying the episodic action but rather so that his continual plotting for advancement of the Papacy can demonstrate how the hierarchy and power structure of the Catholic church make it a continuing threat to the independence of England" (61). While I agree with the religious utility of the Wolsey figure, I think resurrecting him and placing him in the context of events in which he had no part suggests ultimately a Catholic impotence.
20. Ribner considers Henry's character in terms of the traditions of the morality play: the monarch is the focus of both good (Protestant) and evil (Catholic) agents fighting for possession of his soul (283). Wilson traces the principal sources to Foxe and Holinshed

(x). Spikes asserts that the figure of the king mirrors his portrayal in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, but he may also reflect the character of James I.

21. For a discussion of the Protestantism of the Prince of Wales and Queen Catherine Parr in Rowley's play, see Pinciss (62).

22. Dobson and Watson (51), Pinciss (64), and Robinson (14) comment on the significance of Edward's correspondence.

23. According to Dobson and Watson, the timely arrival of Elizabeth's letter spurs him "to intercede decisively for Catharine Parr and Thomas Cranmer when they are each accused of treason, reconciling them with the ageing and mellowing Henry . . ." (51).

24. For Prince Edward as an avatar of Prince Henry, see Grant ("History" 132-6), Lawhorn (131-3, 144-8), Mulryne (18), and Spikes (130). Significantly, on the title-page of the 1605 quarto, the play is attached to the "high and mightie Prince / of Wales his seruants," and Rowley is identified as "seruant / to the Prince." Therefore, J. R. Mulryne deems the drama one of the "documents of expectant anticipation which militant Protestant writers addressed to Prince Henry . . . in the hope of influencing policy" (18). Lawthorn suggests that "the splendid princely bearing of Prince Edward enacted upon the stage in the first performances of *When You See Me, You Know Me* mirrored cultural hopes and expectations for Henry, Prince of Wales" (147). Grant ("History" *passim*), Pinciss (59-60) and Ribner (281) also explore the topical implications of the play.

25. The panegyric to Elizabeth, as well as the Protestant future to which it looks forward, is central to a Protestant interpretation of the play (Rudnytsky 57). For another discussion of the play in terms of providential history, see Müller (236-8).

Any topical reading would also have a Protestant dimension. Its connection to the marriage of James's daughter suggests that the promise attached to the infant Elizabeth Tudor could in some way encompass her Stuart namesake, a devoted Protestant. In fact, "it is specifically because Elizabeth's marriage to Frederick was regarded as cementing the alliance of England with the forces of European Protestantism that a recollection of the Virgin Queen figured so strongly in the iconography of the festivities" (Rudnytsky 59).

26. For a review of Shakespeare's chronicle sources for *Henry VIII*, see Patterson (*passim*).

27. All references to *Henry VIII* are from *The Riverside Shakespeare* (1974), edited by G. Blakemore Evans. I have cited by act, scene, and line number(s).

28. See Müller (229), Patterson (162-3), Rudnytsky (54-5), and Vanita (324-8) for discussions of Shakespeare's sympathetic representation of Katherine. Susan Frye

suggests that

In not making the Catholic Queen's religion a dramatic issue, Shakespeare and Fletcher preserve her virtuous centrality while evoking the living queen widely suspected of being a Catholic, Anne of Denmark. The longstanding question of why the Catholic Queen, Katherine, receives the play's sanction as a chaste and truly royal queen, even though the Protestant Anne Bullen is the baby Elizabeth's mother, may in large part be answered when we acknowledge the extent to which Henry's queen of twenty years resembles James's queen of twenty-four. ("Anne of Denmark" 184)

29. Baldo's reading of this scene emphasizes the element of nostalgia for Elizabeth: "Bound to feed a nostalgia for Gloriana, the play also administers momentary relief, both by recalling a time—namely, the reign of her father—when the nation could look forward rather than backward to her reign, and by insisting on her eternity as a model for English princes to come" (141).

30. Jo Eldridge Carney argues that *Henry VIII* is a play to which the ideas of queenship and fertility are central (190, 192-8). She remarks that the "most important feature uniting Katherine and Anne, and ultimately Elizabeth, is that their principal obligation as queen is to produce an heir to the throne, ideally a male heir" (192), which makes Henry's exclamation at 5.4.63-5 somewhat more explicable. What makes Elizabeth acceptable to the king is her ability to produce that male heir, even if it is not of her body. As Carney notes, the "purpose of this scene is to celebrate Elizabeth, and by suggestion, her namesake, Princess Elizabeth Stuart . . . in fact, the underlying purpose of this scene is to celebrate her father, King James, and the return to male rule" (198).

The erasure of Mary as Henry's older daughter is anticipated to a degree by Henry's comparison of Katherine's womb to a grave:

First, methought
I stood not in the smile of heaven, who had
Commanded nature, that my lady's womb,
If it conceiv'd a male-child by me, should
Do no more offices of life to't than
The grave does to th' dead; for her male issue
Or died where they were made, or shortly after
This world had air'd them. (2.4.187-94)

See Carney (193).

My claim about the ways that Mary is represented supports Baldo's argument about how the text "draws attention to that which is not given view. Some of *Henry VIII*'s most noticeable features are its omissions. Even the persons and events it does not include are used to dramatize omissions or deletions from the pageant of history" (141). What I contend is the eliding of Mary's reign is viewed somewhat differently by Vanita: "the action and imagery of the play compresses Henry's, Edward's, and Mary Tudor's reigns into a kind of interval between two powerful women, Katherine and Elizabeth,

whose legitimacy, as wife and daughter respectively, had been cast into doubt" (329).

31. Patterson comes to the same conclusion:

It was not that nothing is true nor that truth is as you like it nor even that all's well that ends well, but that everybody does the best they can at the moment and from their own perspective. And as for Shakespeare, who of dramatic necessity held multiple perspectives, returning to the English chronicles at the end of his own career led to the discovery of a title implying that he, at least, was not naive. (164)

A similar view is in Thomas Healy's essay on *Henry VIII*, which is based on the premise that the dramatists are acutely aware of the inherent contradictions in the assertion that "all is true": that this can appear either as the avowal of a singular, unique interpretation which the play may be proposed as attesting, or that in various ways the variety of differing perspectives on the events enacted, additionally subject to the contingent circumstances of an audience's understanding of them, might *all* be true. (159)

See also Ali Shehzad Zaidi (329, 331). For a discussion of *Henry VIII* that suggests that the play "suppresses the discontinuities and contradictions which give Elizabethan history plays . . . their distinctive form," see Leonard Tennenhouse (123).

32. Rudnytsky outlines how Shakespeare's depiction of the divorce "upholds a *Catholic* perspective . . . , as this was articulated in sixteenth-century polemics" (52). Ruth Vanita suggests that both *Henry VIII* and *The Winter's Tale* "mourn the loss of those popular elements of the old religion that imaginatively empowered the powerless, especially women, and that combated the power of the patriarchal family through valorization of fictive kinship and same-sex community" (311).

33. Rudnytsky recognizes another source of tension linked to the birth of Elizabeth, the speech of the Old Lady. When she announces the gender of the new arrival, she assures the king that "'tis a girl / Promises boys hereafter" (5.1.165-6), lines which foreground disappointment and failure (57).

34. My contention builds from Patterson who believes that Shakespeare's play uses "the Englishness of Katherine" to present "a true nationalism [that] will be able to value a Roman Catholic Spanish queen (and one who, incidentally, adopts a most unfeminine unsubmissiveness in her own defense) as much or more as Cranmer, a Protestant archbishop" (162, 163).

35. A second edition of the play was printed in 1612.

36. Hoy discusses the historical sources in the introduction to and commentary on *Sir Thomas Wyatt* (1.311-4).

37. Healy finds a common thread in the Jacobean history plays in their presentation of "puzzling scenes where an audience is posed with a series of problems in interpretation, both within the scene itself and in the scene's relation to others in the plays. All dramatise events or portray characters in manners that refuse narrow sectarian interpretations" (164).

38. My reading here is influenced by Helgerson's *Forms of Nationhood*. However, I find problematic his contention that "the innocent suffering of common people and their defenders" (235) is central to Henslowe's dramas, including *Sir Thomas Wyatt*. Certainly, Wyatt and others discuss the commons and the threat posed by the Marian Catholic hegemony and the Spanish Prince Philip, but the extant play-text does not portray any victimization of this group.

39. Gasper also acknowledges the validity of the connection of Foxe and *Sir Thomas Wyatt* that is discussed in Spikes. However, she recognizes defects in Spikes's argument: "she tries to argue a single, uniform interpretation of all the Jacobean history plays, and bases this on the belief that Elizabethan Protestantism was purely nationalistic" (*Dragon* 44).

40. For a summary of Foxe's influence on the Jacobean history play, see Spikes (*passim*, esp. 118-20).

41. All references to *Sir Thomas Wyatt* are from *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, Volume 1, edited by Fredson Bowers.

42. The reference is from the 1556-7 volume.

43. Jane's remarks on the death of her cousin owe more to the *contemptus mundi* tradition than to any personal feelings of sorrow: "Alasse, how small an Vrne containes a King? / He that ruld all, euen with his princely breath, / Is forc'd to stoope now to the stroake of death" (1.2.2-4).

44. On Jane as a Protestant witness, see Robinson (127-8).

45. I am grateful to Dr. Thomas S. Freeman for pointing out the similarity between Mary's soliloquy in *Sir Thomas Wyatt* and the passage from the *Acts and Monuments*.

46. On the significance of Jane's letter to her characterization, see Robinson (131-3).

47. See Healy (166) on the characters' inability to remain loyal.

48. Healy discusses the "shifting historical perspective" that arises from Wyatt's initial endorsement of Mary as the legitimate monarch and his later rebellion (166). On Wyatt as a "Protestant activist" and of the nature of his early support of Mary, see Robinson (10-

1).

49. Robinson argues that "the deaths of the three traitors are transformed on stage to martyrdoms . . ." (11; cf. 11-2, 43). She also discusses Wyatt's status as traitor (9, 11, 101).

50. Spikes, Bevington, and Bradbrook, as Gasper also notes (*Dragon* 44-5), find a mirror of the Essex rebellion in *Sir Thomas Wyatt*. Gasper's chapter in *The Dragon and the Dove: The Plays of Thomas Dekker*, however, contains the most extended commentary on the connection. I am indebted to her ideas in this portion of my discussion of the play.

51. For a similar view, see Bevington (5-6).

52. For a discussion of the significance of Guilford's prophecy, see Robinson (19).

53. Loades attempts to unravel the part Elizabeth played in the conspiracy and rebellion: Cautious by nature, the circumstances of her position made her closer still, so that although Croftes [a conspirator] was liberal with promises on her behalf there has never been any direct evidence that she was associated with the conspiracy. They used her name freely, because she was very popular, and she must have been aware of the fact. They wrote to her, but she never replied in writing, and when the crisis was over even her bitterest enemies were forced to admit that nothing could be proved against her. There was talk of her fleeing from Court and riding to the West with Courtenay [the Earl of Devon], but this seems to have been wishful thinking . . . There was no risk of Elizabeth losing her nerve, but she would not move until success was assured, and in the face of premature revelations would deny all knowledge of the affair. (*Conspiracies* 22-3)

54. Loades suggests that there were hopes that Wyatt would be the means of implicating Elizabeth:

Wyatt remained the most promising field of enquiry, and it seems that the delay in his trial, and still longer delay in execution, resulted from the hope that he could be persuaded to incriminate her. How far that hope was realized remains uncertain to this day. At his trial on 15 March Sir Thomas alleged that he had written to the Princess, and received a verbal reply of a non-committal nature. It was later claimed that after his conviction he drew up a full statement in writing, accusing both Elizabeth and Courtenay [the Earl of Devon] of complicity in his designs, but on the scaffold he declared ". . . yt is not so good people, for I assure you neyther they nor any other now in yonder holde of durance was privie of my rising. . . ." Despite this denial it is probable that he made some such statement under torture, or in hope of pardon, and then retracted when he saw that it would not avail to save his life. Lord Chandos later testified in Star Chamber that Wyatt had made such a confession on the morning of his execution, but the "statement in

wrying" was not produced against Elizabeth, and has not since been found.
(*Conspiracies* 92)

55. Spikes suggests that Lady Jane is an avatar of Lady Arbella Stuart (131), but Gasper's discussion proves that such a pairing is not very persuasive. She is also dismissive of Bradbrook's claim (100) that Lady Jane Grey is a figure of Elizabeth. See Gasper (*Dragon* 58-60).

56. 1605 marks the entry of the play into the Stationers' Register and its first printing (M. Doran v).

57. See Clark (31-4), M. Doran (xvii-xviii), and Martin (*passim*). The entrance of Mary in *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt* and the final scene of *1 If You Know Not Me* are similar in many respects, as Grant notes ("Drama Queen" 124-5).

58. Grant refers to *1 If You Know Not Me* as "the most printed play of the seventeenth century" ("Drama Queen" 137).

59. Watkins uses "subject" in a double sense. Elizabeth is simultaneously Heywood's and Mary's subject (39-40). Dobson and Watson also mention the imprecision of the subtitle (52).

60. See, for instance, Baines (27).

61. Dobson and Watson provide an overview of the difficulties of remembering a post-Armada Elizabeth (45-6). Perry's focus is also Stuart nostalgia for Elizabeth, specifically the relationship between her representations and criticism of her successor, his policies, and his monarchy.

62. Watkins believes that a lack of close contact expedited Heywood's hagiographic portrait of Elizabeth (37). For a summary of Heywood's borrowing from and changes to Foxe's narrative of Elizabeth for *1 If You Know Not Me*, see Baines (27-31). Baines's focus, unlike mine, is on Elizabeth.

63. On Elizabeth's role as martyr, see Robinson (35, 129-30, 147).

64. All references to *If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody, Part I*, are to The Malone Society Reprint (1935), edited by Madeleine Doran. I have cited by scene and line number(s).

65. Carole Levin and Jo Eldridge Carney trace a division in the representation of Elizabeth as a princess: "One mode is to portray Elizabeth as capable and wise beyond her years, but devoid of any personal and emotional life. . . . The other presentation of her, alternatively, is as a weak, flighty, romantic young woman . . ." (215). In Heywood,

Elizabeth is clearly the saintly prodigy, free from romantic entanglements. However, this construction does not prevent the playwright from giving Philip a personal interest in her.

66. McLuskie attributes the characterization of Philip as Elizabeth's protector to a "proper sense of hierarchy" and the "need to support the notion of aristocratic virtue" (45). Though his behaviour exhibits all the courtliness and compassion required of a governor, such an explanation ignores the decidedly personal dimension of the way Philip discusses Elizabeth. Baines is even more unpersuasive in suggesting that Heywood uses the benevolent Philip to illustrate "that the malice of the Catholic prelates who surround the queen is not characteristic of Catholics in general" (30). Ribner, with whom Grant agrees ("Drama Queen" 132), offers a political purpose in providing "implicit support . . . to James I's new policy of reconciliation with Spain" (221).

67. As Spikes notes, Winchester reinforces this characterization of Philip as agent of the divine: "Her life is garded by the hand of heauen, / And we in vaine pursue it" (15.1150-1).

68. This difference, noted by Grant ("Drama Queen" 125), forms an important part of Watkins's argument (43-6).

69. Several of the incidents in the play, including those that I discuss here, invoke the ideal of Elizabeth as "the special friend of her non-noble subjects" (Perry 173). See also Robinson (91, 95).

70. Here I disagree slightly with Watkins who argues that Beningfield "acts less out of Catholic conviction than out of a belief that all orders must be obeyed" (45). Religion, though not always a deeply held personal faith, is part of the Marian regime's oppression of Elizabeth.

71. Watkins, too, attributes servility to the Marian faction. See, for example, his discussion of Dodds (43-4) and Beningfield (45).

72. Most discussions of this scene focus on Elizabeth's clemency exclusively. For example, see Grant ("Drama Queen" 123-4).

73. Watkins suggests that some of the common people, like the soldier, through their discussions of political matter "develop a capacity for political discrimination that has atrophied under Mary's dictatorship" (40). Elizabeth's actions in the final scene of the play demonstrate that she also possesses such discernment.

74. Watkins posits that the *If You Know Not Me* plays fashion an Elizabeth who is "an advocate of the rights of freeborn Englishmen," "a queen . . . compliant in dealing with her own Protestant subjects" (36). This anti-absolutist element in Heywood's depiction of Elizabeth is more wishful thinking than history.

75. Watkins, too, mentions the ceremony at the end of the play, but his focus is on the Bible and the gold (46).

76. There is no critical consensus on the type of Protestantism that is invoked and celebrated in the play. Gerard M. Pinciss believes that the championship of the English Bible suggests Puritanism (65-6). Baines, on the other hand, identifies Heywood's Elizabeth with Anglicanism (28).

77. McLuskie refers to the providential agency in the play as magic: "This sense of an action moving by magic rather than by narrative logic or motivation accounts for the play's cumulative structure" (44). Though the term accentuates the miraculous nature of Elizabeth's deliverance, it does not account for the role of God, and is, therefore, inadequate to describe her salvation in the play.

78. Mary's illness is part of the alteration of royal fortunes in the play. In the beginning, Elizabeth is sick in the aftermath of some of Mary's triumphs; Mary's illness toward the end prepares the way for her sister's assumption of the throne. See Baines (30), Robinson (51), and Spikes (135-6). Philip's disappearance, followed by the deaths of Winchester and Mary, are, for Spikes, integral to the "falling movement" involving Catholics in the play (135).

79. Grant comments that Heywood's manner of contrasting Elizabeth and Mary throughout the play is different from the approach of Foxe, who "does not juxtapose her saintly behaviour scene by scene with Mary's mean and faithless spirit" ("Drama Queen" 122; cf. 137).

80. For the importance of Spenser to the composition of *The Whore of Babylon*, see Champion (75), Hoy (2.302), Krantz (285), and Riely (46-51). Schelling is critical of this aspect of the play, convinced that the "great horse of the Spenserian allegory had a pace beyond [Dekker's] menage" (240). Gasper offers Foxe's *Christus Triumphans* as a possible influence for both Dekker and Spenser (*Dragon* 71).

81. References to *The Whore of Babylon* are to the edition by Fredson Bowers (Volume II).

82. The reference is to the *Letter to Raleigh*.

83. Dobson and Watson suggest that "one might expect the Queen of Fairy Land to receive the given name of Spenser's Faerie Queene, Gloriana: but instead Dekker's heroine goes by the name of a different fay entirely, hitherto associated only with an apparent pejorative sideswipe at the stepmotherly old Queen of the 1590s" (59-60). Dekker's use of the name Titania, as well as Oberon, echoes Shakespeare in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

84. Regina Buccola views Dekker's construction of a Protestant Fairy Queen as problematic. He

disastrously invokes the figure of the Fairy Queen and changeling belief in a stalwart defense of Protestant righteousness in an era when fairies were becoming increasingly associated with the false, Catholic Church. Dekker compounds this set of ideological associations by portraying a fairy queen (superstition) as a paragon of chaste virtue and moral leadership (like the Catholic Virgin Mary) set off against a nightmare vision of Catholic carnality (the Whore of Babylon). The two female characters threaten repeatedly to collapse into one another, imploding the distinctions between warring factions of Christianity and revealing them for what they might, horrifyingly, be: the same thing. (158)

85. A passage from Christopher Lever's *The Historie of the Defendors of the Catholique Faith* (1627) gives a sense of the ubiquity of the ideas developed in the dumb show:

Queene Marie . . . made the most miserable change in the state of *England*, that euer that Nation indured; she defacing the glorious worke of her Predecessor of K. *Edward* her princely brother, extinguishing the lights of *Truth*, whereby men were directed in the way of life, & obscuring al knowledge in the mist of Ignorāce and blacke error, in which blindnesse the Christian world had for many yeares wandered. This Eclipse being now againe (by the interpositiō of her darke time) brought vpon this Nation. So that no light of *Truth* was in her time to be seene, saue onely at the burning Stakes of *Martyrs*. . . (191-2)

86. Bayer does say that "It is unlikely that the behind-the-scenes orchestrations of the Marian regime, nearly fifty years before, would be part of the living memory of audience members, but the Armada—not to mention the Gunpowder Plot—certainly was" (78-9). Even though *The Whore of Babylon* does not delve into these matters, the symbolic value of Mary to the providential history of English Protestantism would certainly have been understood.

In the *Lectori*, Dekker's admonition of the players who "will haue [their] owne Crochets, and sing false notes, in dispite of all the rules of Musick" (497) suggests that the play was not well received, a problem which has been attributed to either the clumsiness or opacity of the allegory. See Bayer (83), Hoy (2.308-10), and Ribner (287-8). Champion ascribes such failure to a development within the history-play genre which created a taste for more realistic characters (76-7). Gasper mentions a lost play written by Edward VI which shares its title with Dekker's allegorical drama and invokes it against "the accusation so often made, that the ideas in Dekker's play are popular in the sense of vulgar, ignorant, or plebeian" (*Dragon* 69).

87. McLuskie considers the figure of Truth in the dumb show to be an avatar of Elizabeth (50).

88. In Protestant allegory, such as Spenser's, the Whore of Babylon together with the multi-headed beast on which she rides form the picture/emblem of the Catholic Church. They are also used separately, as, for example, figuration of the pope.

89. This passage may allude to Elizabeth's remark, recorded in the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, that the Pope had "pronounced sentence against me whilst yet I was in my mother's womb" (70/168).

90. Bayer mentions "the play's concern with international religious politics" (78). By including *The Whore of Babylon* in the genre of *comoedia apocalyptica*, Gasper argues that it should be read in "the context of an international Reformation" (*Dragon* 75).

91. The figure of the Conjuror clearly resonates with the actions of Archimago in his deception of Redcrosse early in Book 1 of *The Faerie Queene*. Archimago is presented as a conjuror, and he shapes spirits into the figures of Una and Redcrosse to separate and dishearten them. He is also a symbol of the corrupt Catholic Church. In fact, Protestant reformers associated magic with Catholicism, especially its rituals (Thomas 58-89).

Thomas suggests that one of the more uncommon practices associated with maleficent magic "was the witchcraft which involved technical aids—making a wax image of the victim and sticking pins in it, writing his name on a piece of paper and then burning it, burying a piece of his clothing, and so forth" (519).

92. For discussions of the play's contemporary relevance, see Bayer (78-9, 81), Krantz (*passim*), and Riely (3, 19-22). Although Gasper acknowledges the topicality, she warns against "see[ing] it and its view of events in too narrow a context" (*Dragon* 62).

93. According to Krantz, by assigning two of the three speeches which contain allusions to the Gunpowder Plot to the Third King, "Dekker emphasizes Spanish aggression and treachery" (273).

94. Krantz asserts that "the investigations of the Spanish role in the Gunpowder Plot revealed no major involvement, according to the official documents" (274).

95. The reference is from the 1603-7 volume.

96. Perry notes the presence of such praise for the king (181-2).

97. Gasper discusses Titania's militant Protestantism (*Dragon* 80-1). For her, *The Whore of Babylon* is "the definitive militant Protestant play" (*Dragon* 62).

98. At the beginning of the play, Titania is far more conciliatory, resembling the pacifist James in promising to refrain from destroying the Empress. For a discussion of Titania's increasing militance, see Gasper (*Dragon* 98-9).

99. Several commentators, including Krantz (271, 279-80, 282) and McLuskie (48-53), consider *The Whore of Babylon* to be critical of James and his government. Gasper sees the playwright's purpose in more optimistic terms: "Dekker's subtle misrepresentation of Queen Elizabeth as the ideal militant Protestant leader provides a picture of the course that militant Protestants were still hoping King James would take" (*Dragon* 96). Perry's argument on the critical aspect of the play (179-84) contains the caveat that "the oppositional energy . . . remained largely dormant during the first decade of James's reign" (184).

100. The drama was licensed for the Palsgrave's Company (Spikes 143n; Ribner 293). Ribner records that "In licensing the play [Sir Henry] Herbert referred to it as 'which being full of dangerous matter was reformed by me; I had two pounds for my pains: Written by Mr. Drew.'" He hypothesizes that the nature of this "dangerous matter" was "a kind of virulent anti-Catholicism which was no longer politically respectable in the age of King Charles . . ." (294).

That topicality, including the prevalence of anti-Catholic sentiment, is essential to an understanding of the play's content is Heinemann's contention. She connects *The Duchess of Suffolk*, as well as Middleton's *A Game of Chess*, to the religious feeling and political events of 1624, of which the mustering of reinforcements for the Dutch campaign under the leadership of devoutly Protestant noblemen, including the grandson of the historical Katherine, is an example ("Drama" 248). Robinson also views the play in terms of its contemporary relevance: "The stage representation of the Berties as exiles pursued through Europe by Catholic enemies was a transparent reenactment of the widely discussed suffering of Frederick and Elizabeth" (156), former King and Queen of Bohemia, and son-in-law and daughter of James I.

101. While the play's Bishop of London is "conventionally evoked through his voicing of imprecations, stratagems and imperatives which define the tyrant's role," Drue's characterization is pioneering in "staging Bonner's connection with the particular violence of the Marian regime—the burning of heretics" (Robinson 71).

102. References to *The Duchess of Suffolk* are from STC 7242.

103. The scene in which Katherine speaks to Bonner as he enters the Marshalsea is significant as it is but one occasion when her "independent mind . . . is celebrated in the play as a foil to popery" (Robinson 136).

104. Robinson makes clear that the authority connected to the duchess "is eclipsed by female victimization and sacrifice" (137).

105. In a broader sense, the "comedy of 'miraculous preservation'" is central to Drue's text: "He parallels comedies of earthly deliverance—the personal preservation of Katherine Willoughby and her family and the historical preservation of the true Church in

England—with the transhistorical preservation of the saints, converting tragedy to comedic transcendence” (Robinson 43, 44).

106. Robinson does notice topical allusions in Gardiner’s dream to Frederick and his wife Elizabeth (44) in the reference to “*Bertie and the Dutches*, / [who] Were both advanc’t vpon a regall throne, / And had their temples wreath’d with glittering gold” (G3”).

107. Robinson’s proposition that by “Constructing a broadly defined martyrdom as the mark of Protestantism, Drue effaces the distinction between the suffering Church and the exiled Church” (45) is suggestive here. Practically speaking, there is, however, an important difference. Katherine and her family were fugitives to avoid a physical martyrdom similar to that experienced by Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer.

108. Ribner notes that the Protestant martyrs, unconnected to the progress of the play’s plot, serve only as foils for Bonner and Gardiner (295). Schelling humorously suggests that “Latimer, Ridley, [and] Cranmer . . . are lugged in though nothing to the plot, . . . for their martyrdom . . .” (256). Robinson views the scene far more positively: it “would have spoken eloquently to its late Jacobean audience of the paradoxes of Christian martyrdom by which the tragic condemnation of the public world of history becomes a comedic sign of cosmic sanctification” (44). She further argues that the “historical transposition of the tragic to the comedic is recalibrated in the play’s juxtaposition of the trials and deaths of the Oxford martyrs with the suffering and miraculous preservation of the protagonists” (45).

109. The behaviour of Latimer and Ridley on their final fateful walk can also be considered “evidence of interiority,” just as the ravings of Bonner indicate its lack (Robinson 71).

110. The play advances through a juxtaposition of events, the importance of which Robinson mentions. Thus, the imprisonment of Bonner near the play’s conclusion is a fitting counterpoint to the deliverance of Katherine and her family (44-5).

111. For a review of the scathing verdict of critics, see Schelling (255) and Ribner (293-5).

Conclusion

“A zealus daughter”: A Summary of Mary Tudor’s Afterlife

Veritas filia temporis.
(Motto of Mary I)¹

Christopher Lever’s *The Historie of the Defendours of the Catholique Faith*, published in 1627, exhibits a tension within its representation of the late Queen Mary. Although the vast majority of the section dealing with her reign is filled with the sort of scathing judgements common in some of the works discussed previously, Lever does acknowledge certain positive attributes:

And this I write in fauour of Q. *Marie*, because of her extraordinary induments of Nature. God hauing giuen her so much Maiesty, and princely spirit, as might serue to rule the greatest command in the world; & if to her other gifts, God had giuen her the knowledge of his *Truth*, she had well deserued to haue bene named most excellēt & to haue exceeded all the famous Queenes in the world, saue her sister the most famous *Elizabeth*, who hath exceeded her and al the world in the honour of true deseruing. (193-4)

Furthermore, like Foxe before him, Lever implicates other people in the persecutions, so that within the assignment of guilt, he continues to register the queen’s good qualities. Maintaining this dialectic involves some serpentine reasoning, as the following passage reveals:

for it cannot be imagined that a Ladie of her spirit, being (in humane respects) mercifull & compassionate, would haue entred her gouernement with such

tyrannie & terror; bearing in both hands destruction, & (like *Reuenge* her self) entring the stage of her gouvernement with fire & blood) has she not bene moued thereto by euil perswasion. Neither can it be but the Q. conscience would condemne the course of her violent proceeding, & that she would iudge the large effusiō of christiā blood, stood not with the honour of her name, nor with the *Truth* of Religion: yet so powerfull is the authority of them we trust, (especially in the case of Religion and consciēce,) as that many times we suffer our selus to be led against our own perswasiōs, by a reuerence we beare to other mens opiniōs.

(196)

Mary appears here as little more than a pawn easily influenced by men, in this case Bonner and Gardiner, which is a familiar position in her posthumous representation, but that does not transform Lever into a Marian or Catholic apologist. He states unequivocally that "I am to write the dishonor of this Queene" (193), and much of his text details "Q. Marie monstrous in her euill" (195).

The passages in Lever recapitulate the double thread of praise and criticism that is found in the texts I explore that either glance at or detail the life and death of the late queen, and it is not coincidental that faith generally determines the nature of the discursive construction. After her death in 1558, Mary was remembered as almost a holy saint by some of her dedicated co-religionists, yet for Protestants, she was the persecutor of a new band of saints, who were, in her eyes, heretics all. What Lever's disquisition on Mary Tudor supports is that nearly seventy years after her death, she was still important to

the history of her realm and to the church she sought so strenuously to supplant. And, ironically, what matters to Lever, to the Jacobean playwrights discussed in Chapter 3, to John Foxe, and to the Catholic writers discussed in Chapter 1 is exactly what most concerned the living queen, her Catholic faith and its relationship to her people. Other issues are also significant, like her gender, her foreign marriage to a Catholic prince, her disappointed maternity, and the manner of her death, especially insofar as these reveal—or could be made to reveal—important religious truths, but central to her posthumous representation is the spectre of her faith. I use “spectre” deliberately here to connote a sense of the inescapable, of haunting, but also, in a limited way, of something sinister. For most Catholics, she was the queen who restored the old religion and, insofar as her regime was able given the pressures of time and opposition, the comfort and familiarity of its rituals and functions. The view of her presented in the Catholic texts included in Chapter 1 is of a godly monarch, dedicated to leading her people along the path of righteousness. For most Protestants, she was the head of a regime that persecuted the godly, who moved her people from the way of truth to a church that was corrupt in belief, practice, and ministry. In terms of Protestant texts, it was irrelevant that many people welcomed the return to traditional religion, that they had carefully preserved their rood screens, statuary, church plate, and vestments, that the victims of the persecution were not martyrs, but pseudo-martyrs and heretics. In the *Acts and Monuments* and in the majority of the Jacobean history plays under discussion, the most pertinent aspects of Mary and her reign are wrong religion and, inevitably, persecution. Even as Lever heaps

blame on Gardiner and Bonner, and tries to absolve Mary of responsibility, he reiterates these ideas, and like others before him, he unavoidably, though reluctantly, transmogrifies the queen into a monster:

Neither had the Queene come into that ignominy of blood and cruelty; shee being in her own Nature rather inclined to pittie, and mercifull respect then otherwise. And therefore though the time of Queene *Maries* gouvernement, was the most bloodie persecution that euer was in this Land, (I thinke) euer since it had a Christian Prince, yet was this Ladie, otherwise disposed in her owne Nature; neither would shee haue made her name so monstrous in blood, had not her conscience perswaded a necessity, shee being so resolved by their perswasion, who (shee thought had authority to iudge her. (198-9)

A glance at a portrait of two generations of the Tudors is instructive because it neatly encapsulates so many of the ideas developed in Mary's posthumous representations. In *Allegory of the Tudor Dynasty* (c. 1572), attributed to Lucas de Heere and now on display at Sudeley Castle, Gloucestershire, the arrangement of the figures is significant.² In the centre of the picture, Henry VIII sits under a canopy of state on a throne, which is placed on a carpeted platform in front of a coat of arms. Immediately to the right is the young Edward on one knee and clasping, with his father, the sword of justice. Though it is being held with the blade pointing towards the paneled ceiling, it is recognizably cruciform. Slightly further to the right and in the foreground of the picture is Elizabeth, sumptuously dressed and dwarfing her brother.³ Her height is approximately

the same as her seated father. She is pointing towards and holding hands with Peace, who breaks the sword of discord beneath her sandal. Peace, in turn, is followed by Plenty, laden with an overflowing cornucopia. Standing near the back wall at the left of the picture are Mary and Philip, and moving towards them is Mars with sword, shield, and wooden lance.

Mary is marginalized in many ways in de Heere's painting.⁴ Except for the child Edward, Mary and Philip are the smallest figures. Even Mars is more prominent not only because he is nearer the foreground but also because of his plumed helmet and lance which, though held aloft, disappears at the picture's edge. And if all the Tudor monarchs get a place on the carpet, then Mary is given little space indeed. Philip and the allegorical figures in the painting do not touch the carpet. Henry and his son sit and kneel respectively upon it. Elizabeth's dress hides much of the front corner of the carpeted platform, while Mary's skirt conceals a considerably smaller section at the back. Mary is almost disconnected from the rest of her family group. There are very physical links leading from Henry to Edward and Elizabeth, whose dress and body overlap with the figure of her brother, and from Elizabeth to Peace and Plenty. The sword/crucifix grasped by the two Tudor kings is almost equidistant between Henry and his younger daughter. The allegory here is not difficult to comprehend. As Montrose notes, "this painting articulates a vision of Elizabeth as a champion of European Protestantism" (58).⁵ The Protestant dynastic line runs from Henry to Edward to Elizabeth, which brings with it peace and prosperity, symbolized by the garden on "their" side of the painting. Mary,

conversely, brings war. This connection is expressed spatially through the grouping of figures, as well as through a diagonal line that runs from the lance of Mars through the arm bearing his shield to Philip's hand placed on his sword belt. The city glimpsed through the pillars beyond Mars, which Montrose suggests might be Rome "in a state of decay" (60), is appropriate for a god associated with its culture. It functions less on a mythological level than as a reminder of the corrupt Roman religion for which Mary stood and which brought such turmoil to England.

If, as Mary's motto states, truth is the daughter of time, then what truth has history revealed about England's first queen regnant? While there is a definite spirit of scholarly reevaluation afoot, the Mary Tudor remembered during the reigns of her two successors is generally unencumbered by any attempt at objectivity, for she is viewed almost exclusively through the prism of religion, which influences whether she is characterized as a saint or a sinner of the worst sort. Time further demonstrates the old truism that history is written by the winners, and Mary was on the losing side. Much of her posthumous reputation, therefore, is determined by Protestant writers, particularly Foxe. A study of the more than six-and-a-half decades after her death also proves that Mary had a place in the cultural imagination of England. But, unlike her sister Elizabeth, she is usually downgraded to a supporting role. Even Catholic texts reinforce this secondary position for Mary. Priuli's letters, for example, also highlight the death of Cardinal Pole, a central figure in Marian Catholicism in whose household the author lived and worked. In Clifford's *Life of Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria*, the sections devoted to Mary are a

relatively small part of the biography, for the focus is on her former lady and her family. In the Protestant works set during her reign, the starring roles are occupied by those who suffered under the Marian regime. In some cases, Bonner and Gardiner are more active than the queen.

It would be an impossible task to present the actuality of the historical Mary Tudor. What her posthumous images reveal is what certain writers considered relevant about her, given the constraints of contemporary events, religion, genre, and so on. The re-imagined queen has been shaped, by Catholics and Protestants alike, and the discursive constructions may or may not match her historical reality. That Mary I has, like the figure in the de Heere painting, been relegated to the corner of history, except by those scholars interested in the literature or history of her reign, is not important; she is still in the picture, and her posthumous representations are worthy of study precisely because they show how a historical person can be reconstructed by and within a collection of texts.

Notes

1. Donald Gordon notes that "There is a dramatic use of 'Veritas Filia Temporis' centring round the figure of Mary, who had adopted the motto as her personal device . . ." (228). He also discusses the connection between the motto and the play *Respublica* (1553) (228-30). *Respublica* is often considered the work of Nicholas Udall, although this attribution is debated.
2. The details of this painting, owned by the National Museums and Galleries of Wales and on loan to Sudeley Castle, are examined in *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England 1530-1630*, edited by Karen Hearn (81-2), and in Louis Montrose's *The Subject of Elizabeth: Authority, Gender, and Representation* (57-62).
3. That the painting was a gift from Elizabeth to Sir Francis Walsingham is supported by the evidence of the original panel, which is inscribed with the couplet, "THE QVENE TO WALSINGHAM THIS TABLET SENTE / MARK OF HER PEOPLES AND HER OWNE CONTENTE" (Montrose 58). Montrose concludes, therefore, that "she had a more direct role than was usual in shaping the representation—or, at least, in approving it after the fact" (58).
4. Montrose discusses how the verse inscribed on the original frame "seeks to extract something positive from the Marian example, which is not evident in the picture itself" (61). It reads:

A face of mucche nobilillitye loe in a litle roome,
 Fowr states with theyr conditions heare shadowed in a showe
 A father more than valyant. A rare and vertuus soon.
 A zealus daughter in her kynd what els the world dothe knowe
 And last of all a vyrgin queen to Englands joy we see,
 Successyvely to hold the right and vertues of the three. (Montrose 57)

 It could be argued, however, that Mary's zeal, obviously religious in this context, is not a characteristic with which Elizabeth would have liked to be associated. This idea contradicts Montrose's opinion that "the verbal representation of Mary is equivocal rather than explicitly denunciatory may well be due to the tempering influence of the conservative Queen Elizabeth herself" (61).
5. For a discussion of the painting's context, which emphasizes contemporary events connected to English Protestantism, see Montrose (59).

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