'Knot of Love and Concord': Loyalty in the Life of Mary I

Meagan Elizabeth Nattrass

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Abstract

This thesis examines loyalty as an emotional practice that shaped Queen Mary I's queenship. Emotion has always been at the centre of scholarly assessments of Mary, but it has been used predominantly to dismiss her as hysterical and poor in judgement – in other words, a poor politician, monarch and head of state. However, this narrative has been significantly revised in the last two decades and scholarship now considers the challenges Mary overcame to become the first queen regnant of England. Attentiveness to gender has fundamentally changed how we understand Mary's experience within a patriarchal society unfamiliar with a female monarch. While gender has refined our analysis of Mary, historians are yet to fully explore the implications for her affective experiences and practices. This is at odds with a growing body of literature recognising the emotional practices of early modern royal women as a mechanism of authority in a range of domestic and dynastic settings.

This thesis offers a long-overdue analysis of Mary's relationships throughout her life (1516–1558) using history of emotions methodologies. The examination of loyalty considers familial, political, and religious values during a period in which they overlapped and interacted within dynastic and social networks. It addresses the ways in which loyalty emotions were shaped by gender, kinship and cultural norms. As such, this thesis finds affective discourses allowed Mary to navigate conflict and uncertainty by generating loyal relationships. The reciprocal nature of these relationships provided Mary with a sense of belonging, authority and purpose. It argues that only by considering Mary's emotional experiences and practices within their historical context can we establish a more nuanced assessment of her as an individual and monarch.

Declaration

I certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in my name, in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. In addition, I certify that no part of this work will, in the future, be used in a submission in my name, for any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution without the prior approval of the University of Adelaide and where applicable, any partner institution responsible for the joint award of this degree.

I give permission for the digital version of my thesis to be made available on the web, via the University's digital research repository, the Library Search and also through web search engines, unless permission has been granted by the University to restrict access for a period of time.

Signed:

Date: 17 October 2023

Acknowledgments

I would like to acknowledge the Kaurna people as the custodians of the lands and waters of the Adelaide region on which I completed this thesis and their continuous cultural, spiritual, physical and emotional connection with their land, waters and community. I pay respect to Elders past, present and emerging.

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List of Images

Abbreviations

L&P	*Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volumes 3-21* ed. J. S. Brewer, James Gairdner and R. H. Brodie, London, 1864-1920.
SP Spain	*Calendar of State Papers Relating To English Affairs in the Archives of Spain, Volumes 2-13.*
SP Venice	*Calendar of State Papers Relating To English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, Volumes 3-6.*
SP Edward	*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reign of Edward VI, 1547-1553, preserved in the Public Record Office, Revised Edition, ed.* C. S. Knighton, London, 1998.
SP Domestic	*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reign of Mary I, 1553-1558, preserved in the Public Record Office,* Revised Edition, ed. C. S. Knighton, London, 1998.
SPO	State Papers Online. SP 1 Henry VIII: General, 1509-1547 SP 10 Secretaries of State: State Papers Domestic, Edward VI, 1547-1553 SP 11 Secretaries of State: State Papers Domestic, Mary I, 1553-1558

A Note on the Text

Original spelling has been retained in manuscript sources and chronicle accounts. Abbreviations have been silently expanded where necessary. Dates are given in Old Style, but the year is taken to begin on 1 January.

COVID-19 Impact

The COVID-19 pandemic disrupted my capacity to conduct any archival research due to the extended closure of Australia's international borders. As such, this thesis makes use of online databases such as British History Online and State Papers Online for archival material. Although limited by these research challenges, this thesis makes a significant contribution to the scholarship through the utilisation of new theories.

Timeline

18 February 1516	Mary Tudor born to Henry VIII of England and Katherine of Aragon
5 October 1518	Mary betrothed to the Dauphin of France.
16 June 1522	Mary betrothed to Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire.
August 1525	Mary travels to the Welsh Marches with a vice-regal household.
1528	Mary recalled from the Welsh Marches and vice-regal household dissolved. Henry VIII's intent to divorce Katherine becomes known.
25 January 1533	Henry VIII marries Anne Boleyn. Henry VIII excommunicated by Pope Clement VII.
May 1533	Marriage of Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon annulled.
1 June 1553	Anne Boleyn's coronation
7 September 1533	Elizabeth Tudor born, the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn.
September 1533	Mary declared illegitimate.
December 1533	Mary's household dissolved and Mary sent to serve in Elizabeth's household.
1534	Act of Supremacy. English monarch declared Head of the Church of England.
23 March 1534	Act of Succession. Mary officially removed from line of succession.
7 January 1536	Katherine of Aragon dies.
19 May 1536	Anne Boleyn executed.
30th May 1536	Henry VIII marries Jane Seymour.
15 June 1536	Mary acknowledges the Act of Succession
12 October 1537	Edward Tudor born, the son of Henry VIII and Jane Seymour.
24 October 1537	Jane Seymour dies from childbirth complications.
December 1539	Mary proposed in marriage to Duke Philip of Bavaria.
6 January 1540	Henry VIII marries Anne of Cleves.

6 July 1540	Marriage to Anne of Cleves annulled.
28 July 1540	Henry VIII marries Catherine Howard.
13 February 1542	Execution of Catherine Howard.
12 July 1543	Henry VIII marries Catherine Parr.
1543	Third Act of Succession restores Mary and Elizabeth to the line of succession, with Edward VI as heir.
28 January 1547	Henry VIII dies.
20 February 1547	Edward VI's coronation.
6 July 1553	Edward VI dies.
10 – 19 July 1553	Reign of Queen Jane.
19 July 1553	Privy Council declares Mary Queen of England.
3 August 1553	Mary rides into London.
1 October 1553	Mary crowned Queen of England.
5 October 1553	Mary's first Parliament.
28 October 1553	Formal proposal of marriage to Philip of Spain.
Late January 1554	Wyatt's rebellion.
1 February 1554	Mary's speech at Guildhall in response to Wyatt's rebellion and the Spanish marriage.
25 July 1554	Marriage of Mary and Philip of Spain.
30 November 1554	England reconciled with Rome.
20 January 1555	Heresy laws passed in England.
4 February 1555	First of the Marian burnings of Protestant martyrs (John Rogers). Approximately 300 were burned during the next four years.
29 August 1555	Philip departs England for the continent.
25 October 1555	Abdication of Charles V, Philip and Mary become king and queen of Spain.
20 March 1557	Philip returns to England.
March 1557	England declares war on France.
6 July 1557	Philip departs England for the final time.
January 1558	Mary writes to Philip believing herself to be pregnant.
13 January 1558	French regain control of Calais.
17 November 1558	Mary dies.

Introduction

> *I am your Queene, to who at my Coronation when I was wedded to the Realme and lawes of the same (the spousall Ring whereof I haue on my finger, which neuer hetherto was, nor hereafter shall be left of) you promised your allegeaunce and obedience to me [...] And this I say to you in the word of a Prince: I can not tell how naturally the Mother loueth the Childe, for I was neuer the mother of any, but certainly, if a Prince and Gouernour may as naturally & earnestly loue her Subiectes as the Mother doth the Child, then assure your selues, that I being your Lady and Maistres, doe as earnestly and as tenderly loue and fauour you. And I thus louing you, can not but thinke that ye as hartely and faythfully loue me: and then I doubt not, but we shall geue these rebells a short and speedy ouerthrow.*[1]

The above is an excerpt from Queen Mary I's oration at Guildhall in February 1554 in what was, perhaps, her most famous speech as queen. Thomas Wyatt had led a rebellion to protest her marriage to Philip I of Spain and the restoration of Catholicism after Edward VI's Protestant rule. Ignoring advice to flee London as Wyatt's army neared the city, Mary stayed and addressed a crowd at Guildhall, asking for support. In the speech, she described loyalty between monarch and subject, mother and child, and wife and husband. The word of a Prince, the love of a mother and a promise of allegiance implied loyalty across a range of relationships. Moreover, Mary believed the affective connection with her audience would motivate them to fight on her behalf for a 'short and speedy overthrow'. John Proctor's account commended Mary's oration for she 'did wonderfullye inamour the heartes of the hearers as it was a world to heare with what shoutes they exalted the honour and magnanimitie' of their queen.[2]

The Guildhall oration encapsulates the themes of this thesis, which explores how feelings of loyalty shaped Mary's sense of self, relationships, beliefs and values. It seeks to examine the interconnectedness of loyalty in a range of relationships and

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[1] John Foxe, *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online (1570 Edition)* (Sheffield: The Digital Humanities Institute, 2011), 1618. http//www.dhi.ac.uk/foxe.

[2] John Proctor, *The Historie of Wyates Rebellion with the Order and Maner of Resisting the Same, Wherunto in the Ende is Added an Earnest Conference with the Degenerate and Sedicious Rebelles for the Serche of the Cause of Their Daily Disorder* (London: 1555), 54v.

address a gap within the literature in which Mary is recognised as 'emotional' without any further analysis. In doing so, it will provide a more intimate narrative of Mary, demonstrating her authority and agency are better understood using history of emotions methodologies.

Born in 1516, Mary was crowned the first Queen Regnant of England in 1553 before passing away only five years later in 1558. For many centuries she has been remembered as 'Bloody Mary', succeeded by her Protestant half-sister Elizabeth I. The traditional narrative of England's first queen conjured imagery of 'Bloody Mary' burning Protestants, as her people suffered through drought, famine and the humiliating loss of Calais.[3] Revisionist historians have partially rewritten this story to portray a woman who defied odds to become queen. The only surviving child of Henry VIII's marriage to Katherine of Aragon, Mary was loved and adored by her parents despite their disappointment that she was not born a prince. For the first decade of her life, the princess was raised and educated as the heir presumptive to the English throne and enjoyed relative stability as a royal child. Mary's education prepared her for a likely future as a wife and queen consort in a foreign court.[4] Henry's investment in Mary was most evident when she was appointed to the Welsh Marches with a vice-regal household in 1525. This tradition was normally reserved for the Prince of Wales, and although Henry never formally named Mary Princess of Wales, he certainly indicated it by sending her there.[5] The King's desire for a son ultimately undermined Mary's position. It became apparent that he was not comfortable with the idea of a daughter inheriting the crown and he never officially named her as heir apparent. Mary was recalled from the Welsh Marches in 1528 as

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[3] A. F. Pollard, *The History of England from the Accession of Edward VI to the Death of Elizabeth, 1547–1603*, vol. 6 (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1910), 94-175.

[4] Judith Richards, *Mary Tudor* (London: Routledge, 2008), 45–49; Anna Whitelock, *Mary Tudor: England's First Queen* (London: Bloomsbury, 2009), 25–28. Timonthy G. Elston, 'Transformation or Continuity? Sixteenth-Century Education and the Legacy of Catherine of Aragon, Mary I, and Juan Luis Vives', in *'High and Mighty Queens' of Early Modern England: Realities and Representations*, ed. Carole Levin, Elizabeth Carney and Debra Barrett-Graves (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 11–26.

[5] Charles Beem, 'Princess of Wales? Mary Tudor and the History of English Heirs to the Throne', in *The Birth of a Queen Essays on the Quincentenary of Mary I*, ed. Sarah Duncan and Valerie Schutte (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 14.

Henry investigated avenues to divorce Katherine, the beginning of what is often referred to as the 'Great Matter' or the 'divorce crisis'.[6]

Henry's divorce from Katherine disrupted the trajectory of their daughter's life. As a result of the separation, Mary's identity and agency as a princess were questioned and her Catholic faith rejected. Both outcomes had significant political implications, with Mary at the centre of political and dynastic conflict. It was also, however, a breakdown of familial relationships. The family dynamics to which Mary had been accustomed before 1528 were no longer applicable and, consequently, her relationships had to be redefined. Between 1528 and her succession in 1553, Mary navigated a series of complicated political and familial changes that required adaptability and political ingenuity. Opposition to her religious beliefs and her very legitimacy compelled Mary to develop ways to appease political demands without forsaking her sense of self. In rebelling and successfully overthrowing Edward's named successor, Jane Grey, Mary's journey to become the first queen of England was remarkable.[7] As queen, Mary established a blueprint for future female monarchs of England. Her life, full of trials and tribulations, should not be assessed in fragments, as it is commonly evaluated. Her queenship can only be understood by considering her pre-succession experiences and relationships.

There has been a general acceptance for many years that Mary was an emotional person, an unproductive assumption in need of further analysis. As such, I will examine loyalty to consider how Mary's emotions were strategic, expected and

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[6] For further reading about Henry and Katherine's divorce see, Michelle Beer, 'A Queenly Affinity? Catherine of Aragon's Estates and Henry VIII's Great Matter', *Historical Research* 91, no. 253 (2018); Giles Tremlett, *Catherine of Aragon: Henry's Spanish Queen* (London: Faber and Faber, 2010); David Starkey, *Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2003); David Loades, *Henry VIII and His Queens* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2000).

[7] I have included a timeline of significant events throughout Mary's life at pages xi–xii for reference. The Succession Crisis has been well discussed; for recent publications, see Dale Hoak, 'The Succession Crisis of 1553 and Mary's Rise to Power', in *Catholic Renewal and Protestant Resistance in Marian England*, ed. Vivienne Westbrook and Elizabeth Evenden (London: Routledge, 2015), 17–42; Anna Whitelock and Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'Princess Mary's Household and the Succession Crisis, July 1553', *The Historical Journal* 50, no. 2 (2007); Paulina Kewes, 'The Exclusion Crisis of 1553 and the Elizabethan Succession', in *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives*, ed. Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Paulina Kewes, 'The 1553 Succession Crisis Reconsidered', *Historical Research* 90, no. 249 (2017): 465–85; Valerie Schutte, '"Marie Our Maistresse": The Queen at Her Accession', in *Mary I in Writing: Letters, Literature and Representation*, ed. Valerie Schutte and Jessica S Hower (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022), 85–106.

exploited. Exploring the affective dimension of loyalty generates new insight into Mary's relationships, motivations, and beliefs in political and familial contexts. Motivated by recurrent assumptions about Mary's emotional character in the literature, this thesis places her loyalties within their historical contexts.

I.   Historiography

i.   Queen Mary I

Anti-Catholic rhetoric has shaped the 'Bloody Mary' image, beginning with John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments of these Latter and Perillous Days, Touching Matters of the Church*, originally published in 1563.[8] As a result, within the popular imagination Mary is viewed as the hysterical and tyrannical queen responsible for the burning of Protestants.[9] Mid-twentieth century historians such as A.F. Pollard and Geoffrey Elton argue Mary's reign was unimaginative and unsuccessful. They are both critical of her marriage, the loss of Calais and attempts to revive Catholicism. Pollard describes a woman 'forsaken by her husband and estranged from her people' who went on 'ploughing her cheerless furrow across a stubborn land, and reaping, as the shadows fell, her harvest of hopes deferred'.[10] The gloomy description reflects the tone of Pollard's analysis, according to which Mary's queenship was a 'palpable failure'.[11] This sentiment was reiterated by Elton, who simply concluded 'positive achievements there were none'.[12] Although Elton's

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[8] Courtney Herber, '"More to Be Feared Than Fearful Herself": Contrasting Representations of Mary I in Sixteenth-Century Chronicles and Firsthand Accounts', in *Mary I in Writing: Letters, Literature and Representation*, ed. Valerie Schutte and Jessica S Hower (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022), 63–83.

[9] Susan Doran, 'A "Sharp Rod" of Chastisement: Mary I Through Protestant Eyes During the Reign of Elizabeth I', in *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives*, ed. Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 21–36; Thomas S. Freeman, 'Inventing "Bloody Mary": Perceptions of Mary Tudor from Restoration to the Twentieth Century', in *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives*, ed. Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 78–100. Sarah Duncan, '"Bloody" Mary? Changing Perceptions of England's First Ruling Queen', in *The Name of a Queen: William Fleetwood's Itinerarium ad Windsor*, ed. Charles Beem and Dennis Moore (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Linda Porter, *The First Queen of England: The Myth of 'Bloody Mary'* (New York: Macmillan, 2008).

[10] Pollard, *The History of England*, vol. 6, 172–73.

[11] Pollard, *The History of England*, vol. 6.

[12] Geoffrey Elton, *England under the Tudors* (London: Methuen, 1955), 214.

description of Mary as 'arrogant, assertive, bigoted, stubborn, suspicious, and (not to put a fine point upon it) rather stupid' has been substantially revised, his misogynistic characterisation of Mary had a long-lasting and profound impact.[13]

In 1989, the respected Tudor historian David Loades published a biography of Mary that has since shaped the field. The book presents an extensive analysis of Mary's life, reign and character, while also exploring the religious and political climate of Tudor England during her reign. As Mary's principal biographer Loades has remained authoritative, with the publication of several books that include rigorous archival research significant for historians studying her life and legacy.[14] Loades finds Mary was diligent and 'in many respects … an admirable soul'.[15] His assessment, however, also reflects the ideas of his mentor Elton. Particularly relevant for this thesis is Loades' conclusion that Mary was 'physically and emotionally weakened by physiological defects, and by the frustration of her natural instincts'.[16] In his evaluation, he primarily criticises Mary for a queenship 'shaped and motivated by the dictates of her conscience', arguing that 'she was incapable of political manipulation, and of self-interest in the normal sense. Hysterically indecisive when her conscience was not engaged, she could be both obstinate and ruthless when she saw a clear path of duty before her'.[17] More recently, Loades has argued that 'Mary was a woman whose convictions were stronger than her reason'.[18] While Loades' views of Marian religion and religious policy have changed over time, his assessment of Mary as an overly emotional woman driven by conscience has persisted.

In the past two decades, scholarly interest in Mary's life as the first queen regnant of England has flourished. Biographies by Judith Richards and Anna Whitelock

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[13] Geoffrey Elton, *Reform and Reformation: England 1509–1558* (London: Arnold, 1977), 376.

[14] David Loades, *Tudor Queens of England* (London: Continuum, 2009), 187–208; David Loades, *The Religious Culture of Marian England* (London: Routledge, 2010); Eamon Duffy and David Loades, *The Church of Mary Tudor* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009); David Loades, *The Tudors: History of a Dynasty* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2012); David Loades, *The Mid-Tudor Crisis, 1545–1565* (London: Macmillan, 1992); David Loades, *Mary Tudor: The Tragical History of the First Queen of England* (Kew: National Archives, 2006).

[15] David Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 336.

[16] Loades, *Mary Tudor*, 8.

[17] Loades, *Mary Tudor*, 327.

[18] David Loades, 'Introduction: The Personal Religion of Mary I', in *The Church of Mary Tudor*, ed. Eamon Duffy and David Loades (Farnham: Ashgate, 2006), 28–29.

establish a sympathetic analysis of Mary's life particularly attentive to gender. In 2008, Richards published *Mary Tudor* in which she argues the significant precedence Mary established as the first queen regnant and appropriately situates her within a system of governance designed for patriarchal rule. Richards highlights the challenges Mary overcame to ascend the throne and establish monarchical power despite being a woman. Whitelock's biography was published a year later and also calls for a more thoughtful consideration of Mary's life and reign. Whitelock and Richards have redefined Mary's 'bloody' reign as a triumph.[19] In contrast to traditional portrayals of 'a weak-willed and easily influenced woman distant from politics and policy-making', Whitelock understands Mary as a 'determined and resolute monarch who ultimately proved to be very much her own woman'.[20] Richards' monograph emphasises the precedent Mary set, which allowed Elizabeth to prosper as her successor, while also depicting a resilient and kind individual capable of fearless leadership when necessary. While Richards focuses on Mary's defiance of gender norms, Whitelock argues 'the contrast between Mary as a Queen and her personal tragedy of Mary as a woman' is the 'key to understanding her life and reign'.[21] Both Richards and Whitelock present arguments that situate Mary's achievements as queen within the historical contexts of sixteenth-century gender and authority.

The revisionist field is ever-expanding, with scholars examining Mary's life and queenship through mediums such as music, literature and culture. Linda Porter and Valerie Schutte highlight gender as a significant determinant of Mary's experiences and reiterate the challenges she overcame to become the first queen of England.[22]

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[19] Whitelock, *Mary Tudor*; Richards, *Mary Tudor*.
[20] Whitelock, *Mary Tudor*, 309.
[21] Whitelock, *Mary Tudor*, 4.
[22] Jennifer Loach, 'Mary Tudor and the Re-Catholicisation of England', *History Today* 44, no. 11 (1994); Jennifer Loach and Robert Tittler, *The Mid-Tudor Polity c. 1540–1560* (London: Red Globe Press, 1980); Jennifer Loach, *Parliament and the Crown in the Reign of Mary Tudor* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); Jennifer Loach, *Parliament under the Tudors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); Valerie Schutte, *Mary I and the Art of Book Dedications: Royal Women, Power and Persuasion* (London: Palgrave Macmillan 2015); Valerie Schutte, 'Perceptions of Princesses: Pre-accession Book Dedications to Mary and Elizabeth Tudor', in *Unexpected Heirs in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Valerie Schutte (New York: Springer, 2017); Valerie Schutte, 'Under the Influence: The Impact of Queenly Book Dedications on Princess Mary', in *The Birth of a Queen: Essays on the Quincentenary of Mary I*, ed. Sarah Duncan and Valerie Schutte (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Jeri L. McIntosh, 'A Culture of Reverence: Princess Mary's Household

Porter adamantly argues that 'Mary's reign saw achievements that have long gone unacknowledged. Hers was a cultured court, with a strong emphasis on music and drama.'[23] Rather than dull and unproductive, Porter finds Mary's interests in music and entertainment encouraged a vibrant court culture. Although 'the great age of exploration is associated with Elizabeth', Porter concludes Mary too 'had her own adventurers'.[24] Schutte established a lively discussion of Marian print culture in the publication of *Mary I and the Art of Book Dedications: Royal Women, Power, and Persuasion* in 2015. The text provides a case study of book dedications, arguing they formed a literary 'arena' for the negotiation of patronage, politics religion and gender.[25] Schutte reveals book dedications as a mechanism of relationship-building. Through analysing cultural practices in their historical context, Schutte and Porter generate a more nuanced understanding of Mary's reign and royal court within a framework of gender norms.

Gender also informed how Mary yielded and exercised political power. Jeri McIntosh addresses Mary's political capability in *From Heads of Households to Heads of State: The Preaccession Households of Mary and Elizabeth Tudor 1516–1558.* McIntosh explores Mary's households prior to her accession, arguing they provided independence and prior governance experience. McIntosh argues that it was the 'household, traditionally depicted as the place of women's containment and marginalization from political power, which played a determinative role in the elevation of two women in succession to the throne in a patriarchal society'.[26] The textual, cultural and religious elements of Mary's pre-accession household promoted her royal status. McIntosh posits that Mary's reputation and patronage networks contributed to her capacity to challenge Jane Grey in the Succession Crisis. McIntosh concludes that Mary's status as head of household and property owner was the defining feature that allowed her to be proactive in approaching

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1525–27', in *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth*, ed. Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Jeri L. McIntosh, *From Heads of Household to Heads of State: The Preaccession Households of Mary and Elizabeth Tudor, 1516–1558* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009); Jeri L. McIntosh, 'Sovereign Princesses: Mary and Elizabeth Tudor as Heads of Princely Households and the Accomplishment of the Female Succession in Tudor England, 1516–1558' (Ph.D. thesis, The Johns Hopkins University, 2003).

[23] Linda Porter, *Mary Tudor: The First Queen* (London: Piatkus, 2009), 369.

[24] Porter, *Mary Tudor*, 370.

[25] Schutte, *Mary I and the Art of Book Dedications*, 1.

[26] McIntosh, *From Heads of Household*, 11.

'political goals, agendas, and futures'.[27] McInstosh blurs the boundaries between informal and formal power and shows that Mary was capable of wielding both through the effective management of loyalty networks.

The cultivation of Mary's authority as queen is explored by Sarah Duncan and Charles Beem.[28] Duncan's text *Mary I: Gender, Power, and Ceremony in the Reign of England's First Queen* builds from the work of Richards and Whitelock to explore how Mary crafted her queenship. Duncan analyses how Mary and those who supported her used 'language, royal ceremonies, and images, from the beginning of her reign to her death and funeral in 1558, to bolster her right to rule and define her image as queen'.[29] She emphasises the role of royal iconography, spectacle, ceremony and fashion in Mary's reign as mechanisms for queenly authority. The dual-gendered identity is Duncan's central argument, and she illustrates how Mary fashioned a rhetoric that emphasised queenly and knightly powers in ceremony, representation and systems of governance. Elizabeth, she argues, owed much to the precedent of female rule Mary established.[30] Similarly to Duncan, Beem argues Mary successfully incorporated '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' in his analysis of the first year of her reign.[31] The 'representational innovation' was to blend ideas of kingship with gendered perceptions of womanhood. He cites Mary's coronation as a wedding to the realm as one example.[32] Duncan and Beem importantly show the incorporation of distinctly feminine rhetoric in Mary's queenship, demonstrating she did not shy away from exhibiting attributes such as mercy, pity and chastity to promote her monarchical authority.[33]

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[27] McIntosh, *From Heads of Household,* 196.

[28] Sarah Duncan, '"A Queen and by the Same Title a King Also": Gender, Power, and Ceremony in the Reign of Mary I' (Ph.D. thesis, Yale University, 2009); Sarah Duncan, *Mary I: Gender, Power, and Ceremony in the Reign of England's First Queen* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Sarah Duncan and Valerie Schutte, eds., *The Birth of a Queen: Essays on the Quincentenary of Mary I* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

[29] Duncan, *Mary I*, 2.

[30] Duncan, *Mary I*, 178–83.

[31] Charles Beem, *The Lioness Roared: The Problems of Female Rule in English History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 63.

[32] Beem, *The Lioness Roared*, 79-78.

[33] Duncan, *Mary I*, 128.

Historians have keenly explored the implications of gender in a variety of ceremonies, rituals and texts of Mary's reign.[34] In 2022, Schutte co-edited two books with Jessica Hower on the contemporary and posthumous writings of Mary.[35] Schutte and Hower explain both collections focus on 'representations of Queen Mary I in writing, broadly construed, and the process of writing that queen into literature and other textual sources'.[36] From strategies of legitimacy and authority as queen to the more intimate relationships, the collections demonstrate that evidence of loyalty relationships can be discovered in various literary sources. These revisionist historians have established that Mary was a competent sovereign who innovated strategies of queenship through legislation, ceremonial practices, her wardrobe and print. As a result of their research, historians have gained a deeper understanding of the connection between gender and authority when analysing early modern queenship.

The revised understanding of Mary's authority has encouraged scholars to look more closely at the social and political networks within which she operated. This, in turn, has generated interest in how Mary related to others. John Edwards is among the first to consider Mary's friendships and alliances, the aim of his biography being to situate Mary within a European context.[37] In 2020 Alexander Samson published

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[34] Alice Hunt, 'The Reformation of Tradition: The Coronations of Mary and Elizabeth', in *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth*, ed. Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018); Alice Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation: Medieval Ceremony in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Anna Whitelock, 'A Woman in a Man's World: Mary I and Political Intimacy, 1553–1558', *Women's History Review* 16, no. 3 (2007); Anna Whitelock, '"A Queen, and by the Same Title, a King Also": Mary I: Queen-in-Parliament', in *The Birth of a Queen: Essays on the Quincentenary of Mary I*, ed. Sarah Duncan and Valerie Schutte (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Whitelock and MacCulloch, 'Princess Mary's Household and the Succession Crisis, July 1553'. See also, Michaela Baca, 'Negotiating Queenship: Ritual Practice, Material Evidence, and Mary I's Narrative of Authority', in *Mary I in Writing: Letters, Literature and Representation*, ed. Valerie Schutte and Jessica S. Hower (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022); Hilary Doda, 'Lady Mary to Queen of England: Transformation, Ritual, and the Wardrobe of Robes', in *The Birth of a Queen: Essays on the Quincentenary of Mary I*, ed. Sarah Duncan and Valerie Schutte (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).
[35] Valerie Schutte and Jessica S Hower, eds., *Writing Mary I: History, Historiography and Fiction* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022); Valerie Schutte and Jessica S Hower, eds., *Mary I in Writing: Letters, Literature, and Representation* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022).
[36] Valerie Schutte and Jessica S Hower, 'Introduction', in *Mary I in Writing: Letters, Literature, and Representation*, ed. Valerie Schutte and Jessica S Hower (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022), 3.
[37] John Edwards, *Mary I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).

a study dedicated to understanding Mary and Phillip's relationship.[38] Two book chapters published in 2022 also focus on the dynamics of significant relationships in Mary's life. Theresa Earenfight discusses the mother–daughter relationship between Katherine and Mary, and Derek Taylor evaluates Eustace Chapuys's (the ambassador of the Holy Roman Empire) connection to the princess.[39] The studies consistently find that these relationships were based on more than political considerations, and were grounded in strong emotional bonds. For example, Earenfight concludes that 'Mary was more to Catherine than just an heir and symbol of dynastic legitimacy and security—she was the center of her emotional world and she felt acutely Mary's absence'.[40] Historians have recognised that examination of Mary's relationships with her family, Chapuys and the Habsburgs is essential to understanding who she was. However, despite this recognition, there has been limited insight into the emotional significance of these relationships for Mary herself.

Earenfight explores the emotional connection between Katherine and Mary in her biography, *Catherine of Aragon: Infanta of Spain, Queen of England.*[41] The analysis of material objects and inventories provides a more intimate and nuanced narrative of Katherine's life than previously explored. Earenfight's study provides a unique perspective on perhaps the most significant relationship in Mary's life. For example, Earenfight discusses the meaning attached to Katherine in her will leaving Mary four small quilts used during her pregnancy and after to swaddle her baby daughter. Earenfight argues these quilts 'were deeply emotional objects that convey love and affection' between mother and daughter.[42] She acknowledges Mary was the 'centre of [Katherine's] emotional world' and the 'anchor of her marriage and status as

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[38] Alexander Samson, *Mary and Philip: The Marriage of Tudor England and Habsburg Spain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020).

[39] Theresa Earenfight, '"By Your Loving Mother": Lessons in Queenship from Catherine of Aragon to Her Daughter, Mary', in *Mary I in Writing: Letters, Literature, and Representation*, ed. Valerie Schutte and Jessica S Hower (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022); Derek M. Taylor, '"A Paragon of Beauty, Goodness, and Virtue": Princess Mary in the Writings of Imperial Ambassador Eustace Chapuys', in *Writing Mary I: History, Historiography, and Fiction*, ed. Valerie Schutte and Jessica S. Hower (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022).

[40] Earenfight, 'Lessons in Queenship', 34.

[41] Theresa Earenfight, *Catherine of Aragon: Infanta of Spain, Queen of England* (Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2021). I discuss Earenfight's other work on Iberian queenship later in this chapter.

[42] Earenfight, *Catherine of Aragon*, 18.

queen'.[43] This is something I also explore in this thesis, using Earenfight's argument as a stepping stone to understanding Mary's significance in the negotiation of loyalty during her parents' divorce.

While an effort has been made to reconsider and regenerate Mary's reputation, assumptions about her emotional character remain. Both traditional and revisionist historians refer to Mary's emotions but have done little to place them at the centre of historical analysis. Pollard describes Mary as a 'pitiful woman by nature', rendered 'pitiless by the inexorable logic of her creed'.[44] Whitelock attributes Mary's failure as a 'woman' to her 'personal infatuation with Phillip'.[45] Similarly, Edwards argues it was 'natural' that Mary 'regarded Catherine as virtually her only emotional lifeline' without any discussion of what those emotions were or how they operated.[46] Moreover, he finds 'Mary clearly invested a very great deal of her emotional capital' in her marriage to Philip.[47] Despite 'attempts to soften her image', Porter recognises that the 'tendency to depict her as a sad little woman' who would have been better off as a 'Tudor housewife is almost as distasteful as the legend of bloody Mary'. She argues that 'to dismiss her life as nothing more than a personal tragedy is both patronising and mistaken'.[48] Porter's observation identifies the persistence of the centrality of Mary's emotional character in the historical narrative, even in the more sympathetic assessments of the revisionist histories. The issue here is not that emotions have remained fundamental to our understanding of Mary; it is that our interpretation is based on a set of assumptions that have never been fully investigated. The tendency to either sympathise with or condemn Mary because of her 'sad' personality reiterates the need for a specialised study that situates Mary's emotions in their historical time and place.

Loades identifies Mary's emotions as the principal failure of her queenship. The often-quoted statement in which Loades suggests that whether 'by nature or upbringing, she had no guile, and if the misfortunes of her youth had left her any

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[43] Earenfight, *Catherine of Aragon*, 141.
[44] Pollard, *The History of England*, 6, 174.
[45] Whitelock, *Mary Tudor*, 4.
[46] Edwards, *Mary I*, 34.
[47] Edwards, *Mary I*, 201.
[48] Porter, *Mary Tudor*, 418.

sense of humour, history has failed to record it' is particularly telling.[49] The core of Loades' argument is that good decision-making in Tudor politics was impossible if 'strong' emotions clouded judgment. Like his revisionist counterparts, Loades posits that 'being married to so great a Prince [Philip] also undermined Mary to some extent; she was so anxious to please him and yet so conscious of her duties to her own realm. The emotional tensions seem to have torn her apart.'[50] According to these arguments, decision-making based on affect stood in binary opposition to real political reason. However, the assumption that Mary's emotions impeded her political capacity fundamentally ignores the inherently personal nature of Tudor polity. Judith Richards posits the 'weight of inherited tradition, insisting on Mary's stubbornness, emotional instability and general obtuseness, is due for reassessment… taking seriously the possibility that the choices Mary made were rational choices, rather than the predictable consequences of her self-evident inadequacies.'[51] Arguably, then, there is still more to be explored to understand Mary as a political actor and how emotion created avenues of power and authority within a patriarchal society.

ii. Early Modern Queens and Royal Women

The increasing interest in Mary and her reign reflects broader trends in the study of queens and queenship, which has rapidly expanded to be a well-established and popular topic of historical enquiry.[52] Scholarly interest has shifted from biographical accounts of early modern queens to discovering queenship as a historically

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[49] Loades, *Mary* Tudor, 8.

[50] Loades, *Tudor Queens of England*, 207.

[51] Judith M Richards, 'Reassessing Mary Tudor: Some Concluding Points', in *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives*, ed. Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 211.

[52] Michelle L. Beer, *Queenship at the Renaissance Courts of Britain: Catherine of Aragon and Margaret Tudor, 1503–1533* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2018); Helen Matheson-Pollock, Joanne Paul, and Catherine Fletcher, eds., *Queenship and Counsel in Early Modern Europe* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018); Retha M. Warnicke, *Elizabeth of York and Her Six Daughters-in-Law* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2017); Valerie Schutte, ed., *Unexpected Heirs in Early Modern Europe: Potential Kings and Queens* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017); Charles Beem, ed., *Queenship in Early Modern Europe* (London: Red Globe Press, 2019); Anna Riehl Bertolet, ed., *Queens Matter in Early Modern Studies* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).

changing and culturally embedded mechanism of power for women.[53] Understanding the relevance of royal women and queens as wives, mistresses, mothers, sisters, daughters, diplomats and political actors positions them at the forefront of various social, political and dynastic arenas. These studies also now encompass early modern queenship with a pan-European approach, including royal women often overlooked and forgotten, like Mary, in the scholarly literature.[54]

Conversely, Mary's younger half-sister Elizabeth has received significant scholarly attention.[55] Carole Levin's cultural biography, *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power* provides a complex gender analysis of Elizabeth as a monarch. Levin emphasises the duality of Elizabeth's identity as both the king and queen of England.[56] Essential to Levin's argument is her claim that Elizabeth's performance of gender legitimised her authority as 'queen and king, as both powerful and female' and, in doing so, 'blurred the definitions of gender and role expectation in her particular position as ruler of Renaissance England'.[57] As discussed earlier, Sarah Duncan has followed similar lines of enquiry in her studies of Mary but addresses the confusion of gender roles when the queen married – a problem Elizabeth avoided.[58] Duncan suggests the issues of Mary's marriage were

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[53] Clarissa Campbell Orr, 'Introduction', in *Queenship in Europe 1660– 1815: The Role of the Consort*, Clarissa Campbell Orr, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1–11.

[54] Judith Herrin, *Unrivalled Influence: Women and Empire in Byzantium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013); Altay Cosṃkun and Alex McAuley, eds., *Seleukid Royal Women: Creation, Representation and Distortion of Hellenistic Queenship in the Seleukid Empire* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2016); Katarzyna Kosior, *Becoming a Queen in Early Modern Europe: East and West*, (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).

[55] The scholarship on Elizabeth and her queenship is vast. A selection of more recent works includes Susan Doran, *Elizabeth I and Her Circle* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Natalie Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Donatella Montini and Iolanda Plescia, eds., *Elizabeth I in Writing: Language, Power and Representation in Early Modern England* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018); Patrick Collinson, *Elizabethan Essays* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2003); Christopher Haigh, ed., *The Reign of Elizabeth I* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1984); Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight, eds., *The Progresses, Pageants and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Annaliese Connolly and Lisa Hopkins, eds., *Goddesses and Queens: The Iconography of Elizabeth I* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).

[56] Carole Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994).

[57] Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*, 148.

[58] Duncan, *Mary I*, 37–60; Duncan, 'A Queen and by the Same Title a King Also' (Ph.D. thesis).

perhaps perpetuated by the fact that she had already disseminated the image of herself as a woman with kingly powers.[59]

Alternatively, other research has demonstrated that in some circumstances and cultures royal women exercised authority without the need to 'blur' gender boundaries. A queen consort or the king's mother, for example, is recognised for being an integral part of the monarchy rather than merely decorative. Among those who have contributed to this recognition is Theresa Earenfight, whose studies of Iberian queens have significantly shaped our understanding of early modern queenship.[60] Her book *The King's Other Body: María of Castile and the Crown of Aragon* positions Maria of Castile in a collaborative monarchy with Alfonso V as a queen-lieutenant – though not always without opposition and oppression. She argues that queenship, an essential part of the monarchy, is an 'incessant project, a daily act of reconstruction and interpretation situated in a zone of multiple and overlapping cultures, in which personality and temperament have some degree of influence over a queen's expression of her own unique practice of queenship'.[61] An implication of this analysis is the understanding that royal women's queenship, and their participation in monarchy, 'is a sensitive indicator of the political culture of any given realm at any given moment'.[62] Ideas and practices of queenship are culturally specific and variable, requiring constant effort by women to maintain access to power and authority.

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[59] Duncan, *Mary I*, 168–69.

[60] Theresa Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Earenfight, 'By Your Loving Mother'; Theresa Earenfight, 'Without the Persona of the Prince: Kings, Queens and the Idea of Monarchy in Late Medieval Europe', *Gender & History* 19, no. 1 (2007); Theresa Earenfight, *The King's Other Body: María of Castile and the Crown of Aragon* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009); Theresa Earenfight, ed., *Queenship and Political Power in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2005); Theresa Earenfight, 'Royal Women in Late Medieval Spain: Catalina of Lancaster, Leonor of Albuquerque, and María of Castile', in *Writing Medieval Women's Lives*, ed. Charlotte Goldy and Amy Livingstone (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Theresa Earenfight, 'A Lifetime of Power: Beyond Binaries of Gender', in *Medieval Elite Women and the Exercise of Power, 1100–1400: Moving Beyond the Exceptionalist Debate*, ed. Heather Tanner (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019); Theresa Earenfight, 'Medieval Queenship', *History Compass* 15, no. 3 (2017); Theresa Earenfight, 'Raising Infanta Catalina de Aragón To Be Catherine, Queen of England', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 46, no. 1 (2016).

[61] Earenfight, *The King's Other Body*, 32.

[62] Earenfight, 'Without the Persona of the Prince', 15.

Women are increasingly recognised for their roles as diplomatic agents. Early modern women were relied upon to foster and maintain diplomatic relations between their natal and marital dynasties through their kinship networks.[63] To do this, queens consort and royal women used practices such as gift-giving, fashion and letter-writing to remain integrated into dynastic networks.[64] As Elena Woodcare notes, deliberate emphasis on relationships was 'intended to create an atmosphere of mutual care and affection, leveraging their family ties in order to defuse political tension and achieve diplomatic goals'.[65] As diplomatic agents, there was an expectation of royal women to maintain inter-dynastic loyalty relationships.

The often-alluded-to significance of emotion in the cultivation of agency for early modern royal women is beginning to be explored more fully.[66] The work of Susan Broomhall is instrumental in bridging this gap, with her studies of the French and Orange-Nassau royal courts.[67] Broomhall's analysis of Catherine de' Medici identifies emotion as a key aspect in the construction and relational experience of her identities. She argues Catherine de' Medici's identities involved 'complex work'

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[63] Retha M. Warnicke, *Elizabeth of York,* 1; Adam Morton, 'Introduction: Politics, Culture and Queens Consort', in *Queens Consort, Cultural Transfer and European Politics, c. 1500–1800*, ed. Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Adam Morton (London: Routledge, 2017), 1–6; Jessica O'Leary, *Elite Women As Diplomatic Agents in Italy and Hungary, 1470–1510: Kinship and the Aragonese Dynastic Network* (Leeds: ARC Humanities Press, 2022), 7–15.

[64] Elena Woodacre, 'Cousins and Queens: Familial Ties, Political Ambition and Epistolary Diplomacy in Renaissance Europe', in *Women, Diplomacy and International Politics since 1500*, ed. Glenda Sluga and Carolyn James (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 30–41.

[65] Elena Woodacre, 'Queens and Courtiers: Authority, Networks and Patronage', in *The Routledge History of Women in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Amanda L. Capern (London: Routledge, 2019).

[66] Erin Griffey, 'Express Yourself? Henrietta Maria and the Political Value of Emotional Display at the Stuart Court', *The Seventeenth Century* 35, no. 2 (2019): 1–26.

[67] Susan Broomhall, 'In the Orbit of the King: Women, Power and Authority at the French Court, 1483–1563', in *Women and Power at the French Court, 1483-1563*, ed. Susan Broomhall (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018); Susan Broomhall, ed., *Women and Power at the French Court, 1483–1563* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018); Susan Broomhall, 'Diplomatic Emotions: International Relations as Gendered Acts of Power', in *The Routledge History of Emotions in Europe: 1100–1700*, ed. Susan Broomhall and Andrew Lynch (London: Routledge, 2019); Susan Broomhall, 'Ordering Distant Affections: Fostering Love and Loyalty in the Correspondence of Catherine de Medici to the Spanish Court, 1568–1572', in *Gender and Emotions in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Destroying Order, Structuring Disorder*, ed. Susan Broomhall (London: Routledge, 2015); Susan Broomhall, 'Ruling Emotions: Affective and Emotional Strategies of Power and Authority among Early Modern European Monarchies', in *The Routledge History of Monarchy*, ed. Elena Woodacre et al. (London: Routledge, 2019); Susan Broomhall, 'Fit for a King? The Gendered Emotional Performances of Catherine de Medici as Dauphine of France, 1536–1547', in *Unexpected Heirs in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Valerie Schutte (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

to manage and direct 'her best and most advantageous self for particular contexts'.[68] For example, Catherine not only emphasised her physical proximity to her husband Henri II but also their emotional intimacy as an indication that she was the only person who held the King's affairs 'so closely to heart', thus providing her with the authority to represent him.[69] Catherine's power, according to Broomhall, was always relational to men, and emotion was critical to these relationships. Broomhall argues the challenge for early modern women approaching and wielding power was that 'it was never a given, in fact one might say that it was always perceived in the era as "a taken", taken away however briefly from rightful male hands'.[70] Relationships provided royal women with the capacity to exercise power and authority through intimacy, and Broomhall's analyses reveal the ways this was possible.[71]

While there is little scholarship exploring how Mary's emotions informed her life and queenship, Tudor emotions are now the subject of a growing body of research. Bradley Irish argues that 'the operation of the Tudor courtly sphere … is made fully comprehensible only by acknowledging the centrality of emotion to social and political action'.[72] Irish is one among many historians forging a new direction for Tudor scholarship, one that includes affective experiences in political and cultural

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[68] Susan Broomhall, *The Identities of Catherine de' Medici* (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 355.

[69] Broomhall, *The Identities of Catherine de' Medici*, 125.

[70] Broomhall, *The Identities of Catherine de' Medici*, 22.

[71] Kosior also offers a more nuanced analysis of emotion in the context of the Polish monarchy, inspired by the work of Susan Broomhall: see Katarzyna Kosior, *Becoming a Queen* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).

[72] Bradley J. Irish, *Emotion in the Tudor Court: Literature, History, and Early Modern Feeling* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2018), 4–5. For a selection of Irish's research on Tudor emotion and literature, see Bradley J. Irish, *Shakespeare and Disgust: The History and Science of Early Modern Revulsion*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2023); Bradley J. Irish, 'Libels and the Essex Rising (Conspiracy by Supporters of Robert Devereux, the Second Earl of Essex)', *Notes and Queries* 59, no. 1 (2012): 87–89; Bradley J. Irish, 'Envy in Early Modern England', *ELH* 88, no. 4 (2021): 845–78; Bradley J. Irish, 'Racial Disgust in Early Modern England: The Case of Othello', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 73, no. 3 (2022): 224–45; Bradley J Irish, 'The Rivalrous Emotions in Surrey's "So Crewell Prison"', *Studies in English Literature* 54, no. 1 (2014): 1–24; Bradley J. Irish, 'The Varieties of Early Modern Envy and Jealousy: The Case of Obtrectation', *Modern Philology* 117, no. 1 (2019): 115–26; Bradley J. Irish, 'Friendship and Frustration: Counter-Affect in the Letters of Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 57, no. 4 (2015): 412–32.

histories.[73] The capacity for emotion to shape social interactions raises vital questions about Mary's role and experience as both a royal woman and queen, and – in parallel with the scholarship relating to emotions in the monarchy and Tudor England – about the extent to which loyalty provided women with political and social agency. Royal women were important to monarchies as daughters, wives, mothers, queen consort and sometimes, as in Mary's case, queen regnant. How, and to what extent, these women exercised power and authority was variable and culturally specific. This thesis seeks to incorporate loyalty as an emotional practice into these discussions by demonstrating how Mary used relationships to navigate liminality and uncertainty, wielding agency in the process.

<div align="center">iii.   Early Modern Loyalty</div>

Loyalty shaped medieval and early modern communities as a guiding principle and social bond. In its most basic form, loyalty was a reciprocal arrangement in which common ideas, values and goals were shared to create a sense of alliance. It manifested in relationships between individuals (such as friends and neighbours) and individuals and the group (such as a monarch to the realm or a Catholic to the Church).[74] How it manifested was dependent on a range of factors including age, status, gender and social hierarchies. This is evident in the highly variable rhetoric of loyalty according to the dynamics of individual relationships. Expressions of friendship, love, duty, obedience, trust and devotion were iterations of loyalty employed in different social settings and relationships.[75] As such, how an individual

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[73] Susan Broomhall, ed., *Authority, Gender and Emotions in Late Medieval and Early Modern England*, (London: Palgrave, 2015); Michael J. Braddick and Joanna Innes, eds., *Suffering and Happiness in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

[74] Coralie Zermatten and Jörg Sonntag, 'Loyalty in the Middle Ages: Introductory Remarks on a Cross-Social Value', in *Loyalty in the Middle Ages: Ideal and Practice of a Cross-Social Value*, ed. Coralie Zermatten and Jörg Sonntag (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), xi–xxi.

[75] Katie Barclay, *Caritas: Neighbourly Love and the Early Modern Self* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 871–86; Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (London: Palgrave, 1998); Kenneth Loiselle, 'Friendship and Loyalty in Early Modern Europe', in *Faces of Communities: Social Ties between Trust, Loyalty and Conflict*, ed. Sabrina Feickert, Anna Haut and Kathrin Sharaf (Germany: V&R Unipress, 2014); Maritere López, *Discourses and Representations of Friendship in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1700* (Farnham: Taylor & Francis 2010); Angela McShane, 'Subjects and Objects: Material Expressions of Love and Loyalty in Seventeenth-Century England', *The Journal of British Studies* 48, no. 4 (2009).

expressed loyalty can tell historians much about their identity, goals, values and agency. Studies of friendship, political alliances, and family bonds reveal the important role of loyalty in the formation and function of early modern relationships and communities.

How loyalty was expressed and what reciprocity was expected necessarily altered according to gender norms and power dynamics. Kathleen Neal analyses 'friendship vocabulary' as a gendered practice designed to yield political loyalty in thirteenth-century England.[76] Examining letters from Aline la Despenser, Neal finds personal and emotional language were commonly used in letters of governance to produce bureaucratic outcomes. Despenser's letters to the Chancellor of England were carefully constructed to demonstrate loyalty to the Crown and used specific language that allowed her to participate in a political sphere that generally excluded women. Despenser's letters, Neal argues, are 'a case study of how emotion and authority regularly interacted in medieval England'.[77] Neal's article illustrates Despenser's ability to generate political networks through carefully fashioned communications of loyalty. Despenser employed gender-appropriate language to show 'she had legitimate authority to act in her own name; and that her action was implicitly sanctioned by her husband'.[78] Thus, loyalty allowed individuals to exercise agency through relationships with others.

This is particularly true for early modern women, whose life experiences were frequently transitory, meaning they often negotiated liminal identities and shifting contexts of belonging. Loyalty offered women a means to connect and associate with others on an individual and collective basis. Reciprocal exchange provided women with agency through association and favour and facilitated their access to patriarchal-dominated spaces such as politics. How this operates is explored in the edited collection *Royal Women and Dynastic Loyalty* published in 2018 as part of the Queenship and Power series by Palgrave Macmillan. Editors Caroline Dunn and

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[76] Kathleen Neal, 'From Letters to Loyalty: Aline la Despenser and the Meaning(s) of a Noblewoman's Correspondence in Thirteenth-Century England', in *Authority, Gender and Emotions in Late Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. Susan Broomhall (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 26.

[77] Neal, 'From Letters to Loyalty', 18. See also Kathleen Neal, 'Words as Weapons in the Correspondence of Edward I with Llywelyn Ap Gruffydd', *Parergon* 30, no. 1 (2013).

[78] Neal, 'From Letters to Loyalty', 24.

Elizabeth Carney posit that the various roles of royal women, whether at the front of dynastic authority or more informally, 'have been central to the issue of dynastic loyalty throughout the ancient, medieval, and modern eras'.[79] In particular, Waldemar Heckel's chapter discusses the identities women assumed as daughters, wives and mothers in relation to their male counterparts and identifies women as having been conduits of power and authority throughout history.[80] Of particular relevance is Heckel's discussion of Empress Matilda, to whom Mary is often compared. Matilda, Heckel argues, epitomised the value women held as 'transmitters of legitimacy and power' despite not being 'welcomed when they sought to exercise the latter'.[81] Heckel's acknowledgement of women as 'conduits' of legitimacy and power provides an important context to Mary's challenges while queen. It finds loyalty relationships with men allowed women to participate in political structures that would otherwise exclude them. The collective theme of the essays reiterates loyalty as a form of agency available to early modern royal women. Their obligation to forge and maintain loyalty between dynasties as wives, daughters, sisters and mothers provided women with the opportunity to shape political and diplomatic exchange.

Though it provided agency to some, loyalty relationships often involved asymmetrical power. Sarah Maza explores the power dynamics between master and servant in eighteenth-century French households. She finds an archetype of a 'reciprocal relationship that revolved around notions of responsibility and compassion on the part of the master and loyalty on that of the servant' intended to keep stability in the household. Contemporary writings insisted that if domestic loyalty relationships 'were symbiotic and reciprocal' they could maintain the order of society, not just the household. Maza traces the ways in which the relationship between master and servant altered during the French Revolution, accounting for changes in micro and macro environments. She finds the household represented larger power dynamics wherein the 'loyalty demanded of servants was analogous

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[79] Caroline Dunn and Elizabeth Carney, 'Introduction: Royal Women and Dynastic Loyalty', in *Royal Women and Dynastic Loyalty*, ed. Caroline Dunn and Elizabeth Carney (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 12.

[80] Waldemar Heckel, 'King's Daughters, Sisters, and Wives: Fonts and Conduits of Power and Legitimacy', in *Royal Women and Dynastic Loyalty*, ed. Caroline Dunn and Elizabeth Carney (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

[81] Heckel, "King's Daughters, Sisters, and Wives, 25.

to the ties that bound creatures to their protectors or courtiers to princes and kings' and, as such, can be studied as part of a breakdown of aristocratic service on several levels during the Revolution.[46] The benefits of having loyal servants went far beyond the household space. For masters, according to Maza, it reinforced hierarchical structures of their status in the community rather than the symbiotic and reciprocal ideals. Loyal servants were 'status symbols' used to maintain 'rank and authority by the social elites'.[47] The emphasises that loyalty dialogues and reciprocity between servant and master were shaped by and in turn shaped power hierarchies.

Loyalty was also embedded in the early modern English polity. This notion has been explored in various capacities by historians, particularly in relation to political and religious conflict.[82] An edited collection published in 2020 addresses the need for a more direct analysis of loyalty by examining it in late medieval and early modern English monarchies. The collection explores the production of 'ties' between individuals, groups and institutions, emphasising loyalty as an important part of royal power.[83] Among the contributions, Valerie Schutte discusses the multifaceted meanings of book dedications to Henry VIII which included explicit expressions of loyalty.[84] Schutte notes book dedications as a strategy to overtly display loyalty to 'either their religious position or to the crown so as not to be suspected of hostility towards Henry and his new policies'.[85] Janet Dickinson also focuses on the political dimension of loyalty through a discussion of honour in Elizabeth I's court. Analysing

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[82] See, for example, Andrew Hopper, *Turncoats and Renegadoes: Changing Sides during the English Civil Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Malcolm Mercer, *The Medieval Gentry: Power, Leadership and Choice during the Wars of the Roses* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2012); Mark Stoyle, *Loyalty and Locality: Popular Allegiance in Devon During the English Civil War* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1994); Susan M. Cogan, *Catholic Social Networks in Early Modern England: Kinship, Gender, and Coexistence* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University, 2021); Claire Walker, 'Loyal and Dutiful Subjects: English Nuns and Stuart Politics', in *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450–1700*, ed. James Daybell (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 228–40; Andy Wood, '"A Lyttull Worde Ys Tresson": Loyalty, Denunciation, and Popular Politics in Tudor England', *Journal of British Studies* 48, no. 4 (2009): 837–47.
[83] Matthew Ward and Matthew Hefferan, 'Introduction: Loyalty to the Monarchy in Late Medieval and Early Modern Britain', in *Loyalty to the Monarchy in Late Medieval and Early Modern Britain, c.1400–1688*, ed. Matthew Ward and Matthew Hefferan (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 5.
[84] Valerie Schutte, 'Dedicated to Loyalty: Book Dedications to King Henry VIII', in *Loyalty to the Monarchy in Late Medieval and Early Modern Britain, c.1400–1688*, ed. Matthew Ward and Matthew Hefferan (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020).
[85] Schutte, "Dedicated to Loyalty, 118.

members of the aristocracy, Dickinson emphasises that different expressions of loyalty reflected the different motivations and personalities in the Court. Inclusion in the 'honour community' at the Elizabethan court relied on expressions of loyalty to the Queen. As such, emotional practices formulated an important part of the 'survival and security of the queen herself'.[86] The collection analyses various political and social functions of loyalty in the reigns of Edward IV, Henry VII, Henry VIII and Elizabeth I. However, discussion of loyalty during the reign of Mary (and Edward VI) is notably absent. Nonetheless, emotional practices were engrained in the function of early modern English monarchies.

In all its forms, loyalty was a state of emotional feeling. Maza addresses this, stating loyalty was expected 'from the heart' and not 'just simple deference that ensured the cohesion of the social order'.[87] As such, the embodiment of loyalty was deeply entwined with loyalty discourses.[88] To share another's pain or happiness suggested similarity. Families, for example, used discourses of blood to imply the natural 'flow' of loyalty between family members.[89] Discourses of suffering often represented emotional distress that a loyal ally would seek to remedy, forming an affective exchange of reciprocity. Equally, the pain and suffering from another's disloyalty further implied the body as a site of loyal feeling. This thesis seeks to recognise early modern loyalty as an embodied emotional practice, shaped by gender norms and power dynamics.

Loyalty provides a useful point of analysis that encompasses gender, power and emotion norms. As a key function of early modern relationships at an individual,

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[86] Janet Dickinson, 'Elizabeth I and the Dilemma of Loyalty', in *Loyalty to the Monarchy in Late Medieval and Early Modern Britain, c.1400–1688*, ed. Matthew Ward and Matthew Hefferan (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 162.

[87] Sarah Maza, *Servants and Masters in 18th-Century France: The Uses of Loyalty* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 13.

[88] For further discussion about embodiment theories see, Monique Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and Is That What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuian Approach to Understanding Emotion', *History and Theory* 51, no. 2 (2012): 193–220; Karen Harvey, 'Epochs of Embodiment: Men, Women and the Material Body', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 42, no. 4 (2019): 455–69; Karen Harvey, 'What Mary Toft Felt: Women's Voices, Pain, Power and the Body', *History Workshop Journal* 80, no. 1 (2015): 33–51.

[89] Patricia Crawford, *Blood, Bodies and Families in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 2004), 85–119; Maria Teresa Micaela Prendergast, '"For the Debt of Blood": Form, Rhetoric, and Performance in Catherine of Aragon's Letters to Ferdinand of Aragon and Charles V, 1502–1536', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 20, no. 3 (2020).

group and institutional level, loyalty was an embedded social function. Manifesting in different ways, loyalty was both a strategic utterance and an embodied emotional state that produced meaning, belonging and agency. Hence, there is much to learn about Mary's life through the study of loyalty and relationships as simultaneously emotional and political. Loyalty allows us to re-examine Mary's emotions, moving from viewing them as a weakness to considering the ways in which they reflected established practices that provided women with agency and legitimised authority in a patriarchal political environment.

II.   Methodology

Inter-disciplinary interest from philosophers, psychologists and sociologists has generated several definitions of loyalty.[90] The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines loyalty as the 'faithful adherence to one's promise, oath, word of honour, etc.' or the 'faithful adherence to the sovereign or lawful government'.[91] Philosophers George Fletcher and Josiah Royce have contributed useful insights to discussions of loyalty, arguing that it is a virtue.[92] Royce, for example, suggests it is at the centre of moral law, the 'willing and practical and thoroughgoing devotion of a person to a cause'.[93] Fletcher argues friendship as a form of loyalty 'presupposes relationships rooted in shared histories' and it is these shared experiences that create a reason for attachment.[94] Simon Keller defines loyalty as an attitude that informs an individual's behaviour and motive towards another person, entity or ideal.[95] Psychiatrist Ivan Boszormenyi-Nagy and social worker Geraldine Spark consider loyalty bonds within the family dynamic. From their perspective, loyalty refers to the interaction between an individual and a social unit, but also the personal 'thinking, feeling and motivation' that generates such an interaction.[96] Similarly, Robert Ewin conceptualises loyalty

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[90] John Kleinig, 'Loyalty', in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2022 Edition), ed. Edward N. Zalta, https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2022/entries/loyalty/

[91] 'loyalty, n.,' in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022). https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/110759?redirectedFrom=loyalty

[92] George Fetcher, *Loyalty: An Essay on the Morality of Relationships* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Josiah Royce, *The Philosophy of Loyalty*, (New York: Macmillan, 1919).

[93] Royce, *The Philosophy of Loyalty*, 16.

[94] Fetcher, *Loyalty*, 7

[95] Simon Keller, *The Limits of Loyalty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 21.

[96] Ivan Boszormenyi-Nagy and Geraldine Spark, *Invisible Loyalties: Reciprocity in Intergenerational Family Therapy*, (New York: Routledge, 1984), xix.

as 'emotional ties' that generate meaning in social interaction and relationships.[97] Multiple definitions of loyalty speak to its value and role in so many social relationships.

Sociologist James Connor more explicitly argues loyalty is an emotion. Loyalty, he proposes, is 'an emotion that reflects attachment to something or someone the actor cares about'.[98] He terms it as an interactional emotion, one that may be experienced with other emotions such as joy, anger or fear, but is nonetheless felt as its own emotional state.[99] Because of this, feeling loyalty regulates social interaction, creates identity and motivates action or inaction.[100] According to Connor, it connects and embeds people within a network of relationships based on passion and a sense of belonging. However, John Kleinig partly rejects this claim, arguing 'one can have strong feelings of loyalty without being loyal' and emphasises loyalty as a 'practical virtue' strongly associated with action.[101] An emotional state of loyalty that remains 'internal', according to Kleinig, does not constitute *being* loyal because the latter requires external action. The existing scholarship exhibits the diversity of loyalty as both a concept and practice. Elements of loyalty involve notions of reciprocity and obligation, inform identity and cause conflict. Collectively, however, scholars largely agree that loyalty is a feeling and consider it fundamental to the fabric of social relationships because of its binding nature.

In this thesis, I define loyalty as an emotional practice informed by individual experience and cultural norms. This definition recognises that to *be* loyal, an individual must *feel* loyal. How these feelings are described, embodied and understood is historically variable according to the cultural norms in which it is embedded.[102] In the context of the Tudor court, I consider expressions of loyalty to encompass dialogues of love, affection, friendship, trust and devotion. It was also

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[97] Robert Ewin, 'Loyalty and Virtues', *The Philosophical Quarterly* 42, no. 169 (1992): 410. See also Robert Ewin, 'Loyalty: The Police', *Criminal Justice Ethics* 9, no. 2 (1990): 3–15.

[98] James Connor, *The Sociology of Loyalty* (New York: Springer, 2007), 134.

[99] Connor, *The Sociology of Loyalty*, 141–42. Also see, James Connor 'Loyalty: The Emotion of Future Expectation, Felt Now, Based on the Past', in *Emotions, Everyday Life and Sociology*, ed. Michael Hviid Jacobsen (London: Routledge, 2018), 27–41.

[100] Connor, *The Sociology of Loyalty*, 8.

[101] John Kleinig, *On Loyalty and Loyalties: The Contours of a Problematic Virtue* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 16-17.

[102] Connor and Kleinig discuss the changing concept of loyalty over time. See Connor, *The Sociology of Loyalty*, 10–13; Kleinig, *On Loyalty and Loyalties*, 14–15.

anxiety-inducing, especially when loyalties were in conflict. In circumstances of conflict, I highlight those around Mary were concerned with the authenticity of loyalty. Because of this, the embodiment of loyalty as an emotional practice was essential to connect the soul, body, and mind to give meaning to declarations of loyalty. Loyalty as an emotional practice created an affective connection that facilitated personal, familial, political and dynastic relationships.

Essential to these claims is recognising the historically specific social and cultural production of emotion and emotion practices.[103] William Reddy and Barbara Rosenwein's theories of emotives and emotional standards provide a foundation for analysing emotions in history; they argue that emotion shapes how individuals understood themselves, those around them and power structures. In his book *The Navigation of Feeling*, Reddy outlines a framework within which emotions shape normative behavior and practices. Defining an emotional regime as a 'set of normative emotions and the official rituals, practices, and emotives that express and inculcate them', Reddy posits that emotional practices are regulated to create a dominant way of feeling.[104] However, if the regime limits an individual's freedom that person may experience 'emotional suffering', which encourages them to seek 'emotional refuge'.[105] This accounts for the ways in which dominant systems of feeling change over time, with individuals having the capacity to conform to the emotional regime or resist by seeking emotional liberty to escape suffering – creating alternative modes of feeling and expressing emotions.

Rosenwein's theory of emotional standards and emotional communities provides a more flexible and generalised framework for the history of emotions. Rosenwein defines an emotional community as 'a large circle within which are smaller circles', where the 'large circle is the overarching emotional community, tied together by fundamental assumptions, values, goals, feeling rules, and accepted modes of

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[103] Susan Broomhall, ed. *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2016); Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions, 600–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Katie Barclay, *The History of Emotions: A Student Guide to Methods and Sources* (London: Red Globe Press, 2020); Jan Plamper, *History of Emotions: An Introduction*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).
[104] William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 129.
[105] Reddy, *Navigation of Feeling*, 129.

expression'.[106] Rosenwein surmises emotional communities 'simply share important norms concerning the emotions that they value and deplore and the modes of expressing them'.[107] How communities share ideas about the expression and experience of emotions and emotional practices is at the heart of Rosenwein's theory. Because an emotional community is tied together by shared emotions and emotional practices, membership and belonging are regulated to exclude those who fail to conform.

Emotions mediate social relationships and, as such, they are intrinsically linked to power hierarchies and the exercise of authority. Monique Scheer builds on Reddy and Rosenwein's work to argue for the 'mutual embeddedness of minds, bodies and social relations'.[108] To do this, Scheer proposes the notion of emotional practices as the 'doing and sayings' of emotion – that is, speech, movement, gestures, expressions, sounds, smells and spaces that contribute to the habits and rituals of emotional experiences and expressions.[109] She writes:

> practices not only generate emotions, but ... emotions themselves can be viewed as a practical engagement with the world. Conceiving of emotions as practices means understanding them as emerging from bodily dispositions conditioned by a social context, which always has cultural and historical specificity. Emotion-as-practice is bound up with and dependent on 'emotional practices', defined here as practices involving the self (as body and mind), language, material artifacts, the environment, and other people.[110]

The practice of emotion is imperative to feeling and understanding emotion. Scheer's theory is important in shaping my idea of loyalty as an emotional practice.

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[106] Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 24.

[107] Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling*, 3.

[108] Monique Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice', 200. See also Monique Scheer, Birgitte Schepelern Johansen and Nadia Fadil, 'Secular Embodiments: Mapping an Emergent Field', in *Secular Bodies, Affects and Emotions: European Configurations*, ed. Monique Scheer, Nadia Fadil and Johansen Schepelern Birgitte (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019), 1–14.

[109] Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice', 209.

[110] Scheer, "Are Emotions a Kind of Practice," 193.

Loyalty was inherently associated with doing and being, and it was through these processes that people felt loyal.

The concept of reciprocity in loyalty relationships is also a common theme in this thesis. Here, Sara Ahmed's theory of affective economies that conceptualises the ways in which emotions 'stick' to people or things is particularly useful. It is the shared investment in the symbols and emotions that 'stick' to people and things that creates communities. Consequently, individual feeling is located within a collective imagination that denotes togetherness. For example, Ahmed argues that 'together we hate, and this hate is what makes us together'.[111] As a result, emotions mediate social relationships because they '*do things*'.[112] These ideas inform the ways in which I consider loyalty an emotional practice that emphasised shared values and goals. An affective economy can conceivably work to create an emotional community that prioritises shared feelings and goals. The exchange of emotions, and how they stick to people, ideas and objects, creates commonality between people and is what made loyalty relationships valuable and authentic.

These theories demonstrate the capacity for emotion to structure, shape and align relationships and communities. Loyalty, as an emotional practice, is embedded and informed by emotional norms and standards. Barclay's exploration of 'caritas' as an 'emotional ethic' in early modern communities is a particularly useful demonstration and discussion of the emotional practice of ethics.[113] Barclay posits that emotional ethics such as caritas created an emotional and ethical framework for neighbourly relations, providing a 'guideline for life and behaviour that was experienced as embodied feeling'.[114] Recognising that emotions and emotional practices were essential to the creation and maintenance of relationships, communities and power structures lends itself well to the concepts of loyalty. That these feelings could 'bind' people together through shared understanding is a powerful theme explored in this thesis. Comparable to the emotional ethic of caritas, I consider the ways in which

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[111] Sara Ahmed, 'Affective Economies', *Social Text* 22, no. 2 (2004): 118.

[112] Ahmed, "Affective Economies," 119.

[113] Katie Barclay, *Caritas: Neighbourly Love and the Early Modern Self* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022).

[114] Barclay, *Caritas*, 172. The embodiment of emotion is also explored in Katie Barclay, *Men on Trial: Performing Emotion, Embodiment and Identity in Ireland, 1800–45* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019).

loyalty was also expected to be experienced as an embodied feeling that shaped interpersonal relationships and ideas of the self.

Multiple theoretical frameworks from the history of emotion underpin my analysis of the sources discussed in this thesis and have allowed me to make the most of the source material available.[115] In the context of emotional practices, Jan Plamper recognises 'the analysis of existing sources gains a new dimension' from the ways in which scholars can find traces of emotion in historical sources.[116] Using the expression of 'blood boiling' as an example, Scheer argues language links the body and mind to cultivate ideas of feeling.[117] This thesis draws upon sources used in other historical analyses of Mary to re-examine the interpretation and usefulness of often over-looked details. Using new methodologies, I have approached diplomatic correspondence, personal letters, orations and other historical records with a fresh perspective.

III. Sources

Letters are an important source for this thesis in that they both convey the emotional state of the author and elicit an emotional response from the recipient. For this research I have utilised sources that are available online, because of disruptions to traditional archival research caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. The State Papers Online (SP) and British History Online (BHO) digital archives allowed my research to continue during lockdowns and border closures in Australia that made travel to overseas archives impossible at a key point in researching this topic. Calendared collections including *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII*, the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic – Edward VI and Mary* and the calendars of Spain, Venice and France accessed through SP and BHO contain correspondence to, from and between monarchs, descriptive ambassadorial dispatches and letters between counsellors and courtiers. A limitation of these calendared collections, published between 1869 and 1998, is the editorial influence inherent in the translation and transcription of original sources from the archives. Letters included in the calendars are often abbreviated, fragmentary and selective. For example, the editor of the

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[115] I discuss the availability of sources in the following section.
[116] Plamper, *History of Emotions*, 269.
[117] Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice', 218.

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic – Edward VI and Mary, Robert Lemon, has only included brief descriptions of the papers in the collection rather than full transcriptions of letters as found in other calendars. To overcome this, where possible, the calendared source is compared and combined with the original manuscript available digitally on SPO. It has, however, proved challenging to access digital copies of manuscripts excluded from SPO and BHO. For example, McIntosh references documents relating to Mary's household while princess (for example, Cotton Vitellius, C.i., ff. 7r-18v kept at the British Library, known as the *Instructions*) that have not been digitised but appear to be a rich source of loyalty rhetoric.[118] The result of my research using almost exclusively online and published sources due to the inability to travel overseas between 2020 and 2022 for planned research is that there are some key documents missing that would benefit my methodological analysis.[119] Nonetheless, using the history of emotions methodologies to re-examine Mary's reign with the source material available, and with an awareness of the limitations of the sources, this thesis asserts the importance of recognising loyalty as an emotional practice in Mary's life and reign.

Many of the letters analysed in this thesis are diplomatic dispatches. Ambassadors' dispatches have, in the past, been used with great caution because of the diplomatic bias evident in their writing. The letters from Imperial Ambassador Eustace Chapuys, for example, provide an invaluable – often the only – account of Mary during his embassy. Chapuys's long, detailed and colourful dispatches are often considered misleading and used cautiously by historians.[120] However, Lauren Mackay argues his 'luminous details of emotions, relationships and personalities' is an unparalleled source for scholars researching life and politics in the Henrician court.[121] Similarly, Derek Taylor argues that the 'human element' of Chapuys's writing provides a unique glimpse of Mary as a young adult, thus viewing his

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[118] McIntosh, *From Heads of Household*, 30–31.

[119] Australian government regulations heavily restricted international travel between 2020 and 2022.

[120] Eric Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn* (London: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 73–5; Retha Warnicke, *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 1–3.

[121] Lauren Mackay, *Inside the Tudor Court: Henry VIII and His Six Wives Through the Eyes of the Spanish Ambassador* (Gloucestershire: Amberly, 2014), 345.

prejudice as constructive.[122] Taylor reasons that Chapuys's correspondence, 'as emotional as it often was', offers a 'window through which we can see Mary's development … even if the window includes a screen represented by Chapuys's interpretations of Mary's view'.[123] The emotional tone of Chapuys's writing is precisely why it has proved to be an invaluable source for this project. Through the methodological lens established by the history of emotions, the affective dimension of Mary and Chapuys's correspondence is revealed to be part of a complex loyalty relationship. Chapuys's detailed observations of Mary, the care he takes to peruse matters on her behalf and the emotive language used to describe both her actions and his own are indications of loyalty that locate Mary within the Habsburg dynastic network. Susan Broomhall argues ambassador's interpretation of Catherine de Medici's tears at the French court were 'presentations of identity appropriate to specific contexts, produced at both conscious and sub-conscious levels.'[124] Chapuys letters often demonstrate his own loyalties, to Mary and his recipients (often Charles V), through what and how he reports events. Rather than a prejudiced observer, Chapuys was in fact intimately entwined in the fabric of Mary's loyalties. Therefore, while Chapuys's observations have been used with caution, when using history of emotions methodologies his letters constitute a rich source for understanding Mary during his embassy.

As a historical source, the letter can tell us much about the life and character of both the writer and the recipient. Chapuys is one of many voices in the sources of this thesis that use letters to cultivate loyalty. James Daybell emphasises letter-writing as a practice for early modern women to fashion their identity and generate relationships with the addressee.[125] Close attention to historically specific epistolary

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[122] Taylor, 'Princess Mary in the Writings of Imperial Ambassador Eustace Chapuys', 15.

[123] Taylor, 'Princess Mary in the Writings of Imperial Ambassador Eustace Chapuys', 31.

[124] Susan Broomhall, 'Catherine's Tears: Diplomatic Corporeality and Gender at the Sixteenth-Century French Court', in *Fluid Bodies and Bodily Fluids in Premodern Europe: Bodies, Blood, and Tears in Literature, Theology, and Art*, edited by Anne M. Scott and Michael David Barbezat, (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2019), 56.

[125] James Daybell, 'Women's Letters, Literature and Conscience in Sixteenth-Century England', *Renaissance Studies* 23, no. 4 (2009); James Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers in Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); James Daybell, *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450–1700* (London: Routledge, 2016); James Daybell, '"Suche Newes as on the Quenes Hye Wayes We Have Mett": The News and Intelligence Networks of Elizabeth Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury (c.1527–1608)', in *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450–1700*, ed. James Daybell (Florence: Taylor & Francis, 2004); James Daybell, "Social Negotiations

conventions allows us to identify how the written correspondence, including the tone, length and frequency, reflected status, gender and connection. Because of the ritualised nature of letter-writing, we can also identify when individuals deviate from cultural scripts and disrupt epistolary conventions as a form of negotiation and resistance.[126] Letter-writing was also a site of identity negotiation to cultivate loyalty connections. Broomhall argues that Catherine de' Medici's correspondence is an 'agent of, and site for, varied identity claims employed for differing recipients and in multiple contexts'.[127] The value of letters, Broomhall argues, is not the authenticity of the expressions; rather, it is 'what was voiced and narrated about her and to whom'.[128] As such, they provide evidence of emotional performances and should be used critically.[129] Appropriately analysed, letters provide more than just an account of the writer's life. Often what is left unsaid in letters offers a glimpse into the motivations and perceptions of the writer, particularly valuable for this thesis. They offer a rich source for understanding relationships, networks and alliances mediated and negotiated through the emotions the letter expresses (and omits).

That loyalty is embodied suggests the construction and materiality of the letter is also an important emotional practices. Diana Barnes highlights the usefulness of letters for their material qualities, suggesting that 'writers sought to convey emotion in letters' and that evidence of this can be found in physical attributes such as the

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in Correspondence between Mothers and Daughters in Tudor and Early Stuart England', *Women's History Review* 24, no. 4 (2015); James Daybell, 'Scripting a Female Voice: Women's Epistolary Rhetoric in Sixteenth-Century Letters of Petition', *Women's Writing* 13, no. 1 (2006); James Daybell, 'Material Meanings and the Social Signs of Manuscript Letters in Early Modern England', *Literature Compass* 6, no. 3 (2009); James Daybell, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England: Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practices of Letter-Writing, 1512–1635* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); James Daybell, 'Gender, Obedience, and Authority in Sixteenth-Century Women's Letters', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 41, no. 1 (2010); James Daybell, *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing, 1450–1700* (New York: Palgrave, 2001); James Daybell and Andrew Gordon, eds., *Cultures of Correspondence in Early Modern Britain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

[126] Katie Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power: Marriage and Patriarchy in Scotland, 1650–1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 25–31.

[127] Broomhall, *The Identities of Catherine de' Medici*, 16.

[128] Broomhall, *The Identities of Catherine de' Medici*, 16.

[129] See, for example, Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline Van Gent, 'Corresponding Affections: Emotional Exchange Among Siblings in the Nassau Family', *Journal of Family History* 34, no. 2 (2009); Gary Schneider, *The Culture of Epistolarity: Vernacular Letters and Letter Writing in Early Modern England, 1500–1700* (Delaware University of Delaware Press, 2005); Gary Schneider, 'Affecting Correspondences: Body, Behavior, and the Textualization of Emotion in Early Modern English letters', *Prose Studies* 23, no. 3 (2000).

paper and ink of the letter and the shape and length of the writing.[130] Notes and scribbles in the margin of the letter, mistakes and phrases crossed out, the type of paper used – all are evidence of the love, care, frustration or anger of the writer. Over distance, the letter as a physical item 'became the absent other', something that could be held to bridge the distance between recipient and sender.[131] Even the effort of sending a letter (for example, from Mary to Chapuys, who then writes to Charles V) or the danger of sending a letter when one is threatened (a common trait in Mary's letters) demonstrates letter-writing and the letter itself as a key part of loyalty relationships. Thus, letters can be analysed far beyond the emotion words. The embodiment of loyalty through the production and materiality of letters is an important part of these practices and provides an invaluable source for this thesis.

In addition to letters, orations, proclamations and statutes are also analysed. These sources, produced for public consumption, require careful consideration of their unique challenges. Orations, for example, are often recorded in chronicle accounts and rely on the observation of others. The are several accounts of Mary's Guildhall speech quoted at the beginning of this chapter, including John Proctor's *Historie of Wyats Rebellion*, John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles* and Richard Grafton's *Chronicle*.[132] As a 'mediated' source, Moira Duncan reminds historians there is 'room for both the speaker's and the recorders' voices' in these accounts, and that a 'historically sensitive reading of authorship' can reveal the motivation and reception of these multiple voices.[133] Although accounts differ slightly, when compared they provide evidence of emotions that 'stick'. The author's interpretation of Mary's speech, and the emotions it contains, is evidence of loyalty. How Mary's loyalty was perceived and understood was an

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[130] Diana Barnes, 'Emotional Debris in Early Modern Letters', in *Feeling Things: Objects and Emotions through History*, ed. Sally Holloway, Sarah Randles, and Stephanie Downes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 115.

[131] Marcelo J. Borges, 'Narratives of the Self', in *Sources for the History of Emotions: A Guide*, ed. Katie Barclay, Sharon Crozier-De Rosa and Peter N. Stearns (London: Routledge, 2020), 103.

[132] Proctor, *The Historie of Wyates Rebellion*, 53–54; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, 1618; Richard Grafton, *A Chronicle at Large and Mere History of the Affayres of Englande* (London: Henry Denham, 1569), 1332–33; Raphael Holinshed, *The Firste Volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande* (London: 1577), 1728–29.

[133] Moira R. Duncan, '"Word of a Prince": Collaborative Authorship in Mary I's Guildhall Speech', in *Mid-Tudor Queenship and Memory*, ed. Valerie Schutte and Jessica S. Hower (Cham: Routledge, 2023), 166.

important part of generating reciprocity from her subjects. Evidence of loyalty is found in a range of materials, and this thesis brings together the sources available to me to demonstrate the ways in which it was embedded in social and political relationships.

IV.   Chapter Structure

This thesis is divided into four chapters following a loosely chronological order. Each chapter examines the negotiation of loyalty as an emotional practice in various settings and relationships. Chapters One and Two focus on Mary's involvement in and experience during the separation of her parents. Chapter One, 'Spaces of Loyalty', analyses the significance of intimacy in the negotiation of loyalties during Katherine and Henry's marital conflict. Analysing Mary's absence and exclusion from the Court reveals emotional suffering as a strategy employed by Henry to control and punish his wife's disobedience. Not only does this chapter redefine Mary's role in the marital conflict, but it also establishes how loyalty relationships were negotiated using emotional norms informed by power and gender dynamics.

Chapter Two addresses how courtiers sought to shape loyalty during the divorce using more informal practices, such as rumours. Analysing the rumours about Mary's legitimacy, it seeks to understand how perceptions of the king's affection were also used to generate loyalty. Rumours provided agency to courtiers without formal power to manipulate alliances by influencing feelings of loyalty using fear, anxiety and love. Chapter Two extends the discussion in the first chapter by arguing Mary's indirect involvement in the divorce crisis was nonetheless central to the reorganisation of loyalties at the court because of her familial connection to the King. As such, courtiers used rumours to protect or diminish Mary and Henry's relationship to further their political goals.

Chapter Three examines how Mary herself managed loyalty relationships to navigate a liminal status in the Habsburg and Tudor dynasties. This chapter will demonstrate the ways in which Mary found a sense of belonging in the Habsburg and Tudor dynasties through the embodiment of loyalty. It also shows how the emotional practices of Mary's loyalty were informed by gender norms that placed obligation on both herself and her patriarchal father and cousin. This analysis

demonstrates Mary's capacity to wield agency and authority using loyalty relationships that implied a sense of reciprocity.

Finally, Chapter Four considers how loyalty as an emotional practice shaped the rhetoric of Mary's queenship. It discusses the emotional economy of Mary's reign to investigate how loyalty emotions formed an affective exchange between the queen and her subjects to enable the exercise of female authority. The chapter discusses duty, conscience, and desire to identify emotional practices that explained and facilitated Mary's authority. Like the loyalties discussed in Chapter Three, Mary found agency through relationships with others. As queen, Mary used participatory and reciprocal dialogues to soften her image. The chapter contributes to the re-examination of Mary's reign by understanding the emotional practices of loyalty as a necessary part of female rule in a patriarchal government. I argue Mary wielded authority and navigated uncertainty using embodied emotions that fostered reciprocal relationships.

V.   Conclusion

Loyalty is increasingly recognised as an important aspect of early modern relationships. This is at odds with the lack of critical analysis about Mary's emotions within their historical context, despite their recurrent appearance in scholarship. As such, this thesis will fill the gap in Marian historiography by focusing on loyalty as an emotional practice that was an essential mechanism of political, familial and personal relationships that allowed Mary to become the first queen regnant of England. My research questions include: how can the history of emotions develop our understanding of Mary and her queenship? How did Mary experience loyalty, and to what extent did this shape the world around her? Is there any evidence that Mary used gendered emotions to access spaces that generally excluded women, and how does this change the narrative of Mary's political capability? The thesis seeks to revisit the mostly unquestioned assumptions about Mary's emotions in the existing historiography using loyalty as a case study. The diversity of loyalty as an emotional practice and the relationships which they shaped provides the opportunity to analyse Mary's political and personal experiences together rather than separately. Maza argues that 'it may be fruitful to stop drawing such sharp distinctions between "social" and "political" categories, especially in the realms of

culture and ideology'.[134] An examination of Mary's loyalties shows the interconnectedness of emotions with Tudor politics.

The reciprocal exchange of loyalty was at the core of the Tudor culture in which Mary lived – including politics, patronage and friendships. That is not to say reciprocity was always equal; as this thesis establishes, loyalty relationships were sometimes used as a tool of manipulation to obtain power and authority. There are also examples of disloyalty, especially during periods of conflict in Mary's life. Importantly, an analysis of Mary's loyalties and how they operated provides a new perspective of her character and how she related to others. In his 1989 historiographical article Loades concluded that historians studying Mary are 'not likely to agree', but added that 'without a dialectic there is no advancement of understanding'.[135] This thesis is a response to both mid-twentieth-century and revisionist histories of Mary that seeks to advance our understanding of her character through a history of emotions lens. It builds on the current direction of Marian research emphasising the importance of relationships and networks. Edwards astutely observes that 'in this kind of situation, virtue and vice are very much in the eye of the historians who beholds, so that one man's "feminine" weakness and indecisiveness is another woman's wisdom, skill and pragmatism'.[136] Edwards' words remind us that not only do historians interpret these events with our own prejudices, but that Mary's peers may have also interpreted, considered and deliberated expressions of emotion as 'feminine weakness'.

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[134] Maza, *Servants and Masters*, 334.

[135] David Loades, 'The Reign of Mary Tudor: Historiography and Research', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 21, no. 4 (1989): 558.

[136] Edwards, *Mary I*, 106.

Chapter One: Intimacy of Loyalty

Intimate interactions were valued for the production, negotiation and maintenance of loyalty emotions during Henry and Katherine's separation. The substantial political and religious outcomes of the divorce detract from the fact that it was also a domestic conflict between husband and wife. As the only child of Henry and Katherine's marriage, Mary's involvement in the reorganisation of the family structure deserves closer attention. The aim of this chapter is to understand Mary's role in shaping the relationship between Henry and Katherine, and between Henry and Anne Boleyn, by considering her inclusion and exclusion from the royal court. It establishes that intimacy with Henry in spaces such as the royal household was imperative for negotiating loyalty because it facilitated emotional practices such as love and duty found in the family unit. By analysing Mary's movement in and out of the royal court, this chapter reveals the ways in which their family conflict was negotiated using spatial boundaries and intimacy as form of loyalty.

Intimacy comprised both emotional and physical closeness, representative of love, duty and obligation that underpinned relationships such as marriage and friendship. Historians of intimacy emphasise the social significance of touch – that is, dining and sleeping together, sharing a kiss or public embrace. Katie Barclay argues gestures such as these 'signified the nature of the broader relationship' with 'the importance of bowing and the kissing of rings and hands by social subordinates' representing social and power dynamics.[1] As an aspect of early modern relationships between husband and wife, friends, or monarch and subject, intimacy was part of the embodiment of loyalty that bound people together. Ideas of love in the early modern period were closely associated with duty and obligation; the notion of *doing* love was central. Access to spaces that permitted physical intimacy, then, was an important determinant of relationships. Alan Bray posits that 'the appearance of a friend's evident favor' was a gift that 'could readily turned to advantage'.[2] Bray's argument illustrates intimacy cultivated loyalty through sentimental attachment and reciprocity. When touch was not possible, letters acted

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[1] Katie Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power: Marriage and Patriarchy in Scotland 1650–1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 126.

[2] Alan Bray, *The Friend*, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2003), 150.

as a token of intimacy to bridge physical distance.[3] Both the words of the letter and the physical item itself allowed people to *feel* close while physically apart. However, because these interactions reflected broader social dynamics of power and gender, historians must also consider the ways in which boundaries of intimacy were shaped and controlled.[4] Preventing or avoiding intimacy with another was just as meaningful as the desire to obtain it. Intimacy, through physical touch or correspondence, underpinned loyalty relationships because of its capacity to foster and maintain emotions such as love, duty and devotion.

The efficacy of intimacy in Henry's reign arose from the structure of the royal court as the hub of social and political life. Historians recognise the royal court as a fluid, political and ceremonial space that ordered a social hierarchy to emphasise monarchical authority.[5] Kevin Sharpe identifies Henry's daily routine as a 'representation of his rule' wherein the 'court was the principal stage on which he performed the part of king'.[6] Movement within the royal court was highly structured and observed as an indication of the monarch's prerogative. As a result, studies of the politics of access reveals courtiers sought access to the monarch in early modern European courts because it equated to privilege and power underpinned by a personal relationship with the monarch.[7] Ronald Asch argues that courtiers

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[3] Bray, *The Friend*, 100; Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power*, 127. Sally Holloway also provides a useful discussion on the exchange of love letters to cultivate emotional intimacy in the context of romantic suitors in Georgian England: see Sally Holloway, *The Game of Love in Georgian England: Courtship, Emotions, and Material Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 45–68.

[4] George Morris, 'Intimacy in Modern British History', *The Historical Journal* 64 no. 3, (2020): 811.

[5] Malcolm Smuts and George Gorse, 'Introduction', in *The Politics of Space: European Courts, 1500–1750*, ed. Marcello Fantoni, George Gorse, and Malcolm Smuts, (Roma: Bulzoni, 2009), 13–30; Charlotte Backerra and Peter Edwards, 'Introduction: Rank and Ritual in the Early Modern Court', *The Court Historian* 26, no. 1 (2021): 2.

[6] Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 155.

[7] Thomas Betteridge and Suzannah Lipscomb, *Henry VIII and the Court: Art, Politics and Performance* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013). David Starkey, 'Representation through Intimacy: A Study of the Symbolism of Monarchy and Court Office in Early Modern England', in *Symbols and Sentiments: Cross-Cultural Studies in Symbolism*, ed. Ioan M. Lewis (London: Academic Press, 1977), 187–224; David Starkey, *The Reign of Henry VIII: Personalities and Politics* (London: Vintage, 2002); David Starkey, 'Intimacy and Innovation: The Rise of the Privy Chamber, 1485–1547', in *The English Court: From the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, ed. David Starkey (London: Longman, 1987), 71–118.

yielded significant political power through personal friendship with the monarch.[8] As such, historians recognise the 'politics of access was strongly interwoven with the politics of intimacy', embedding emotion in the political and social significance of the royal court.[9] The gender and power norms that shaped intimacy meant these interactions provided women with a form of agency through their emotional connection without disrupting patriarchal structures. This chapter develops ideas of the politics of intimacy by discussing the spatial dynamics of Henry, Katherine and Mary's loyalties during the divorce as a form of emotional practice.

At the nucleus of Henry's court was the royal family itself, where political, dynastic and personal loyalties intersected in a domestic setting. Susan Broomhall argues households 'provide evidence of organically negotiated emotional solutions, or indeed of breakdowns, irrespective of the formal structures that a society created'.[10] The co-existence of family members within a shared space often supported strong loyalty connections rooted in love, affection and obligations of care. Given that the royal household was both a political institution and domestic space, the boundaries between private and public were blurred. Consequently, the internal dynamics of the King's household were closely observed as a reflection of his authority. Henry's inclusion and exclusion of his wife and daughter, who were respectively his queen and heir, displayed emotional boundaries with political implications.

It is logical, then, that the spatial arrangements of the King's household reflected his prerogative during the divorce. For example, Simon Thurley finds the provision of

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[8] Ronald G. Asch, 'Patronage, Friendship and the Politics of Access: The Role of the Early Modern Favourite Revisited', in *The Key to Power? The Culture of Access in Princely Courts, 1400–1750*, ed. Dries Raeymaekers and Sebastiaan Derks (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 178–201.

[9] Dries Raeymaekers and Sebastiaan Derks, 'Introduction: Repertoires of Access in Princely Courts', in *The Key to Power?: The Culture of Access in Princely Courts, 1400–1750*, ed. Dries Raeymaekers and Sebastiaan Derks (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 13.

[10] Susan Broomhall, 'Emotions in the Household', in *Emotions in the Household, 1200–1900*, ed. Susan Broomhall (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 4. Broomhall and Jacqueline Van Gent have discussed these themes in the context of the Orange-Nassau Dynasty: see, for example, Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline Van Gent, 'Corresponding Affections: Emotional Exchange Among Siblings in the Nassau Family,'' *Journal of Family History* 34, no. 2 (2009): 143-65; Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline Van Gent, 'Converted Relationships: Re-negotiating Family Status after Religious Conversion in the Nassau Dynasty', *Journal of Social History* 47, no. 3 (2014): 647–72; Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline Van Gent, *Dynastic Colonialism: Gender, Materiality and the Early Modern house of Orange-Nassau* (London: Routledge, 2016); Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline Van Gent, *Gender, Power and Identity in the Early Modern House of Orange-Nassau* (London: Routledge, 2016).

the finest lodgings at Greenwich for Anne Boleyn in 1528 was widely seen as a sign of her forthcoming elevation.[11] Likewise, Michelle Beer's analysis of Henry's direction to remove Katherine's lodgings from the Court and control her estates places it as a mechanism of control to weaken his wife's authority.[12] These two events mark a shifting of court dynamics and a movement of affection from one woman to another, and so suggests too the evolution of Henry's loyalty. Timothy Schroder, in his analysis of the material possessions of Mary and her mother during the divorce, argues that 'the king adopted a strategy of systematically depriving her [Mary] of the tokens of her status'.[13] Sharpe's assertion that 'influence and politics became bound up with spaces and places' is evident during the divorce.[14] The implications of physical separation during this time of marital conflict were further complicated by the political and social benefit of having and losing access to the King.

Mary's access to Henry was inconsistent between 1528 and 1536, interpreted as evidence of Henry's conflicted feelings for his daughter and her liminal status as heir. Although Henry remained fond of Mary, his actions suggest he was aware of her capacity to facilitate a relationship between himself and Katherine. Therefore, Henry established boundaries that denied the co-existence of a traditional 'family', preventing the opportunity for intimacy. This chapter considers the social and emotional meaning of the distance between Mary, Katherine and Henry. Specifically, I analyse how Henry controlled Katherine and Mary by keeping them apart and the emotional implications of this forced separation.

I.   Theoretical Framework

This chapter approaches intimacy within the court space as multi-dimensional and socially constructed. Foundational to this approach is the work of Henri Lefebvre, who argues that 'space' is the culmination of architectural, cultural, political and

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[11] Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 172.

[12] Michelle Beer, 'A Queenly Affinity? Catherine of Aragon's estates and Henry VIII's Great Matter', *Historical Research* 91, no. 253 (2018): 442–45.

[13] Timothy Schroder, *'A Marvel to Behold': Gold and Silver at the Court of Henry VIII* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2020), 209.

[14] Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 172.

emotional dynamics.[15] As such, he argues '(Social) space is a (social) product' and that 'space thus produced also serves as a tool of thought and of action' in which we can analyse power and authority through control.[16] This concept has informed several recent studies of early modern royal courts in Europe which identify the significance of space in enforcing and reflecting the monarch's power.[17] Lefebvre's theory is applied here to analyse the production of space as part of loyalty negotiations. This chapter examines how loyalty was informed by the gender and power dynamics of the space in which it was performed.

Additionally, William Reddy's concepts of emotional suffering and emotional refuge contextualise the affective experience within different spaces. Reddy argues that emotional suffering occurs when 'high-priority goals are in conflict' and 'when all available choices seem to counter one or more high-priority goals'.[18] In this chapter I interpret conflicting goals as layers of loyalty that were negotiated using space. Reddy suggests that individuals experiencing prolonged emotional suffering found spaces of respite, which he terms as an emotional refuge. An emotional refuge may 'make the current order more liveable for some people … For others, or in other times, they may provide a place from which contestation, conflict and transformation are launched'.[19] Considering Mary and Katherine's relationship as an emotional refuge provides a context for understanding the profound loyalty they shared and that provided them with the strength to resist Henry.

This chapter focuses on physical distance as a space that evolved to enforce and represent Henry's loyalties. Mary was excluded from spaces, lived in distant places and understood distance from her parents as emotionally and socially isolating.

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[15] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 11–12.

[16] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 26.

[17] Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 54, 172–73. Broomhall has also discussed space and power in the context of the French Court: see Susan Broomhall, 'In the Orbit of the King: Women, Power and Authority at the French Court, 1483-1563,'" in *Women and Power at the French Court, 1483-1563*, ed. Susan Broomhall (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), 9–39. See also John Adamson, ed., *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture Under the Ancien Régime, 1500–1750* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1999).

[18] William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 123.

[19] Reddy, *Navigation of Feeling*, 128.

Barclay emphasises the role of emotion in creating the 'meaning of distance'.[20] As was common practice for aristocratic and royal children, Mary lived separately from her parents for varying lengths of time, without any evidence that it caused emotional suffering. However, the use of distance as punishment meant that the separation from her parents, which was once manageable, became painful. Although the geographical distance had not changed, the social meaning and power dynamics that governed those distances altered her experience. Barclay notes that the social construction of space determines the experience of distance to be 'near or far, bearable or unbearable'.[21] Furthermore, emotions associated with distance, such as loneliness, suffering and sadness, positively and negatively shaped loyalty relationships. As Joanna Bourke identifies, 'emotions may create or reproduce subordination but can also unravel it', which I argue can be observed in Mary's resistive response to Henry's demands.[22] Acknowledging the distances Mary was subjected to and experienced, and associating those spaces with the absence of familial affection and care, allows us to see how loyalty was negotiated during the divorce. Intimacy, the longing or avoidance of it, was an emotional practice that can be understood through spatial dynamics.

Each section of this chapter discusses the dynamics of Mary's relationships during her parents' divorce in relation to intimacy, exclusion and abandonment. The first section outlines how Henry signalled his determination to divorce by physically separating Mary from himself and Katherine. As such, I position Mary as their only child and heir at the centre of family politics. Mary's significance at this time is further supported in the second section, which analyses Anne's fear of Henry's relationship with his daughter and insecurity regarding her own rank. The final section discusses Mary's relationship with her mother after Henry forced Katherine to reside at The More, permanently keeping them apart. As a result of Henry's punishment, Mary and Katherine found emotional refuge in one another by creating an epistolary space of companionship with the experience of their suffering in common. The aim of this chapter is to re-focus attention to Mary as a significant figure during Katherine

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[20] Katie Barclay, 'Space and Place', in *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction*, ed. Susan Broomhall (London: Taylor and Francis, 2016), 22.

[21] Barclay, 'Space and Place', 22.

[22] Joanna Bourke, 'Fear and Anxiety: Writing about Emotion in Modern History', *History Workshop Journal* 55 (2003): 129.

and Henry's divorce by understanding her role in the renegotiation of loyalties that occurred, using space as a point of analysis. It finds the affective experience of inclusion and exclusion was used to enforce, negotiate and resist changing familial loyalties.

Figure 1: Unknown artist, illumination of Thomas More, 'Coronation Ode' (1509), Cotton MS Titus D iv, fols. 2–14, image on fol. 12v, London, British Library

II.   Intimacy and (Dis)loyalty

Loyalty was a significant feature of Henry and Katherine's marriage in the years before the 'great matter'. Katherine adopted the motto of 'humble and loyal', formally integrating loyalty as a guiding principle for her queenship and marriage. Henry was also a dutiful husband for many years. In February 1511, at the great Westminster Tournament, Henry entered a pavilion decorated in golden Hs and Ks on the cloths of estates and tapestries, dressed as *Coeur Loyall* (Sir Loyal Heart). The festivities were in celebration of their newborn son, who would only live for fifty-two days. The marital loyalty of king and queen was promoted in visual representations like the above illumination of Thomas More's 'Coronation Ode' celebrating Katherine and Henry. The illustration depicts Henry's Tudor rose and Katherine's pomegranate emblems entwined and knotted. In many ways this graphic depiction resembles Mary's Guildhall oration quoted at the beginning of this thesis, wherein she describes loyalty to her people 'knot of loue and concord' as queen.[23] While Henry may have abandoned these sentiments, Katherine remained devoted as the 'humble and loyal' wife and queen. The embodied notion of loyalty as an entanglement of love, duty and affection can be extrapolated to ideas of disloyalty as the unravelling and disentanglement of these feelings. Intimacy, or avoidance of it, was inherently associated with emotional practice of loyalty.[24] This section evaluates the role of intimacy in the negotiation of Katherine and Henry's loyalties during the great matter.

i.   Intimacy as Wifely Loyalty

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[23] Edward Hall, *Hall's Chronicle: Containing the History of England, During the Reign of Henry the Fourth, and the Succeeding Monarchs, to the End of the Reign of Henry the Eighth, in Which Are Particularly Described the Manners and Customs of Those Periods* (London: J. Johnson, 1809), 510. See also Garrett Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1942), 108; David Starkey, *Henry: Virtuous Prince* (London: Harper Collins, 2008), 342–43; Giles Tremlett, *Catherine of Aragon: Henry's Spanish Queen* (London: Faber and Faber, 2010), 177–78.

[24] Theresa Earenfight discusses the significance of the illustration in relation to Katherine's concept of queenship as a shared duty. For further discussion see, Theresa Earenfight, 'By Your Loving Mother": Lessons in Queenship from Catherine of Aragon to Her Daughter, Mary'." In *Mary I in Writing: Letters, Literature, and Representation*, edited by Valerie Schutte and Jessica S Hower, (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022), 24; Theresa Earenfight, *Catherine of Aragon: Infanta of Spain, Queen of England* (Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2021), 181.

Initial commentary and anxiety about Henry's commitment to his marriage with Katherine surfaced in the concern that he avoided spending time with her. In December 1528 the Imperial ambassador, Eustace Chapuys, reported that Henry intended to 'avoid as much as possible living under the same roof' with Katherine.[25] Although he admitted Henry had continued to dine and sleep with Katherine during his visits to Greenwich, Chapuys speculated about the divorce through the alteration of spatial arrangements and time spent together. Departure from bed and board was often the first step in marital separation, disrupting the intimacy and domestic practices associated with marriage.[26] This signalled intention to avoid living with Katherine represented a significant step away from Henry's marital duties without abandoning her in a formal sense. Both Katherine and Chapuys were concerned that this was an indication of Henry's emotional detachment from the marriage.

Katherine recognised intimacy as the key to maintaining her marriage and resisted the king's attempts to push her away. Around the holy week of Whitsuntide in 1530, Katherine confronted Henry, reminding him of his duty to be a 'good prince and husband, and to quit the evil life he was leading and the bad example he was setting'.[27] The following day, Chapuys wrote 'if the Lady [Anne] could only be kept away from Court for a little while, the Queen might still regain her influence over the King, for he does not seem to bear any ill-will towards her'.[28] Suggesting the possibility of reconciliation without Anne's presence shows the quality of intimacy was just as important as being together. That Anne's absence was key to this idea shows that Katherine understood space as central to retaining Henry's affection. Both Katherine and Chapuys maintained hope that although Henry had distanced himself from the relationship, he had not abandoned it altogether.

The importance of continuing physical proximity to preserve intimacy might be underscored by other rituals of marital duty and affection. At Henry's behest

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[25] 'Don Iñigo de Mendoça to the Emperor, 2 December 1528, no. 600' in *SP Spain*, vol. 3, part 2, 858-869

[26] Joanne Bailey, *Unquiet Lives: Marriage and Marriage Breakdown in England, 1660–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 30–60; Katie Barclay, 'Intimacy, Community and Power: Bedding Rituals in Eighteenth-Century Scotland', in *Emotion, Ritual and Power in Europe, 1200–1920 : Family, State and Church*, ed. Merridee Bailey and Katie Barclay (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 51.

[27] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 15 June 1530, no. 354' in *SP Spain*, vol. 4, part 1, 585-604.

[28] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 15 June 1530, no. 354' in *SP Spain*, vol. 4, part 1, 585-604.

Katherine continued to perform wifely domestic duties to maintain emotional intimacy in ways that alarmed Anne. In 1530, Chapuys reported Henry had sent Katherine 'cloth begging her to have it made into shirts for him'.[29] This was interpreted as a positive gesture that allowed Katherine to show care, love and attention to her husband through the intimate and domestic practice of sewing clothing. This accounts for Anne's reaction; she reportedly ordered the bearer who had taken the cloth to be 'punished severely'.[30] The social subtext of a seemingly innocuous domestic duty such as mending shirts was embedded in early modern understandings of love and duty. Barclay finds women's expressions of love were 'gendered expectations around appropriate loving behaviour'.[31] That Henry would call upon Katherine and not Anne for such a task was a meaningful gesture of love that provided Chapuys with hope of reconciliation. Anne's reaction shows her fear of intimacy between Katherine and Henry and her determination to protect her own influence. Thus, intimacy was an emotional practice that allowed Katherine to reaffirm marital commitment through expressions of love and duty; the challenge, however, was having the opportunity to perform wifely duties.

Henry's growing detachment from the relationship made it difficult for Katherine to find opportunities for intimacy. By 1531 it was reported, 'The Queen is treated as badly and even worse than ever' because the King avoided 'her company as much as he can' in preference for Anne's.[32] Without the opportunity for intimate interactions with her husband, it became more difficult for Katherine to promote and exhibit spousal loyalty. The underlying issue was a matter of conflicting goals and values. Katherine, who was still devoted to the marriage, understood loyalty through the lens of loving behaviour appropriate for a wife. To remain close and devoted to the king in a marriage blessed by God was, from her perspective, the fulfilment of wifely loyalty. Henry, however, viewed Katherine's behaviour as disobedient and disrespectful. His idea of loyalty was agreeing to separate. Together, they were no longer united in their values, and this was the primary source of tension between them. Henry's avoidance of intimacy exposed deeper issues of conflicting ideas

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[29] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 15 June 1530, no. 354' in *SP Spain*, vol. 4, part 1, 585-604.

[30] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 15 June 1530, no. 354' in *SP Spain*, vol. 4, part 1, 585-604.

[31] Katie Barclay, 'Love and Other Emotions', in *The Routledge History of Women in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Amanda L. Capern (London: Routledge, 2019), 80.

[32] 'Chapuys to Charles V, 14 May 1531, no. 238' in *L&P*, vol. 5, 106-111

about love and obedience that shaped the dynamics of their relationship in the years following. He was, in a way, untying the knot of matrimonial loyalty.

ii.   Intimacy as Retribution

In response to Katherine's disobedience, Henry used proximity and distance to pressure her into submission. As part of this strategy, Henry gradually implemented changes to demote her status and limit her independent authority. In April 1530, Chapuys reported that 'since the Princess was separated from the Queen', Katherine was left with 'no household of her own, being waited upon by the King's own attendants'.[33] The dissolution of Katherine's household not only demonstrated Henry's disfavour but removed her from the loyalty network she had established with her household staff. Timothy Elston argues Henry's decision to remove Katherine from Mary's household was isolating and 'limited her ability to threaten his position'.[34] Effectively, Henry sought to isolate Katherine from her loyal supporters and to compel obedience by removing wider emotional provision. Henry's decision to integrate Katherine into his household was motivated by retribution rather than a desire to be close to his wife.

Mary was implicated in Henry's schemes to force Katherine's compliance. Chapuys had noted two years earlier that the separation of Mary from Katherine was 'a very grievous thing' because the twelve-year-old princess 'should at her age be near [Katherine] for her better education'.[35] Dissolving his wife's independent household to move her into his own was a tactic to 'watch and control Katherine more closely than before' as punishment.[36] In particular, the separation from her daughter was a way to 'induce [Katherine] to consent' [to divorce]'.[37] To the detriment of his daughter's wellbeing, Henry forced distance between mother and daughter as a method of coercive control. Intimate access to the King – by being in his household – was once something Katherine desired. However, by prohibiting Mary's access

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[33] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 23 April 1530, no. 290' in *SP Spain*, vol. 4, part 1, 503-523

[34] Timonthy G. Elston, 'Widow Princess or Neglected Queen? Catherin of Aragon, Henry VIII, and English Public Opinion, 1533–1536', in *Queens and Power in Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. Carole Levin and Robert Bucholz (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 19.

[35] '[INTENDED ADDRESS OF THE LEGATES to the QUEEN.], November 1528, no. 4981' in *L&P*, vol. 4, 2151-2170.

[36] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 23 April 1530, no. 290' in *SP Spain*, vol. 4, part 1, 503-523.

[37] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 23 April 1530, no. 290' in *SP Spain*, vol. 4, part 1, 503-523.

and removing the independence of her own staff, Katherine's inclusion in the King's household was isolating and oppressive. In these circumstances, Katherine's proximity to the king reflected his distrust of and impatience with his wife rather than affection and favour.

By distancing Mary from court, Henry made Katherine's role as a mother incompatible with her wifely duties, actively using these competing loyalties against her. Mary's illness in 1531 illustrates how Katherine's separation from her daughter caused emotional suffering. At the end of April, Henry refused Mary's plea to allow her to visit him and Katherine at Greenwich because 'no medicine could do her so much good as seeing him and the Queen'.[38] After several weeks of illness, Chapuys detailed an emotional confrontation between Katherine and Henry about their daughter's wellbeing. During a state dinner, Henry accused his wife of cruelty towards Mary because 'she had not made her physician reside continually with her'. The following day Katherine 'asked the King to allow the Princess to see them'; in response 'he rebuffed her very rudely, and said she might go and see the Princess if she wished, and also stop there'.[39] Attempting to remove Katherine from the court, Henry urged her to preference their daughter over him. Katherine affirmed 'that she would not leave him for her daughter nor any one else in the world; and there the matter stopped'.[40] By refusing Mary access to the court, Henry forced Katherine to choose between him and their daughter. Anna Whitelock describes Katherine's actions as a 'painful and ultimately futile gesture of wifely loyalty' because Henry had made it difficult to be both a wife and a mother.[41] Katherine's response was significant because of the boundaries Henry had enforced. Thus, the choice to remain in her husband's presence and forsake her maternal desire demonstrated Katherine's commitment to her relationship with Henry. Although he did not succeed in convincing Katherine to leave, Henry used Mary's absence to discipline Katherine.

Hannah Newton's study of child-patient experiences in early modern England, which argues that illness directs 'extraordinary attention' to the child, suggests

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[38] 'Chapuys to Charles V, 29 April 1531, no. 216' in *L&P*, vol. 5, 94-106.
[39] 'Chapuys to Charles V, 14 May 1531, no. 238' in *L&P*, vol. 5, 106-111.
[40] 'Chapuys to Charles V, 14 May 1531, no. 238' in *L&P*, vol. 5, 106-111.
[41] Anna Whitelock, *Mary Tudor: England's First Queen* (London: Bloomsbury, 2009), 47.

Mary's desire for familial affection and care as a remedy for physical ailment was not uncommon.[42] In the case of Katherine and Henry, this translated into conflict about the care Mary should receive. Newton describes the cultural norms of parents tending to their sick children as something they 'desperately wanted to do, and were prepared to carry out with unstinting commitment'.[43] Given these cultural expectations of care, Katherine's inability to tend to her child, and the fact that she had not made her physician available to Mary, left her open to accusations of being an unaffectionate and irresponsible mother. Attention and concern for Mary connected Henry and Katherine through their shared parental obligations. Mary's absence was central to the negotiation of loyalty during the divorce because their love for her was something Henry and Katherine still shared.

Katherine's response to the situation also highlights how she used intimacy as a form of resistance. Henry had created a situation that encouraged Katherine to voluntarily leave his presence, which would indicate her lack of commitment to the marriage rather than his own wish to dissolve the union. By remaining with him, however, Katherine defiantly reiterated her wifely devotion, overriding the despair she felt at being unable to visit her daughter. Katherine's strategy all along was to remain close to Henry in a display of commitment. Katherine's unyielding loyalty to their marriage only highlighted Henry's disloyalty. Intimacy was a means of resisting Henry's authority by using established norms of love and duty associated with marriage against him.

Henry, however, circumvented Katherine's efforts to show wifely devotion. Illustrating this is an altercation in July 1531, after Henry had left their residence without saying goodbye to his wife. Katherine, evidently upset by this, wrote to Henry enquiring about his health since 'she could not have the pleasure and happiness' of joining him and had been deprived of 'the consolation of bidding him adieu'.[44] Henry's response was that he had no desire to see her, citing the 'annoyance and sorrow' Katherine had caused by 'attempting to disgrace and

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[42] Hannah Newton, *The Sick Child in Early Modern England, 1580–1720* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 166.
[43] Newton, *The Sick Child* 94.
[44] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 31 July 1531, no. 775' in *SP Spain*, vol. 4, part 2, 218-227.

humiliate him'.[45] Upset by this, Chapuys insisted Mary's presence would help Katherine 'forget her grief for the absence of the King'.[46] Mary was permitted to visit Katherine again – although only in Henry's absence. Her company was seen as a remedy for Katherine's despair and loneliness as her husband distanced himself from the marriage. Barclay's analysis of the early modern family provides a useful context for considering Mary's role in these events. Children, Barclay argues, were 'imagined as having the capacity to produce and represent the affective bonds of family', placing them at the centre of family relations.[47] Henry's avoidance of being together with his wife and daughter as a family is a telling indication of his disloyalty to the marriage. Moreover, he negated Katherine's choice of him over Mary. Henry's understanding that Mary was a source of comfort to Katherine further explains his decision to separate mother and daughter to control to punish their disobedience.

July 1531 was the last time Katherine was in Henry's presence. Forcing her retirement to the More in Hertfordshire, Henry prohibited Katherine from visiting her daughter and left her isolated without the company of her husband and child, or the comfort of her loyal household staff. In December 1531 Katherine wrote to Charles V and signed her letter 'from the More, separated from my husband without ever having offended him, Katharina, the unhappy Queen'.[48] Despite acknowledging her unhappiness, Katherine continued to assert her status as Henry's wife and queen. In his chronicle, Edward Hall notes that 'the Kyng kepte his Christemas at Grenewych … but all men sayde that there was no myrthe in that Christemas because the Queene and the Ladies were absent'.[49] Their public separation was observed by all, and Katherine's absence from her husband's side was a notable indication of the disruption to the family unit, the Court and the realm. Without intimate access to the king, Katherine had limited ability to challenge Henry through performances of wifely loyalty.

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[45] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 31 July 1531, no. 775' in *SP Spain*, vol. 4, part 2, 218-227.
[46] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 31 July 1531, no. 775' in *SP Spain*, vol. 4, part 2, 218-227.
[47] Katie Barclay, 'The Early Modern Family', in *Early Modern Childhood: An Introduction*, ed. Anna French (London: Routledge, 2019), 26.
[48] 'Queen Katharine to the Emperor, 15 December 1531, no. 860' in *SP Spain* vol. 4, part 2, 332.
[49] Hall, *Hall's Chronicle,* 784.

Finally, in November 1533, Henry formally deprived Katherine of her estates, materialising their divorce.[50] Though Katherine continued to resist the separation, Henry forced her into retirement, making space for Anne as his new queen. Beer argues the 'situation bore a striking resemblance to other wives who had been put aside in favour of mistresses'.[51] Dissolving Katherine's household and making her dependent on Henry limited her independence by disconnecting her from the loyalty network of her household staff and, importantly, her daughter. In doing so, Henry demonstrated his power to force Katherine into accepting their separation. Access and intimacy were closely observed and associated with loyalty during the negotiation of the divorce. As such, Mary's absence was used to convince Katherine to acquiesce. Mary was caught in the middle of her parents' marital conflict and although seemingly powerless to resolve it, as the next section shows, she possessed the potential to disrupt Anne's rise to power.

III.   Protecting Loyalty

This section demonstrates how intimacy could disrupt and produce loyalty relationships. It addresses this in two distinct but overlapping circumstances surrounding Anne's integration into the royal court as Henry's legitimate wife. The first is Anne's desire to prevent Henry having intimate interactions with Mary. She was driven by fear that an affectionate relationship between father and daughter would impede her position at court, especially because she relied on Henry's affection as a sign of status. Anne's desire to monopolise Henry's loyalty was increased when in 1533 she bore the king a daughter instead of a son. Given Henry's principal concern was the birth of a male heir, Elizabeth's birth undermined his decision to divorce Katherine. This leads to the second discussion in this section, which focuses on Henry's decision to dissolve Mary's household and move her into Elizabeth's. There are many similarities between this tactic and his treatment of Katherine, in which Henry forced intimacy with the intent of forcing her to submit and relinquish her titles. This section interrogates the tension between a desire to have Mary close to Elizabeth, but not too close to Henry, and what this tells us about the nature of intimacy in loyalty negotiations.

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[50] Beer, 'A Queenly Affinity?', 441.
[51] Beer, 'A Queenly Affinity?', 442.

i.   Trusting the King's Loyalty

As a result of Katherine's increasing isolation from Henry, Anne was steadily integrated into the king's court in an official capacity. Courtiers were uneasy about this relationship, yet Anne gradually came to occupy the role Katherine had maintained for many years. The Habsburgs firmly supported Katherine's position, and Chapuys's opinion of Anne reflected his imperial loyalties. His dislike was instanced in his refusal to mention Anne by name, referring to her only as 'the Lady'. He predicted dire consequences, claiming that 'if the King divorced his Queen and took another wife there would soon be mortal strife among his own subjects'.[52] This was reiterated by the Venetian ambassador, Augustino Scarpinello, who imagined if Henry married Anne 'the population here will rebel'.[53] In response to discussions about the legitimacy and popularity of his intended new queen, Henry made a concerted effort to position Anne in specifically intimate spaces that bolstered her authority.

In 1531 Anne accompanied Henry on hunting parties, a sign of the king's affection. Katherine and Chapuys recognised his intention was to display her as his consort and thereby 'accustom the lords and governors of the counties and districts he traverses on such occasions to see her with him'.[54] Such occasions demanded Anne be treated with respect, while also enabling her to garner loyalty in these circles. Intimacy, in this example, was not confined to private interaction; instead, Anne's nearness to the king signalled her elevated status. This was made more meaningful when compared to Katherine's non-attendance, an indication of the king's disloyalty and resentment. As Katherine's replacement, Anne was likely aware of the instability of Henry's loyalty and understood that intimacy was the key to protecting her status.

Mary was positioned as a rival for Henry's affection, threatening Anne's authority. In July 1530, Chapuys recounted he heard Henry inform Anne 'she was under great obligation to him, since he was offending everyone and making enemies

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[52] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 23 April 1530, no. 290' in *SP Spain*, vol. 4, part 1, 503-523.
[53] 'Augustino Scarpinello to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, 15 August 1530, no. 601' in *SP Venice*, vol. 4, 251-253.
[54] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 17 July 1531, no. 765' in *SP Spain*, vol. 4, part 2, 203-217.

everywhere for her sake'.[55] This was compared to news earlier in the letter, reporting Henry visited his daughter at Richmond showing her 'all possible affection' that Chapuys prayed 'may last!'[56] Despite being kept away from court, Mary was still adored by her father. The inclusion of both these incidents in the same dispatch suggests Chapuys compared Anne's obligation to Henry with his fatherly affection for Mary. The implication was that Mary's presence, and in particular Henry's partiality toward Mary, placed Anne under a greater obligation to produce a male heir. Henry expected Anne to reciprocate his loyalty given the disruptive actions he had taken to secure their relationship.

It is not surprising, then, that Henry's continued affection for Mary reportedly caused Anne anxiety. Anne hated Mary more than Katherine, in Chapuys's opinion, 'because she sees the King has some affection for [Mary]'.[57] The Habsburg ambassador noted that 'the King praised [Mary] in the lady's presence' causing Anne to be 'very angry'.[58] Anne's desire to monopolise Henry's affection reflected this, because, as he had demonstrated with Katherine, affection was closely associated with the King's loyalty. Reports of Anne's jealousy speak to the perceived stability of Mary's position because of the natural affection between parent and child. Mary's situation differed from Katherine's because she had maintained the King's affection. Consequently, Henry's continued paternal loyalty to his daughter was recognised as a danger to Anne's status. If Anne should give birth to a daughter, a strong case could be made to prefer Mary in the line of succession and the new queen's authority would rest solely upon Henry's continued support.

ii.   Another Daughter

When Elizabeth was born in September 1533, Henry had few options but to assert authority using space as a mechanism of control. Until Elizabeth's birth, it had suited Anne and Henry to keep Mary distant from spaces of authority, given her popularity and association with Katherine. However, the birth of another daughter altered the

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[55] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 11 July 1530 no. 373' in *SP Spain*, vol. 4, part 1, 623-642.
[56] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 11 July 1530 no. 373' in *SP Spain*, vol. 4, part 1, 623-642.
[57] 'Chapuys to Charles V, 29 April 1531, no. 216' in *L&P*, vol. 5, 94-106.
[58] 'Chapuys to Charles V, 29 April 1531, no. 216' in *L&P*, vol. 5, 94-106.

familial dynamics yet again, and Mary's demotion was imperative to establish Elizabeth's legitimacy.

In response to Elizabeth's birth, Mary was humiliatingly moved into her infant sister's household. As Chapuys indignantly commented, not 'satisfied with having taken away from his own legitimate daughter the name and title of princess' Henry removed 'all the officers and servants of her princely household' with the intention Mary would 'live as "demoiselle d'honneur" to his bastard daughter'.[59] Chapuys's account reflected his loyal support of Mary, but it also suggests Henry sought to 'daunt and intimidate' his eldest daughter because of her refusal to acknowledge Elizabeth as a princess. Garrett Mattingly's colourful description of Mary's placement in Elizabeth's household articulates the suffocating dynamics to which she was subjected. Humiliated, harassed, fearful and lonely, Mattingly summarises that 'surrounded by Anne's creatures and by spies of Thomas Cromwell's she lived in an atmosphere choking with petty malice and secret danger'.[60] There are many similarities between Henry's treatment of Katherine and Mary, in both using intimacy to force loyalties. Relegating Mary to Elizabeth's household effectively removed her from both Katherine and Henry, as well as making clear to everyone her demotion in the family hierarchy.

Anne's position was bolstered by the move because it forced Mary to acknowledge Elizabeth. Mary was escorted by the Duke of Norfolk to Elizabeth's residence because it was 'her father's pleasure that she should attend Court, and enter the service of his other bastard daughter, whom the Duke deliberately, and in her presence, called princess of Wales'. In contrast, Mary only acknowledged Elizabeth as her sibling – as she did with her half-brother Henry FitzRoy – not as the Princess of Wales because that title belonged to her and 'no one else'.[61] Mary was careful to avoid showing loyalty towards Anne and Elizabeth, despite the awkward situation she was in. Sharing a household juxtaposed Mary, with 'one chamber-maid' and the 'very worst room in the house', with Elizabeth, who had a large household staff

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[59] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 3 November 1533 no. 1144' in *SP Spain*, vol. 4, part 2, 839-858.

[60] Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon*, 293.

[61] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 16 December 1533 no. 1161' in *SP Spain*, vol. 4, part 2, 880-895.

caring for her.[62] Whether or not Chapuys's depiction of the domestic arrangements is correct, Mary's presence in the household established a hierarchy with Elizabeth as the presumptive heir. Inclusion, in these specific circumstances, was a powerful gesture of Henry's loyalty to Anne and Elizabeth. Moreover, it was an attempt to force Mary into displaying loyalty to Anne and Elizabeth by accepting her own position within the household.

Although the reorganisation of Mary's living arrangements was meant to reinforce Anne's superiority, it also provided more opportunities for Henry to interact with his eldest daughter. Anne's concern about this was evident when Henry visited Elizabeth and Mary in January 1534. The purpose of the visit was to see his youngest daughter and to 'persuade or force' Mary into renouncing her title.[63] Despite the intent to discipline Mary, Anne worried the visit might affect Henry's loyalties. Chapuys wrote that Anne was concerned that

> considering the King's weakness or instability, and that the great beauty, virtue, and wisdom of the Princess might lead her father to forget his anger, and out of pity be induced to treat her better than heretofore, and allow her to bear her title.[64]

In response, Anne 'sent hastily' to Henry and Cromwell 'to prevent him from speaking to or seeing the Princess'.[65] This incident suggests Anne lacked confidence in her relationship with Henry, and that she feared a restoration of affection for Mary could jeopardise her position. As a loyal supporter of Mary, Chapuys maintained hope that she could regain the King's favour through this type of intimate interaction. It echoed Katherine's optimism just a couple of years earlier that Henry's loyalty could be swayed through intimacy if Anne was absent.

Intimacy was something to be wary of and controlled because of its transformative potential. In his next dispatch of 1534, Chapuys relayed court gossip that Anne had planned for Mary to 'act as her train-bearer' as a way to 'cause her [Mary] and her

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[62] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 3 January 1534 no. 1' in *SP Spain*, vol. 5, part 1, 1-15.

[63] 'Eustace Chapuys, 17 January 1534 no. 4' in *SP Spain*, vol. 5, part 1, 1-15.

[64] 'Eustace Chapuys, 17 January 1534 no. 4' in *SP Spain*, vol. 5, part 1, 1-15.

[65] 'Eustace Chapuys, 17 January 1534 no. 4' in *SP Spain*, vol. 5, part 1, 1-15.

mother [Katherine] all manner of annoyances'.[66] The dispatch encapsulates the rivalry between Mary and Anne.[67] Chapuys identified two reasons that persuaded Anne against the idea of forcing Mary into her service. The first echoed earlier concerns about Henry's weakness for his daughter when they were with one another, which would be unavoidable if Mary were reintroduced to court. The second was that Mary's presence at court 'might daily gain the hearts and favour of the courtiers', threatening Anne's popularity and influence.[68] Chapuys's commentary reiterates parallel ideas of intimacy as both a practice of loyalty and punishment for disloyalty. The idea that Mary's presence at court in the intimate role of Anne's lady-in-waiting served as punishment for her disloyalty was considered against the potential for her inclusion to generate loyalty relationships with Henry and the wider court community. Bringing Mary closer to Anne also allowed her to be close to Henry, and this was perceived to be fraught with danger for the new queen's status. In both circumstances, Chapuys reflected a fundamental understanding of intimacy as a form of loyalty. While Katherine's marginalisation indicated a lack of favour, Mary's exclusion reflected her ability to challenge Anne's authority. The consideration and management of intimacy were necessary to protect loyalty relationships during the divorce crisis.

IV.   Comfort of Loyalty

The loyalty bond between mother and daughter was only strengthened by their separation from one another. When physical closeness was prohibited, loyalty was practised through letter writing to create intimacy. This argument is situated within a growing body of literature examining the epistolary and material meaning of early modern letters and letter-writing.[69] The letter, I argue, became a form of emotional

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[66] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 29 January 1534 no. 8' in *SP Spain*, vol. 5, part 1, 15-29.

[67] I further discuss the role of gossip and rumour as an emotional practice in Chapter Two.

[68] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 29 January 1534 no. 8' in *SP Spain*, vol. 5, part 1, 15-29.

[69] Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power*; Barbara J. Harris, 'What They Wrote: Early Tudor Aristocratic Women,1450–1550', in *Women and Epistolary Agency in Early Modern Culture, 1450–1690*, ed. James Daybell and Andrew Gordon (London: Routledge, 2016); James Daybell, 'Material Meanings and the Social Signs of Manuscript Letters in Early Modern England' *Literature Compass* 6, no. 3 (2009); James Daybell, 'Interpreting Materiality and Social Signs', in *The Material Letter in Early Modern England: Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practices of Letter-Writing, 1512–1635* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2012); James Daybell, *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing, 1450–1700* (New York: Palgrave, 2001); James Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers in Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); James Daybell, 'Social

refuge from Henry's coercive and emotionally manipulative behaviour. Letters helped ease the loneliness of separation, allowed mother and daughter to remain connected with one another, and ensure their goals and values continued to be aligned. Rather than becoming estranged, as Henry may have hoped, Mary and Katherine found comfort in their shared suffering. This section argues that the similarity of their isolated experiences allowed Katherine to provide advice to Mary in the hostile environment of Elizabeth's household.

i.   The Loyalty of a Mother

Katherine's reference to Mary in her petition letters to Charles V were a form of loyalty that emphasised their suffering as shared. In a letter written in 1535, Katherine described the life she and Mary lived as a 'prison in which we are, like the most miserable creatures in the world'.[70] Yet Katherine believed that their purgatory was 'in this world', defending their rights.[71] She bluntly reminded Charles that the 'charity' he had shown to her and Mary 'has been somewhat cold', especially given how 'oppressed' they were.[72] The letter petitioning her Habsburg relatives provides insight into the ways Katherine conceptualised *sharing* her pain with Mary, which in turn motivated *their* defiance, and the common use of 'we' in her letter is evidence of this. Their relationship was shaped by shared feelings of abandonment, sadness and hope. She continued in the letter, 'that I shall not fail [in this task] till death, as otherwise I should imperil my soul; and I hope to God the Princess will do the same, as a good daughter should do'.[73] Even though it is written to Charles, Katherine's letter offers an account that situates her and her daughter together despite their physical separation. Together they were not alone, and their loyalty to one another was a source of strength in opposition to Henry.

Negotiations in Correspondence between Mothers and Daughters in Tudor and Early Stuart England' *Women's History Review* 24, no. 4 (2015); Alison Wiggins, *Bess of Hardwick's Letters: Language, Materiality, and Early Modern Epistolary Culture* (London: Routledge, 2017).

[70] 'Katharine of Aragon, Queen of England, to the Emperor, 8 February 1535, no. 252' in *SP Spain*, vol. 5, part 1, 603-611.

[71] 'Katharine of Aragon, Queen of England, to the Emperor, 8 February 1535, no. 252' in *SP Spain*, vol. 5, part 1, 603-611.

[72] 'Katharine of Aragon, Queen of England, to the Emperor, 8 February 1535, no. 252' in *SP Spain*, vol. 5, part 1, 603-611.

[73] 'Katharine of Aragon, Queen of England, to the Emperor, 8 February 1535, no. 252' in *SP Spain*, vol. 5, part 1, 603-611.

An illuminating example of comfort from correspondence is a letter from Katherine to Mary in early 1534.[74] At the time Mary received the letter from Katherine she had recently been moved into Elizabeth's household and was under increasing pressure from Henry and Anne to renounce her titles. Katherine advised her daughter to

> Answer with few words, obeying the King, your father, in everything, save only that you will not offend God and lose your own soul; and go no further with learning and disputation in the matter. And wheresoever, and in whatsoever company you shall come, observe the King's commandments. Speak you few words and meddle nothing.[75]

Katherine suggested that she should both obey Henry as his daughter and continue to challenge his marriage with Anne and religious reform. This was very similar to the wifely devotion Katherine had chosen to maintain. Katherine made sense of their suffering through religion, writing that she and Mary were supported by God, and 'we never come to the kingdom of Heaven but by troubles'.[76] Written with 'good a heart', Katherine offered familial love, compassion and comfort for Mary, isolated in the hostile environment of Elizabeth's household. Katherine advised Mary, 'if it fortune that you shall have nobody with you of your acquaintance, I think it best you keep your keys yourself'.[77] Katherine's letter offers an extraordinary example of letter-writing as an emotional practice that demonstrated loyalty by offering advice that aligns mother and daughter together in their delicate resistance to Henry's wrath.

Theresa Earenfight's analysis of the letter in her biography of Katherine posits it was 'more than just any mother's advice to her much-loved daughter at a moment of grave peril', arguing the letter provided a short lesson in queenship.[78] She argues the letter provided advice based on years of queenly experience, imparting

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[74] The letter is undated, and historians believe it has been incorrectly dated in the State Papers. David Loades and Garrett Mattingly date the letter to April 1534, while Earenfight makes a conservative suggestion that it was written before 1 May 1534. See, Loades, *Mary Tudor*, 78; Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon*, 292–93, 329; Earenfight, *Catherine of Aragon*, 175. I have referenced the letter according to its description in the State Paper's Calendars, but adopt the views of scholars that the letter was written in early 1534.

[75] 'Katharine Of Aragon to the Princess Mary, September 1533, no. 1126' in *L&P*, vol. 6, 466-477.

[76] 'Katharine Of Aragon to the Princess Mary, September 1533, no. 1126' in *L&P*, vol. 6, 466-477.

[77] 'Katharine Of Aragon to the Princess Mary, September 1533, no. 1126' in *L&P*, vol. 6, 466-477.

[78] Earenfight, *Catherine of Aragon*, 180.

knowledge of how to navigate the complicated and dangerous political conditions that Mary would encounter in years to come. This contradicts David Loades's claim that the letter shows little understanding of the political implications of their defiance.[79] Earenfight argues Katherine's loyalty to her husband was also loyalty to the realm and, as such, 'this loyalty was linked inextricably to the fate of her daughter'.[80] Katherine's advice was very much a declaration of loyalty and commitment to Mary's future. *Their* pain and suffering were for a larger purpose, of which Katherine assured Mary she would see 'very good end, and better than you can desire'.[81]

The epistolary form of Katherine's letter contributes to its comforting gesture of loyalty. The materiality of the letter (shown in Figure 2) can tell us much about Mary and Katherine's relationship at that point in time. The large gap between the body of the text and Katherine's signature was a mark of affection and respect, and so too was its placement at the bottom right-hand corner. Daybell considers the use of 'significant space', whereby the greater distance between the body, the subscript and signature or the blank space on the paper in its entirety, 'the more socially esteemed the addressee'.[82] Daybell's analysis of mother–daughter epistolary practices suggests the placement of Katherine's signature is perhaps outside the norm, as he argues significant space was not a feature in letters from mothers to their daughters, where signatures are commonly found close to the main body of text.[83] As her mother, Katherine was not Mary's social inferior. Instead, the placement of her subscript and signature was a gesture of comfort, emphasising that they were in their situation *together*. In fact, Katherine's signature as 'Your loving mother, Katherine the quene' defied Henry and reaffirmed Mary's legitimacy, a strong indication of a commitment to protect her daughter's future.

Moreover, the letter itself was a token of loyalty that created intimacy between the writer and the recipient.[84] The materiality of the letter as something that Mary could

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[79] Loades, *Mary Tudor*, 78.
[80] Earenfight, *Catherine of Aragon*, 175.
[81] 'Katharine Of Aragon to the Princess Mary, September 1533, no. 1126' in *L&P*, vol. 6, 466-477.
[82] Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers*, 48–49.
[83] Daybell, 'Social Negotiations', 510.
[84] Bray, *The Friend*, 100; Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power*, 127; Holloway, *The Game of Love,* 45–68.

touch, hold and keep, helping to lessen the feeling of distance from her mother, might well have provided comfort to her in the isolation of Elizabeth's household. Katherine suggests the reciprocal exchange of letters in the conclusion, writing 'Daughter, wheresoever you become, take no pain to send for me, for if I may I will send to you.'[85] The commitment to send letters was a sign of investment in the relationship and a desire to maintain intimacy despite the difficult circumstances of their separation. In the context of Katherine warning Mary not to trust those around her, the risk of sending such a letter was also a practical demonstration of loyalty.

Letters such as this provided Mary with the intimate and affectionate presence of a mother. Allied through their shared social and familial isolation, Katherine and Mary's loyalty to each other was strengthened with empathy and affection. Katherine's advice prioritised her own goals and justified Mary's disobedience as having the support of God. It highlighted the peculiarity of Mary's position in that she still had access to Henry, which allowed her to protest the divorce in a way that Katherine could not. Maintaining Mary's affection, then, was important for Katherine, and she did so through letters such as this, offering emotional refuge, safety and support.

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[85] 'Katharine Of Aragon to the Princess Mary, September 1533, no. 1126' in *L&P*, vol. 6, 466-477.
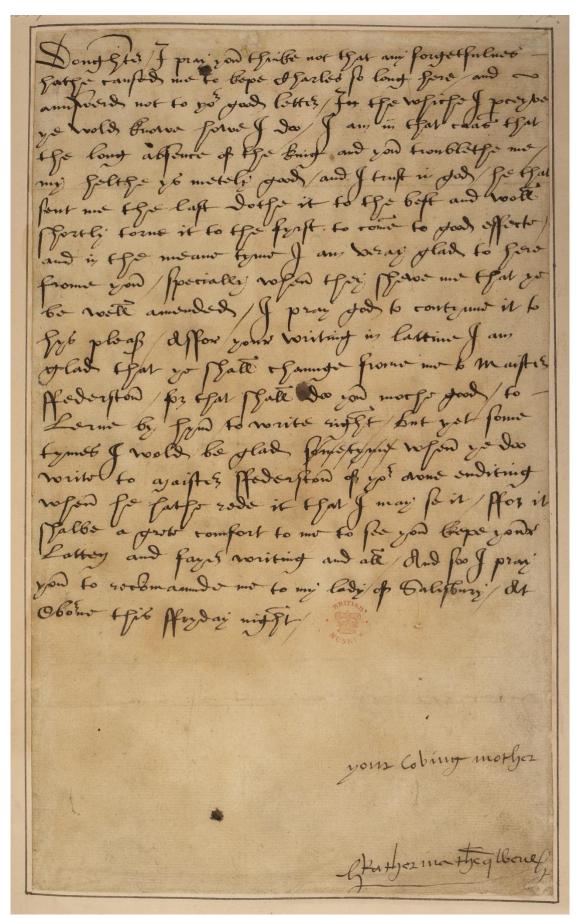
Figure 2: Letter from Katherine of Aragon to Princess Mary, Cotton Vespasian F. XIII, f.140, London, British Library.

Despite the epistolary consolation they provided one another, Mary and Katherine longed to live together. In November 1535 Charles's ambassador in Rome, Dr Pedro Ortiz, reported Mary was still 'staying at the same house where the daughter of the King's mistress is residing' with few attendants. The humiliation of having no independent household and living with her half-sister caused Mary distress. This misery was compounded by Henry's refusal to allow her to visit Katherine. Mary 'asked that she might be allowed to live with her mother' but was denied on the grounds that 'it was highly inconvenient' because she would 'more persistently refuse to obey the statutes of the kingdom' under the influence of Katherine.[86] Mary's isolation was punishment for disobeying her father. As such, the anger and impatience Henry displayed over Mary's disloyalty encouraged harsher control of her movement. She was no longer allowed to visit her mother or have her own household, as Henry was not obliged to fulfil his fatherly duties since she had not obeyed him as a daughter should. Letters provided the only form of intimacy between Mary and Katherine and were important for the continuation of their loyalty.

ii.   The Death of a Mother

The events surrounding Katherine's death in 1535 highlight the discomfort of disloyalty. In the weeks before Katherine's death Henry remained committed to the boundaries he had imposed, which prohibited intimacy between Katherine and Mary as punishment for their disobedience. One of the last letters written by Katherine was to an unknown friend who had appealed to the king on her behalf. The letter documents Katherine's despair of ever being reunited with Mary, and she thanked the friend for 'the pains that you have taken in speaking with the King my lord concerning the coming of my daughter unto me', expressing frustration 'that His Highness is contented to send her [Mary] to some place nigh me, so as I do not see her'.[87] Katherine continued that Mary's presence would provide 'a little comfort and mirth', that would 'undoubtedly be half a health unto her'. The request, she felt, was so 'just and reasonable' Katherine thought it would not 'have been denied me'.[88] Henry's rejection of the request was an extreme illustration of his determination to

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[86] 'Dr Ortiz to Granvelle, 22 November 1535, no. 231' in *SP Spain*, vol. 5, part 1, 562-574.

[87] 'Katherine of Aragon to Unknown, 1535', in Margaret Sanders, *Intimate Letters of England's Queens* (Chalford: Amberley Publishing, 2009), 18–19.

[88] 'Katherine of Aragon to Unknown, 1535', in Sanders, *Intimate Letters*, 18-19.

punish Katherine and Mary for their defiance. The distance Henry forced between mother and daughter had changed from a tool of negotiation to one that inflicted emotional suffering. As a result, Katherine exhibited significant distress in her final days without the consoling presence of her daughter.

Given the seriousness of her mother's illness, Mary employed Chapuys to petition Henry for permission to visit Katherine. Having been advised 'the Queen was "in extremis", and that if I went to her lodgings I should hardly find her alive', Chapuys 'asked the King's permission for the Princess to go and visit her mother; he at first refused, but on my representing the case duly, he said that he would consider about it, and let me know the result'.[89] Despite these attempts, however, Mary was not permitted to visit her mother before Katherine died on 7 January 1536, having not seen her daughter for several years. Chapuys's company was at least some relief to Katherine. He assured the Emperor that Katherine found 'consolation to die as it were in my [Chapuys's] arms, and not all alone like a beast'.[90] However, Henry defied the usual rituals of familial consolation and compassion during illness and death. Ralphe Houlbrooke's discussion of 'good' and 'bad' deaths during this period provides a useful point of analysis for Katherine's lonely death. Houlbrooke suggests 'children who had left their parents' household, often long beforehand, returned to receive the last blessing, to make sure of their bequests, and to comfort their parents with their presence'.[91] The practice of children returning to their parents' household during grave illness was allowed for the performance of affection and grief. Henry had deprived Katherine of a 'comfortable' death because she was unable to fulfil ritualised farewells, while Mary had to bear the grief that resulted from this rupture of usual deathbed ritual.

It was observed that Henry's decision to prohibit Mary from visiting her mother before her death compounded the grief she felt after. Two days later, Chapuys wrote he was 'afraid the good Princess her daughter will die of grief, or else that the King's concubine will carry out her threat of putting her to death, which she will certainly

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[89] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 30 December 1535, no. 246' in *SP Spain*, vol. 5, part 1, 589-602.
[90] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 9 January 1536, no. 3' in *SP Spain*, vol. 5, part 1, 1-10.
[91] Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion, and the Family in England, 1480–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 187.

do unless a prompt remedy be applied to counteract her wicked designs'.[92] Chapuys expressed a combination of anxiety for Mary's emotional well-being and physical health and concern at the implications of the changing power dynamics that would result. He also disclosed he would 'comfort and console her', an attempt to fill the void of emotional support normally offered by a father.[93] Chapuys had routinely shown his loyalty to Mary, particularly through his numerous petitions to Henry on her behalf. The consolation, care and sympathy he had for Mary after Katherine's death brought their relationship closer. Encouraged by Henry's lack of care and disregard, Mary sought sympathy from Chapuys after her mother's death, and his consolation and companionship in a particularly lonely time was proof of his unyielding loyalty. Chapuys recognised the change noting that 'since her mother's death she [Mary] writes oftener than before'. He commended her 'good sense, incomparable virtues, and unheard-of patience under the circumstances', which enabled her to 'bear with fortitude the loss of a mother'.[94] Significantly, Chapuys reflected on the unimaginable pain Mary was feeling, for she 'loved and cherished' Katherine 'perhaps more than any daughter ever did'.[95] This report infers Mary grieved the loss of companionship, comfort and support from an individual who had remained constant throughout her life.[96] The ways in which Chapuys recognised and shared Mary's pain embodied their loyalty relationship by denoting his emotional investment in her wellbeing. In the absence of fatherly compassion from Henry, Mary's trust in Chapuys developed to fill the void of Katherine's lost support. Loyalty, in her mother's life and death, provided Mary comfort through friendship and guidance that alleviated the loneliness of her father's punishment. However, the need for comfort was a result of the isolating punishment Henry had imposed in reaction to her disloyalty.

V. Conclusion

This chapter has identified intimacy as an emotional practice used to negotiate alliances during the divorce crisis. As their only daughter, Henry used Mary's

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[92] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 9 January 1536, no. 3' in *SP Spain*, vol. 5, part 2, 1-10.

[93] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 21 January 1536, no. 9' in *SP Spain*, vol. 5, part 2, 11-29.

[94] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 21 January 1536, no. 9' in *SP Spain*, vol. 5, part 2, 11-29.

[95] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 21 January 1536, no. 9' in *SP Spain*, vol. 5, part 2, 11-29.

[96] Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion, and the Family*, 220.

absence from court to force Katherine into choosing between them. Knowing that leaving the King's presence would indicate her acceptance of the separation, Katherine refused to visit their daughter as a gesture of wifely loyalty. As her resistance continued, Katherine's separation from Mary was punishment for her defiance. In this way, Henry removed Katherine's independence and imposed boundaries between mother and daughter to regain control. Katherine and Mary's permanent separation was seen and discussed a space of loneliness, fear and humiliation. It is only through considering the emotions that made these boundaries meaningful that we can fully recognise Mary's absence as a significant part of the marital conflict between Katherine and Henry.

Implementing boundaries, however, implied there was something to be gained from being close to Henry. Anne, for example, reportedly feared the natural affection between father and daughter could undermine Henry's love for her. This is reflected in her concern to limit the interaction between Mary and Henry, especially after Elizabeth's birth. Her reaction, or at least Chapuys's interpretation of it, suggests Henry's loyalty relationships were shaped by personal interactions. The idea that Henry was receptive to affection is also evident in Katherine's determination to remain with her husband, despite his attempts to force her to withdraw from court. As such, the negotiation of these loyalties was not so much associated with the spaces but with the emotions generated within them.

Mary's demonstration of love for Katherine and refusal to accept her illegitimate status defied Henry's authority. The conflict between Katherine and Henry meant it was difficult for Mary to be a dutiful and devoted daughter to both parents. Condemned for disloyalty, Henry isolated Mary from her mother, dissolved her household and humiliatingly moved her to live with Elizabeth. Rather than enforcing obedience, Henry's punishment further encouraged Mary to seek comfort in other relationships. Under these circumstances, Mary's relationship with Katherine became a space of safety from Henry's anger. Mary's connection with Katherine manifested in their shared sense of abandonment, fear, and humiliation. Thus, this chapter establishes a process of negotiation within loyalty relationships through emotional discourses. Expanding upon this, the next chapter explores how courtiers manipulated loyalty relationships by influencing the emotions that shaped them.

Chapter Two: Rumour, Reputation and Loyalty

On 10 September 1533, Eustace Chapuys wrote to Charles V reporting Anne Boleyn had given birth to a daughter. 'She is to be called Mary, like the Princess', he pronounced, 'which title, I hear in many quarters, will be taken from the true princess and given to her.'[1] This was nothing but speculation, and instead the newborn was named Elizabeth. However, this was one of many rumours surrounding Elizabeth's birth that reflected uncertainty and the desire to control narratives to foster fear. The question of which of the king's daughters was the 'true' princess characterises the issues discussed in this chapter. In the years before Elizabeth's birth, Mary's legitimacy had been attacked, doubted and defended as her parents' marriage was declared unlawful. The divisive circumstances of Henry and Katherine's separation, combined with his controversial marriage to Anne, sowed uncertainty around Mary's future. As a consequence of this uncertainty, rumour worked to shape the courtier's loyalty emotions at Henry's court, especially when relationships and reputations were under pressure. Innocuously stating that he had heard 'in many quarters' Mary would have her titles removed, Chapuys illustrated how rumour reflected anxiety and encouraged fear. Like the use of distance, the circulation of rumours was used to manipulate and negotiate loyalties as power structures around the king shifted. Mary's legitimacy was a significant point of tension between growing factions and was the topic of speculation, providing a useful point of analysis to understand rumour as a practice that shaped loyalty emotions.

Mary's reputation during the divorce crisis varied according to the feelings that shaped personal judgment. The contested nature of Mary's reputation was the result of Henry declaring his marriage to Katherine unlawful, thus compromising their daughter's status. From that moment, Mary's future status was exposed to speculation, and her father's affection for his daughter became unclear. This was further complicated by Henry's affection towards Anne and the gradual legitimisation of her authority between 1528 and 1533. However, Anne's legitimacy

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[1] 'Chapuys to Charles V, 10 September 1533, no. 1112' in *L&P*, vol. 6, 449-466.

was only possible if Mary's illegitimacy was accepted, which forced their reputations into binary opposition to one another. Acknowledging Mary as princess after her titles had been removed demonstrated loyalty by defying the king's orders. As such, rumours about Mary's reputation were bound to the restructuring of authority in the wake of Henry and Katherine's separation. Through analysing rumours about Mary, this chapter argues two key points. First, rumours were used to influence the loyalties of others. Second, and often because of the former, rumour was used to justify disloyalty. Thus, rumours were an integral part of the social and political paradigm of Henry's court during the divorce. Alongside this analysis, I show that Mary was at the heart of the reconfiguration of authority that resulted from Henry's separation from Katherine. Courtiers recognised Mary's importance in this situation, and rumour provided a means to manipulate her reputation, whether to her advantage or detriment, in their favour.

Historians have long identified the social dynamics within the royal court as a critical aspect of the Tudor political landscape. Patrick Collinson's call for 'an account for political processes which is also social' was met with a re-imagination of Tudor court politics.[2] Natalie Mears outlined the development of Tudor court history, emphasising emerging trends that focused on relationships rather than laws.[3] These studies recognise court factions, patronage, kin and marriage as relationships that held political significance.[4] In particular, Henry solidified his royal court as the primary social arena for contemporary politics. Obtaining power and authority at Henry's court relied on relationships and networks that provided access to the King's person. Thomas Betteridge and Anna Riehl discuss systems of power at Court, arguing that the centralisation of Henry's authority 'created a power

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[2] Patrick Collinson, *Elizabethan Essays* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2003), 11.

[3] Natalie Mears, 'Courts, Courtiers, and Culture in Tudor England', *The Historical Journal* 46, no. 3 (2003).

[4] Simon Adams, 'Faction, Clientage and Party: English Politics, 1550–1603', *History Today* 32 (1982); Paul E. J. Hammer, 'Patronage at Court, Faction and the Earl of Essex', in *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade*, ed. John Guy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Elaine Kruse, '"A Network of Honor and Obligation": Elizabeth as Godmother', in *Queens Matter in Early Modern Studies*, ed. Anna Riehl Bertolet (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2017), 181–98; Retha M. Warnicke, *Elizabeth of York and Her Six Daughters-in-Law* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2017), 133–72; Waldemar Heckel, 'King's Daughters, Sisters, and Wives: Fonts and Conduits of Power and Legitimacy,'" in *Royal Women and Dynastic Loyalty*, ed. Caroline Dunn and Elizabeth Carney (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2018).

gradation connected to the level of access to the authority figure granted to individuals'.[5] The gradation of power, as Betteridge and Riehl termed it, continually evolved as the king's priorities changed.

Therefore, the concept of friendship was significant within a political structure reliant on alliance networks. Humanist discourse during this period defined high moral standards for friendship – honesty, reliability, and trust.[6] These ideas of friendship also described what to look for in a friend. Although this chapter is particularly concerned with political alliances, they were, nonetheless, a type of friendship governed by ethical concepts.[7] Thus, the link between reputation – recognising another as honourable and trustworthy – was necessary for the creation and maintenance of alliances at court. The correlation between reputation and power meant it was a valuable commodity. The early modern humanist Desiderius Erasmus emphasised the 'loss of reputation [as] the worst blow imaginable' because it was 'an especially valuable possession'.[8] Social isolation was a detrimental consequence of losing reputation because it prohibited access to, and exercise of, authority and power. Since the maintenance of strong alliances was necessary to operate within the Court environment, attacking the reputation of a rival facilitated the breakdown of their social connections. As such, the effectiveness of rumours relied on the value of reputation at the Henrician court.

The aim of this chapter is to explore the function of rumours in creating, maintaining and justifying loyalty and disloyalty as access to Henry changed and the hierarchy of authority evolved. Specifically, it is evident rumours were an accessible means of engaging with politics for those without formal, or stable, power. Early modern historians have established gossiping as a way for women to engage in patriarchal

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[5] Thomas Betteridge and Anna Riehl, *Tudor Court Culture* (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 2010), 95.

[6] For further discussion, see Maritere López, *Discourses and Representations of Friendship in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1700* (Farnham: Taylor & Francis 2010), 1–28. Ronald G. Asch, 'Patronage, Friendship and the Politics of Access: The Role of the Early Modern Favourite Revisited', in *The Key to Power? The Culture of Access in Princely Courts, 1400–1750*, ed. Dries Raeymaekers and Sebastiaan Derks (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 178–201.

[7] Evgeny Roshchin, *Friendship Among Nations: History of a Concept* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 111.

[8] Desiderius Erasmus, 'Lingua', trans. Elaine Fantham, in *Collected Works of Erasmus : Literary and Educational Writings 7*, ed. Elaine Fantham and Erika Rummel (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 271.

systems of governance.[9] Merry Wiesner-Hanks identifies 'the spreading of rumours' as one of the few channels of power open to women.[10] Natalie Mears has argued women's engagement in 'gossip' at court was politically and socially engaged, far from 'trivial' and therefore worthy of serious scholarly consideration.[11] In the context of early modern Venice, Elizabeth Horodowich argues that, among other functions, the participation in circuits of gossip was a 'weapon of the weak'.[12]

As Claire Walker and Heather Kerr remind us, 'talk was often used as an indirect, occasionally subversive, form of political action, by people who were otherwise powerless to enact change in communal relations'.[13] This body of scholarship has demonstrated rumour was an instrumental aspect of informal power negotiation throughout a range of early modern communities by providing individuals with the ability to control a narrative to suit their own agenda.

Historians also identify periods of social upheaval produced ideal conditions for rumours to thrive. Zita Eva Rohr examines rumours during the Hundred Years War in a case study that demonstrated a connection between rumour, reputation and obtaining power. 'In the quest for dynastic or political advancement,' Rohr argued,

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[9] Una McIlvenna, 'Poison, Pregnancy, and Protestants: Gossip and Scandal at the Early Modern French Court' in *Fama and Her Sisters: Gossip and Rumour in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Claire Walker and Heather Kerr (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2014), 137–60; James Daybell, 'Suche Newes as on the Quenes Hye Wayes We Have Mett" The News Networks of Elizabeth Talbot, countess of Shrewsbury (c.1527-1608)," in *Women and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. James Daybell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 114–31; James Daybell, 'Gender Politics and Diplomacy: Women, News and Intelligence Networks in Elizabethan England', in *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture*, ed. Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2011), 101–14.

[10] Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, *Gender in History* (Malden: Blackwell, 2001), 138. See also Ronda Arab, 'Between Women: Slanderous Speech and Neighborly Bonds in Henry Porter's The Two Angry Women of Abington', in *The Politics of Female Alliance in Early Modern England*, ed. Christina Luckyj and Niamh J. O'Leary (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2017), 37.

[11] Natalie Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 111–12; Bernard Capp, 'Distaff Power: Plebeian Female Alliances in Early Modern England', in *The Politics of Female Alliance in Early Modern England*, ed. Christina Luckyj and Niamh J O'Leary (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2017), 15.

[12] Elizabeth Horodowich, 'The Gossiping Tongue: Oral Networks, Public Life and Political Culture in Early Modern Venice', *Renaissance Studies* 19, no. 1 (2005): 44.

[13] Claire Walker and Heather Kerr, 'Introduction: New Perspectives on Fama', in *Fama and Her Sisters: Gossip and Rumour in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Claire Walker and Heather Kerr (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2014), 2. Susan Phillips also argues gossip was a 'serious threat and powerful tool': see Susan Phillips, *Transforming Talk: The Problem with Gossip in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 204.

'men and women checkmated their opponents by taking control of public opinion via the media of rumor, propaganda, and innuendo.'[14] Gordon McKelvie similarly found rumour was a fundamental aspect of fifteenth-century Scottish politics during periods of crisis. Among McKelvie's conclusions, he drew attention to the utilisation of rumour when there was confusion about an event. Bernard Capp argues 'malicious gossip was very often triggered by a personal or family dispute', highlighting the insecurities of relationships and the need to protect personal interest.[15] Rumour, in this context, was used to create and legitimise a coherent narrative.[16] Their research highlights the prevalence of rumours during periods of social disruption, when relationships and power dynamics were negotiated and reordered.

Rumour held an important social function at the Henrician court, and royal courts more generally. Una McIlvenna examines the construction and circulation of rumours and the instability of reputation at the Valois court. In a case study of Isabelle de Limeuil, one of Catherine de' Medici's ladies in waiting, McIlvenna describes the scandal of her affair with Protestant Louis de Bourbon and her subsequent exclusion from court.[17] McIlvenna encourages historians to move beyond 'the traditional view of gossip as petty and trivia concerned "only" with details of interpersonal relationships' as these practices often had real and significant outcomes in the royal court, 'especially when those relationships are between politically influential actors'.[18] Daybell shares this view, arguing that rumours 'assume political importance in a society preoccupied with rank, status, reputation, power and influence' – for example, 'rumours such as insulting remarks about Elizabeth I's temper and vanity … whether grounded in truth or not, take on a

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[14] Zita Eva Rohr, 'True Lies and Strange Mirrors: The Uses and Abuses of Rumor, Propaganda, and Innuendo During the Closing Stages of the Hundred Years War', in *Queenship, Gender, and Reputation in the Medieval and Early Modern West, 1060–1600*, ed. Zita Eva Rohr and Lisa Benz (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 66.

[15] Capp, 'Distaff Power', 21.

[16] Gordon McKelvie, 'Rumour, Slander and Propaganda in Fifteenth-Century Scottish Politics', *Historical Research* 20 (2023): 19.

[17] Una McIlvenna, *Scandal and Reputation at the Court of Catherine de Medici* (London: Routledge, 2016), 101–29. See also McIlvenna, 'Poison, Pregnancy, and Protestants', 137–60.

[18] McIlvenna, *Scandal and Reputation*, 122

particular importance when circulated'.[19] Carole Levin notes that 'Mary too was a subject of scandal and rumors', citing ongoing speculation about her pregnancies while she was queen. In a discussion of rumours during Elizabeth's reign, Levin argues people's engagement with rumours often reflected individual 'political or religious standpoint'.[20] Thus, the rumour as a form of social negotiation in royal courts is well established. In an emotion-charged space such as the Henrician court, rumours had the capacity to disrupt and reinforce power hierarchies through networks between courtiers, families and ambassadors. Rumour was thus an important practice in loyalty relationships; it denoted trust, created intimacy and confirmed the sharing of goals and values. As such, this chapter focuses less on Mary's own voice and more on how people discussed her legitimacy or illegitimacy according to their loyalty networks as the court restructured in reaction to the divorce of her parents.

The chapter is divided into three sections. Beginning with a discussion of the rumours surrounding Katherine's first marriage to Arthur, I explain the emergence of two competing narratives that ultimately implicated Mary's legitimacy. Following this, I outline Mary's status as Henry's heir before 1528 and her reputation as England's 'virtuous Princess'. This discussion is necessary to understand the challenges Henry and Anne faced once they declared her illegitimacy, and why rumours were necessary given the years spent promoting her rank. Together, the first two sections situate Mary's reputation as an essential lynchpin of the Tudor dynasty. The third and final section considers Anne's association with rumours attacking Mary's legitimacy as the power gradation below Henry shifted between his second wife and the daughter of his first marriage. I argue the period between 1528 and 1536 was defined by a series of irreconcilable truths concerning both Mary's and Anne's reputations debated through rumours. As such, analysing the motivation and purpose of these rumours reveals a dialogue of loyalty negotiations.

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[19] Daybell, 'News and Intelligence Networks of Elizabeth Talbot', 125. See also James Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 142.

[20] Carole Levin, *The Reign and Life of Queen Elizabeth I: Politics, Culture, and Society* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022), 241–42.

I.   Theoretical Framework

Rumours are often discussed within a framework of social control. In Barbara Rosenwein's concept of emotional community there are systems of feeling that help people within them 'define and assess' emotions that are 'valuable or harmful to them' and make evaluations about other's emotions.[21] Elwin Hofman, in an analysis of gossip in an eighteenth-century Flemish community, considers social control 'a form of power, the power to influence the behaviour of others by explicitly or implicitly referring to social norms'.[22] Consequently, in seeking to understand loyalty as an emotion, I explore the role of rumours in shaping these feelings.

It is through this lens we can understand rumours as a series of judgements with the purpose of shaping another's emotions. The sharing of gossip and rumour cultivated intimacy between gossipers, implying a certain level of trust in sharing scandalous or private knowledge, and, as the previous chapter argues, intimacy itself was to negotiate loyalty. Katie Barclay explores the cultivation of intimate relationships between domestic servants in the early modern Scottish household, arguing that while 'gossip was a useful tool for creating a sense of community, as well as disciplining its members and potentially destabilizing power hierarchies', it could not alone 'sustain a relationship'.[23] Similarly, this chapter identifies rumours as means of intimacy through which loyalty developed. Rumours exhibited underlying goals and values that created shared investment between those engaging in the rumour. Throughout this chapter, I consider how rumours depicted a person's reputation and how they reflected the loyalties of the people engaging with the rumour. It asks how rumour created fear and anxiety, and how this was used to create alliances. I argue that the rumour was a tool of persuasion used to

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[21] Jan Plamper, 'The History of Emotions: An Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns', *History and Theory* 49, no. 2 (2010): 252. For further discussion, see Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (London: Cornell University Press, 2006), 24–25.

[22] Elwin Hofman, 'An Obligation of Conscience: Gossip as Social Control in an Eighteenth-Century Flemish Town', *European Review of History—Revue européenne d'histoire* 21, no. 5 (2014): 654.

[23] Katie Barclay, 'Gossip, Intimacy and the Early Modern Household' in *Fama and Her Sisters: Gossip and Rumour in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Claire Walker and Heather Kerr (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2014), 187–203.

orientate loyalty emotions towards a particular person or goal, exploiting shared emotional norms to change a person's feelings towards another.

Rumours about Mary indicate her significance during these years and can tell us much about her perceived value. I have selected key rumours between 1528 and 1536 that represent the connection between rumour, reputation and loyalties. I approach the sources seeking to understand the fundamental values and goals of the people sharing certain rumours, recognising that the intent behind the rumours is far more important than the truth of the matter. The sources themselves are varied, ranging from ambassadors' dispatches to deposition statements, each created with a different objective. Routinely overlooked as unreliable, the prejudices within these sources are the focus of my analysis to reveal the reasons and goals behind the rumours they discuss.

II.   Unlawful Marriage?

Katherine married Arthur Tudor, Henry's older brother, in 1501 at the age of fifteen. Only five months later Arthur died, leaving Henry as England's heir. By 1503 their father, King Henry VII, had renegotiated a treaty for his remaining son and heir to wed Katherine. Canon law normally prevented such marriages on the grounds of affinity, the relation between two people established by sexual relations between their kin. Henry was related to Katherine through affinity because of her previous marriage to Arthur. However, Pope Julius II granted a dispensation permitting Henry and Katherine's marriage. It was generally assumed by those involved, and confirmed by the Pope granting the dispensation, that Katherine and Arthur's marriage had been consummated. Katherine, however, always maintained that the dispensation was not necessary because her marriage to Arthur had never been consummated and she remained a virgin. With the Pope's approval, Henry married Katherine shortly after becoming king and the issue was not raised until the 'Great Matter' began in 1527.[24] One of Henry's arguments for an annulment was that the

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[24] For further discussion of Henry's theological arguments see, for example, G. W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 14–26; Andrew A Chibi, '"Turpitudinem Uxoris Fratris tui Non Revelavit": John Stokesley and the Divorce Question', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 25, 2 (1994): 387–97. Several historians have discussed Henry and Katherine's divorce more generally; see David Starkey, *Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2003), 196–248; Patrick

marriage had never been lawful because of affinity laws. Henry used two verses from Leviticus as evidence: 'Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy brother's wife: it is thy brother's nakedness'[25] and 'If a man takes his brother's wife, it is an impurity: he has uncovered his brother's nakedness; they shall be childless.'[26] As a result, Katherine's virtue and honour were at the centre of speculation, as she claimed the marriage with Arthur was never consummated.

The case against Katherine largely consisted of hearsay, which was used to discredit her reputation. An example can be found in Sir Antony Willoughby's deposition, which recalled he was 'present when Prince Arthur went to bed on his marriage night in the palace of the bishop of London'. The morning after, Willoughby remembered Arthur asking to him 'bring me a cup of ale, for I have been this night in the midst of Spain', and that it was 'good pastime to have a wife'.[27] In addition to his interaction with Arthur, Willoughby also 'heard that they lay together the Shrovetide following at Ludlow'.[28] This deposition was an essential building block in the case against Katherine, which painted her claims to the contrary as deceitful. Thomas Boleyn claimed he had 'heard from many who were familiar with the Prince, that the day after his marriage he said he had been in the midst of Spain', while another account claimed to have 'heard from trustworthy persons that they cohabited as man and wife'.[29] These statements were among several depositions taken that claimed to have direct knowledge, or have 'heard', that the marriage had been consummated. Together they were used to corroborate and substantiate one another, creating a narrative of fact used to support Henry's argument. This was necessary because of the private nature of the issue; only Arthur or Katherine could

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Williams, *Katherine of Aragon: Henry VIII's Lawful Wife?* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2013), 243–347; David Loades, *Henry VIII and His Queens* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2000), 31–53; Catherine Fletcher, *The Divorce of Henry VIII: The Untold Story from inside the Vatican* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997) 163–240; Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon,* 263–94.

[25] Lev. 18:16 Vulg. A version of the Latin original found in sixteenth-century Vulgates reads 'Turpitudinem uxoris fratris tui non revelavit, quia turpitudo fratris tui est.'

[26] Lev. 20:21 Vulg. 'Qui duxerit uxorem fratris sui rem facit illicitam; turpitudinem fratris sui revelavit, absque liberis erunt.'

[27] 'Deposition of Sir Antony Willoughby, July 1529, no. 5774 (1)' in *L&P*, vol. 4, 2572-2585.

[28] 'Deposition of Sir Antony Willoughby, July 1529, no. 5774 (1)' in *L&P*, vol. 4, 2572-2585.

[29] 'Deposition of Thos. visc. Rocheford, 15 July 1529, no. 5774 (14)' in *L&P*, vol. 4, 2572-2585; 'Deposition of [Unknown], July 1529, no. 5774 (13)' in *L&P*, vol. 4, 2572-2585

confirm the truth. These accounts inevitably tainted Katherine's honour and virtue as her honesty was publicly discussed and doubted.

Katherine, condemned by rumour, also used it to expose her husband's dishonourable behaviour. David Starkey argues Katherine's political aptitude was evident in the early stages of the divorce by her determination to make the issue public, denying Henry's desire to keep it private. Starkey argued that 'rumour and the force of public opinion would do part of her work for her' for 'Henry might win England; she would be victorious abroad'.[30] The Imperial ambassador has claimed the affair was 'as notorious as if it had been proclaimed by the public crier', as word spread of the situation throughout England and Europe. The truth of Katherine and Arthur's marriage was subjective, and this laid the foundation for competing narratives. Protesting she was a 'true humble and obedient wife' and that 'when ye had me at the first, I take God to be my judge, I was a true maid without touch of man', Katherine argued an alternative and conflicting truth.[31] Having 'both heard by report, and perceived before her eyes, the matter how it framed against her', Katherine fiercely challenged the case against her.[32]

As a result, rumour circulated in support of Katherine, condemning the morality of Henry's actions. Charles V remarked 'that his Serenity the King would consent to have her [Mary] and her mother [Katherine] dishonoured, a thing in itself so unreasonable that there is no example of it in ancient or modern history'.[33] Henry's honour and treatment of Katherine were judged because of the deliberate effort by Katherine to influence public opinion and find allies abroad. In contrast, the Duke of Norfolk, Anne Boleyn's uncle, proclaimed 'he would sooner have lost one of his hands than that such a question should have arisen; but it was entirely a matter of law and conscience'.[34] Comparatively, Norfolk viewed Henry's actions as the ethical thing to do, reflecting his ambition for Anne. The segregation between factions evidently used the language of honour and conscience to justify their loyalties.

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[30] David Starkey, *Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2003), 210–11.
[31] George Cavendish, *The Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, 2rd ed., ed. Samuel Weller Singer (London: Harding and Lepard, 1827), 214–15.
[32] Cavendish, *The Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, 131.
[33] 'The Emperor to Don Iñigo de Mendoza, 29 July 1527, no. 131' in *SP Spain*, vol. 3, part 2, 295-311.
[34] 'Chapuys to Charles V, 25 October 1529, no. 6026' in *L&P*, vol. 4, 2675-2688.

Courtney Thomas's study of honour in the early modern household has revealed the extent to which the idea could unify and segregate a family unit. Thomas explains that 'while rifts between spouses and parents and children were damaging to a family and the cause of much grief to individual members of the family unit, they could be almost impossible to mend when competing ideas of personal honour came into direct conflict'.[35] Thomas's findings demonstrate the potential for conflict when competing ideas of honour – or, in this example, the morals of truth – were irreconcilable. As the divorce implicated the honour of both Henry and Katherine, rumours became an important way of disseminating their competing narratives. Rumour, from the early stages of the divorce crisis, was essential in the transformation of reputations to influence people's loyalties.

This dialogue also implicated Mary's legitimacy given the validity of her parent's marriage was in question. Mary was recalled from the Welsh Marches in 1528 and her vice-regal household dissolved, and from this point her future was debated as Henry's plans for his daughter remained unclear. For example, in October 1528 the English ambassador to Spain, Edward Lee, wrote to Henry, concerned he had heard that the French doubted 'the legitimacy of the Princess'.[36] One of the repercussions of seeking a divorce from Katherine was that Henry was left without any legitimate children. The French ambassador, Jean du Bellay, wrote to Anne de Montmorency that 'I believe you know what they say they will do with the Princess if the divorce proceed … give her a good marriage, leaving her, as far as they can, no claim to the succession'.[37] The uncertainty surrounding Mary's future jeopardised Henry's authority, as he was left without an heir. This was a particularly vulnerable position for a king and, as a result, Henry sought to defend the legitimacy of his daughter as rumours dispersed across the European continent.

III.   Mary, the Princess

Prior to the Great Matter, Mary was known as England's 'virtuous princess', praised by her parents, courtiers and visiting diplomats. Mary's legitimacy had never been

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[35] Courtney Thomas, 'The Honour & Credite of the Whole House', *Cultural and Social History* 10, no. 3 (2013): 333.

[36] 'Lee to Henry VIII, 16 October 1528, no. 4852', SPO, Cotton Vespasian C/IV f.284.

[37] 'Du Bellay to Montmorency, 8 November 1528, 4915' in *L&P*, vol. 4, 2120-2134.

a concern; rather, discussion centred upon her gender and right to succession. In fact, Henry had made a concerted effort to present Mary as the heir presumptive without formally declaring her such.[38] Accordingly, courtiers sought to please the king by praising the character of his daughter. An early example of Mary's reputation can be found in a letter from Henry's councillors who visited the four-year-old princess, describing her as 'in good health, increasing in wit and virtue as in years'.[39] In the same letter, they praised Mary who welcomed the French 'gentlemen with most goodly countenance, proper communication, and pleasant pastime in playing at the virginals, that they greatly marvelled and rejoiced the same, her young and tender age considered'.[40] The princess was 'right merry … and daily exercising herself in virtuous pastimes and occupations', which cultivated her image as a young and established royal.[41] The report complimented her education, virtue and manners, common themes in descriptions of Mary during her early years. As Henry's only legitimate child, Mary's development was significant for the future of the monarchy. It is apparent that Henry cared for his daughter and his councillors evidently understood this and reported only positive attributes.

Mary's value, to Henry and others, was that she embodied the royal bloodline and her reputation as England's princess was of value in negotiating marriage treaties. In a study of women's power through their embodiment of royal lineage, Waldemar Heckel argues that the 'perceived legitimacy of the female, based on her position in the royal bloodline, empowers her "possessor" (if that is not too strong a term)'. Heckel continued that a royal woman was not 'merely a means to power but often essential to the attainment of it'.[42] Mary was more valuable to Henry if she was presented as the irrefutable heir to the throne when negotiating marriage treaties

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[38] Jeri McInstosh, *From Heads of Households to Heads of State: The Preaccession Households of Mary and Elizabeth Tudor, 1516–1558* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 29–37; Beem, 'Princess of Wales? Mary Tudor and the History of English Heirs to the Throne' ed. Sarah Duncan and Valerie Schutte, *The Birth of a Queen Essays on the Quincentenary of Mary I* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 13; Judith Richards, *Mary Tudor*, (London: Routledge, 2008), 45–49; Anna Whitelock, *Mary Tudor: England's First Queen* (London: Bloomsbury, 2009), 32–38.

[39] 'The Lords of the Council to Henry VIII, July 1520, no. 896' in *L&P*, vol. 3, 330-331.

[40] 'The Lords of the Council to Henry VIII, July 1520, no. 896' in *L&P*, vol. 3, 330-331.

[41] Sebastiano Giustiniani, *Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII*, ed. Rawdon Brown, trans. Rawdon Brown, vol. 2 (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1854), 226.

[42] Heckel, 'King's Daughters, Sisters, and Wives', 20.

with European dynasties. Thus, Henry promoted and protected his daughter's status to reflect his own wealth and status.

As Mary grew older, she played an increasingly important role in royal spectacles to bolster her reputation as heir. In 1527, the Venetian ambassador, Gasparo Spinelli, visited the Henrician court. As part of the entertainment, Henry hosted an event at Greenwich Palace that promoted the ostentatious wealth of the Tudor dynasty. Spinelli's observations suggested Mary was the principal focus of the event. Seated at the front of the hall on the royal table she dined with the French ambassador, a subtle indication of her status and rank.[43] Moreover, Spinelli described Mary as so beautiful she 'produced such an effect on everybody that all the other marvellous sights previously witnessed were forgotten, and they gave themselves up solely to contemplation of so fair an angel'.[44] Dressed in 'so many precious stones that their splendour and radiance dazzled the sight in such wise as to make one believe that she was decked with all the gems of the eighth sphere', Mary embodied wealth and virtue and reflected the power and authority of her father, the King.[45] Highlighting Mary's accomplishments emphasised her position within the social hierarchy of the Henrician court as the exemplary extension of her father. The very spectacle of Mary's presence affirmed the wealth of the Tudor dynasty. These attributes promoted the desirability for marriage to the princess, which Henry used during diplomatic negotiations. Within this context, Mary's reputation was curated as an extension of her father's – wealthy, virtuous and honourable.

Given ambassadors often travelled overseas to negotiate marriage treaties, conveying Mary's royal reputation was necessary in lieu of her physical absence. On his trip to France to secure a marriage between Mary and the Duke of Orleans, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, John Clerk, declared the princess as 'the pearl of the world' and the 'jewel that his highness [Henry VIII] esteemed more than anything in

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[43] 'Gasparo Spinelli, Venetian Secretary in London, to his brother Lodovico Spinelli, in Venice, 7 May 1527, no. 105' in *SP Venice*, vol. 4, 56-66.

[44] 'Gasparo Spinelli, Venetian Secretary in London, to his brother Lodovico Spinelli, in Venice, 7 May 1527, no. 105' in *SP Venice*, vol. 4, 56-66.

[45] 'Gasparo Spinelli, Venetian Secretary in London, to his brother Lodovico Spinelli, in Venice, 7 May 1527, no. 105' in *SP Venice*, vol. 4, 56-66.

earth'.[46] While the ambassadors clearly emphasised the princess's attributes, they also made the point of connecting her to Henry. By describing the sentimental relationship between father and daughter, they reinforced Mary's access to Henry. Pronouncing her as the king's most coveted 'jewel', the ambassadors alluded to Mary's value and the profitability of marriage. Not only did this demonstrate Mary's reputation was an extension of her father's, but it also depended on her affective relationship with him.

It is evident Henry was willing to use his daughter as diplomatic currency. Loyalty was transferrable through marriage and formulated the principal element of marriage treaties between dynasties.[47] The Archbishop of Capua, Nicholas von Schomberg, recognised that 'in time of war the English make use of the princess as an owl, with which to lure birds'.[48] This comment, together with descriptions of Mary as a virtuous, established and loved princess, reveals she held strategic value – she embodied the continuation of the Tudor house as Henry's heir presumptive, allowing him to engage in diplomatic negotiations using the promise of his daughter, the 'pearl of the world'. Mary held significant political and social value because of her connection and access to Henry, which he was willing to utilise himself. Mary's diplomatic significance meant she was not just valuable to Henry, but to those who could access the King through her. Thus, Mary attracted a network of loyal supporters who depended on her regal status to access authority.

The continued recognition of Mary as a legitimate heir became contentious as Henry proceeded to divorce Katherine. Mary was still described as 'sixteen years old; a handsome, amiable (*graziosa*) and very accomplished Princess, in no respect

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[46] BL Cotton Calig. D IX fol. 272 in Whitelock, *Mary Tudor*, 36.

[47] For further discussions about early modern diplomatic marriage see, Joan-Lluís Palos, 'Introduction: Bargaining Chips: Strategic Marriages and Cultural Circulation in Early Modern Europe', in *Early Modern Dynastic Marriages and Cultural Transfer*, ed. Joan-Lluís Palos and Magdalena S. Sánchez (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 1–18; Paula Stutter Fichtner, 'Dynastic Marriage in Sixteenth-Century Habsburg Diplomacy and Statecraft: An Interdisciplinary Approach', *The American Historical Review* 81, 2 (1976): 243-65; Anna-Marie Linnell, 'Becoming a Stuart Queen Consort: Nuptial Texts for Henrietta Maria of France and Catherine of Braganza, Queens of Britain', in *Queens Consort, Cultural Transfer and European Politics, c.1500–1800*, ed. Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Adam Morton (London: Routledge, 2016), 153–66.

[48] 'Gasparo Contarini to the Council of Ten, 4 December 1524, no. 902' in *SP Venice*, vol. 3, 393-397.

inferior to her mother' in 1531 by the Venetian ambassador.[49] In April 1533, in the months prior to Anne Boleyn's coronation, the Venetian ambassador Marin Giustinian highlighted both Mary's and Katherine's popularity, stating 'the Queen was beloved as if she had been of the blood royal of England; and the Princess in like manner'.[50] Giustinian's comment drew attention to the difficult situation in which Anne's authority, after she had married Henry in January that year, competed with Katherine's and Mary's popularity. Since her birth, Mary's reputation had been bound to that of her father. The challenge in declaring Mary illegitimate was that it required undoing the narrative that had firmly placed her as the 'jewel' of the nation. Within the paradigm of competing reputations, rumours were used to reverse perceptions of Mary. As a result, to restructure Henry's loyalties the narrative of Mary as the King's beloved and virtuous princess was manipulated to reframe her as an illegitimate daughter.

IV.   Ruining Reputation

Reputations often fell victim to rumour at Henry's court. Lisa Mansfield's examination of Henry's fourth wife, Anne of Cleves, exemplifies the power of rumour to reconstruct reputation to support personal and political goals.[51] Arriving in England on 27 December 1539, Anne's marriage to Henry was annulled only six months later. Mansfield argues perceptions of Holbein's portrait of Anne of Cleves used in the negotiation of the marriage have been 'eternally marred' by Henry's insulting comments about her lack of femininity and matronly body upon meeting her in real life. Henry, she argues, 'exerted his power, and knowledge of gossip and rumour' to reconstruct ideas and perceptions of Anne of Cleves that suited his 'own changing needs and desires'.[52] Henry fuelled rumours to ruin Anne of Cleves reputation by depicting her as an unsightly and inapt queen, providing a reason for his divorce. Anne of Cleves was not alone in falling victim to rumour; as discussed in the first section of this chapter, Henry used a similar tactic in the divorce with

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[49] 'Report of England, made to the Senate by Lodovico Falier, 10 November 1531, no. 694' in *SP Venice*, vol. 4, 291-307.

[50] 'Marin Giustinian to the Signory, 15 April 1533, no. 871' in *SP Venice*, vol. 4, 392-400.

[51] Lisa Mansfield, 'Face-to-Face with the 'Flanders Mare': *Fama* and Hans Holbein the Younger's *Portrait of Anne of Cleves*', in *Fama and Her Sisters: Gossip and Rumour in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Claire Walker and Heather Kerr (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2014), 115–36.

[52] Mansfield, "Face-to-Face with the 'Flanders Mare'," 133.

Katherine proving its power to create a dominant narrative to further his goals. This section reveals his eldest daughter was also subjected to gossip and rumours that reconstructed her reputation.

Katherine recognised Mary's reputation would be implicated in her speech at the divorce hearing held at Blackfriars in May 1529. Approaching Henry and kneeling at his feet, Katherine pleaded with her husband to consider the implications of the divorce. In an account from the French ambassador, Katherine begged Henry to

> consider her honor, her daughter's, and his; that he should not be displeased at her defending it, and should consider the reputation of her nation and relatives, who will be seriously offended.[53]

Katherine – and the ambassadors observing the confrontation – showed awareness of the danger to Mary's reputation. That her Habsburg relatives would also be offended by the divorce affirms their involvement in the matter. The Imperial ambassador, Eustace Chapuys, reported regularly on rumours attacking Mary's reputation, reflecting the filial loyalty that caused Habsburg interest in the matter. Despite Katherine's attempts to protect her daughter, Mary's reputation was subjected to gossip and rumour as the court divided over the divorce.

Rumours about Mary's reputation intensified once news of Anne's pregnancy began to circulate at court in 1533. Henry's loyalty to Mary, as his only heir, shifted to focus on the imminent birth of a son with Anne. Without Henry defending her legitimacy, the division between those loyal to Mary and in opposition became clearer. An exchange between Chapuys and Henry in April 1533 illustrated the tension. 'The King,' Chapuys reported, 'said that he wished to ensure the succession to his kingdom by having children, which he had not at present.'[54] In response to this claim, Chapuys reminded him that

> he had one daughter, the most virtuous and accomplished that could be thought of, just of suitable age to be married and get children, and that it

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[53] '[Jean] Du Bellay To Francis I, 22 June 1529, no. 5702' in *L&P*, vol. 4, 2523-2531. For a similar account see 'Lodovico Falier to —, 29 June 1529, no. 482' in *SP Venice*, vol. 4, 219-20. In this report Katherine insists 'she did not deserve to be repudiated and thus put to shame without any cause', but there is no mention of Mary's reputation specifically.

[54] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 15 April 1533, no. 1061' in *SP Spain*, vol. 4, part 2, 628-646.

seemed as if Nature had decided that the succession to the English throne should be through the female line, as he himself had obtained it, and therefore, that he could by marrying the Princess to some one secure the succession he was so anxious for.[55]

This confrontation captures the binary opposition between Mary's legitimacy and a child born to any of Henry's subsequent marriages. Fundamentally, accepting the legitimacy of Anne's and Henry's child meant acknowledging their marriage was lawful. Therefore, Chapuys's support of Mary as the legitimate, and only, heir was a clear expression of loyalty to both the princess and Katherine. As a result of Anne's pregnancy, loyalties were evidenced by the acceptance or denial of Mary's legitimacy.

The birth of another daughter rather than a son forced Henry into declaring Mary illegitimate. However, after years of demonstrating paternal and dynastic loyalty to Mary in support of her as heir, Henry found it difficult to reverse the narrative. At the end of June 1533, Giustinian wrote to the Signory in Venice highlighting the uncertainty of Mary's situation. Giustinian wrote, 'the King does not choose the Princess any longer to be styled "Princess," but "Madame Mary" [Madama Maria]'.[56] Altering Mary's title from Princess to Madame (or Lady) was a significant indication Henry's loyalties had shifted to prioritise Anne and Elizabeth's legitimacy.

Mary refused to accept her new status, complaining to Henry that a letter addressed her as 'the lady Mary, the King's daughter' and noting that it omitted 'the name of Princess'. The reason for this, Mary suggested, was that Henry must not have been aware of the error 'not doubting but you take me for your lawful daughter, [born] in true matrimony'.[57] Despite her father's actions, Mary maintained the belief she was born a lawful daughter. This perspective differed substantially from those who supported the removal of her titles. From their perspective Mary had forgotten her 'filial duty and allegiance' and attempted 'arrogantly to usurp the title of Princess, pretending to be heir apparent'.[58] The narrative of Mary's illegitimacy had been complicated by the affection Henry had shown his daughter in the past. Perhaps,

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[55] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 15 April 1533, no. 1061' in *SP Spain*, vol. 4, part 2, 628-646.
[56] 'Marin Giustinian to the Signory, 28 June 1533, no. 928' in *SP Venice*, vol. 4, 415-430.
[57] 'The Princess Mary to [Henry VIII.], 2 October 1533, no. 1207' in *L&P*, vol. 6, 497-514.
[58] 'The Princess Mary, 1533, no. 1186', SPO, 1/79 f.103.

as Judith Richards notes, 'despite his daughter's repeated recalcitrance, Mary's father showed convincing if intermittent signs of concern for his defiant daughter'.[59] Labelling her as arrogant and disloyal attempted to dismantle perceptions of her character to justify Henry's actions. However, Henry's continued, if somewhat sporadic, affection for Mary sustained the hope that she could regain her titles. Thus, the motivation to protect perceptions of her legitimacy equalled the incentive to destroy it.

There had been rumours contemplating Mary's future for years before her titles were formally removed. For instance, in 1530 rumour hypothesised that if the Duke George of Saxony intended to marry Mary, he would need to support Katherine during the divorce as 'he would not wish to have her [Mary] declared illegitimate'.[60] A marriage to Mary was only advantageous to the Duke if she was legitimate. The fact that Mary remained unmarried indicates Henry's indecisiveness during this time. Wedding a man of a lower rank would have permanently damaged Mary's status as a princess and enforced her illegitimacy. Conversely, negotiating alliances with eligible princes of Europe required Henry to maintain his daughter's claim as heir to the English throne, which contradicted the assertion that his marriage with Katherine was unlawful.

Rumour discussing Anne's plots against Mary reflected growing anxiety about the changing loyalties at Court. In the lead-up to Henry declaring his daughter illegitimate, Chapuys wrote to Charles accusing Anne of plotting against Mary. 'When this cursed Anne has her foot in the stirrup,' Chapuys warned, 'you may be sure she will do the Queen all the injury she can, and the Princess likewise, of which the Queen is most afraid.'[61] The ambassador added, that 'the said Anne has boasted that she will have the said Princess for her lady's maid [*demoiselle*]; but that is only to make her eat humble pie [*manger trop*], or to marry her to some varlet, which would be an irreparable injury'.[62] According to this story, Anne intended to permanently damage Mary's reputation and socially isolate her at Court through

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[59] Richards, *Mary Tudor*, 59.
[60] 'Eustace Chappuys to the Emperor, 20 January 1530, no. 252' in *SP Spain*, vol. 4, part 1, 430-444.
[61] 'Chapuys to Charles V, 10 April 1533, no. 324' in *L&P*, vol. 6, 144-151.
[62] 'Chapuys to Charles V, 10 April 1533, no. 324' in *L&P*, vol. 6, 144-151.

marriage to social inferior.[63] This suggests Anne was so threatened by Mary that she felt compelled to humiliate and isolate the princess to demonstrate authority. At the same time, Chapuys depicted the 'cursed Anne' as manipulative and confidently 'boasting' of her plans to encourage fear of her authority. Thus, the significance of this rumour was not necessarily the content but the emotional meaning. Anne and Chapuys were deeply anxious to control the development of Mary's reputation, which demonstrated the immense importance of the princess during these events.

In fact, Anne was connected to rumours attacking Mary's reputation for several years preceding her marriage to Henry and the birth of Elizabeth. Although Henry's defence of Mary's illegitimacy fluctuated throughout this period, Anne was intent on discrediting the princess's reputation to secure her own authority. An early example can be found in Chapuys's dispatch to Charles in 1529, in which he expressed concern that Mary was to marry the son of the Duke of Norfolk, Henry Howard. Chapuys reported Henry was so 'blindly and passionately fond of his Anne' he had been persuaded by her and 'consented to treat of a marriage between the Princess Mary, his daughter, and the son of the Duke of Norfolk, who is a near relative of the lady'.[64] The narration of this rumour emphasised Anne's manipulative and devious personality and positioned Mary as a threat to her plans that needed to be neutralised. By circulating this information, Chapuys justified his hatred for Anne by degrading her character while simultaneously showing himself to be a loyal supporter of Mary by demonstrating concern for her future.

Despite acknowledging that Charles did 'not care for mere speculation as to the future' and promising not to 'venture upon prediction, as people do here', Chapuys's concern and ongoing engagement with the speculation over Mary's marriage reveals it as a significant topic within the negotiation of loyalties as Henry and Katherine separated.[65] The importance of Mary's marriage reflected the uncertainty of her status within the royal family; having been described as the King's 'pearl', rumours of her marriage to a man of a lower rank insinuated inferiority and

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[63] 'Chapuys to Charles V, 10 April 1533, no. 324' in *L&P*, vol. 6, 144-151.

[64] 'Eustace Chapuys, Imperial Ambassador in England, to the Emperor, 8 October 1529, no. 182' in *SP Spain*, vol. 4, part 1, 260-281.

[65] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 8 November 1529, no. 211' in *SP Spain*, vol. 4, part 1, 320-336.

illegitimacy. Moreover, Chapuys's anxiety is evident as he contemplated how to benefit from the match. On 13 December 1529, Chapuys commented he should determine 'what can be done with the duke of Norfolk, and see whether we could not gain him over to our cause by means of some promise of help and assistance in the marriage of his son to Princess Mary', because the rumour was 'so much spoken of here that I consider myself perfectly justified to urge it on by pointing out the mutual advantages to be derived from it, as well as the troubles and anxieties it would remove'.[66] This passage depicts the ways in which a rumour was manipulated to encourage and achieve a desired goal. In this example, Chapuys reconfigured a story initially insulting Mary's status, to one that could ensure the 'most powerful man in England [Norfolk]' would support her legitimacy for the benefit of his son.[67] Upon approaching Norfolk, Chapuys claimed to have overheard 'the King wished to marry the princess to his eldest son, who would then for want of male issue become the heir to the throne'.[68] Evidently, Chapuys used this argument as a tool to gain Norfolk's loyalty by reiterating the mutual benefits of such a marriage. Mary had provided invaluable access to the King and Chapuys envisaged retaining that access through her marriage to Norfolk.

Both Chapuys's and Anne's connection to rumours about Mary suggests 'gossiping' was an accessible strategy of manipulation for courtiers without real authority. Norfolk reportedly responded to the rumours about his son, stating it was 'a pure invention' and proclaimed he would 'much prefer to see his son drowned' than have him marry an illegitimate woman.[69] Nonetheless, it exemplified how Mary was placed at the centre of conflict between factions, anxious to secure access to the King, during the divorce crisis. Chapuys could not, given his role as ambassador, accuse the king of wanting to marry his daughter to 'some varlet', instead reasoning his actions as a way to 'gratify the Lady' and thereby placing Anne as the author of

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[66] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 8 November 1529, no. 211' in *SP Spain*, vol. 4, part 1, 320-336.

[67] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 12 January 1530, no. 247' in *SP Spain*, vol. 4, part 1, 395-430.

[68] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 12 January 1530, no. 247' in *SP Spain*, vol. 4, part 1, 395-430.

[69] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 12 January 1530, no. 247' in *SP Spain*, vol. 4, part 1, 395-430.

conflict.[70] Moreover, these letters exemplified how rumours could cause fear and anxiety that could then be manipulated by individuals such as Chapuys to justify their actions. As Chapuys represented the Habsburgs, these stories reflected their interests in maintaining Katherine and Mary's position at court. By depicting Anne as the singular threat, Chapuys warranted disloyalty to the King's authority without attacking him directly. Although coloured by Chapuys's prejudice, it is this feature that demonstrates the strategy of using rumours to influence the loyalties of others. This rumour tells us as much about the insecurity of Anne's position at court and the need to protect it from Mary, as it does about the ways in which Chapuys used them to counteract and manipulate people into fearing the new Queen.

V. Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates that rumours about Mary's reputation were used to negotiate, secure and justify loyalties as the dynamics of privilege changed in reaction to the divorce crisis. The issue of Mary's legitimacy was a contentious topic that reflected conflicting views about the validity of her parents' marriage. It is evident Mary's reputation was valuable and worth protecting for various people at different points in time. By examining early efforts to present Mary as an exemplary young princess, I highlight her reputation as a function of Henry's power. When it was useful to him, Mary was considered his heir presumptive. However, as his loyalties shifted and Mary's status became less clear, support for her legitimacy became a statement of loyalty. As such, this chapter outlined the role of rumour in creating, maintaining and disrupting loyalty relationships. It is evident that people sought loyalty networks that reflected shared values and beliefs as the court became divided over Henry and Katherine's divorce. As an informal means of social control, analysing the intent, content, and reaction to rumours about Mary exposes the restructuring and rationalisation of loyalties during the divorce crisis.

By exploring the ways in which people used rumour to secure their own access to authority, Mary's significance becomes apparent. While speculation about Katherine focused on her past, rumour about Mary fixated on her future. This, in part, was because Henry had firmly established her as key to England's dynastic

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[70] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 13 December 1529, no. 232' in *SP Spain*, vol. 4, part 1, 363-374.

future, through her eventual marriage. However, rumour about Mary's future symbolised the emergence of two conflicting narratives. As this chapter has demonstrated, one of the principal reasons for resisting Anne, and ultimately Henry's authority, was the belief that Mary remained the king's lawful daughter. As a result, rumours played an integral part in the restructuring of loyalties as Henry's affection for Mary became unclear. Those who believed Mary was the King's lawful daughter adamantly argued against Anne's authority, and rumours were used to convince others and rationalise their loyalty. The expression of hope that she would maintain the King's affection, the vilification of Anne who intended to harm her future and the articulation of fear for what would become of Mary represented the uncertainty of the period. Alternatively, those who supported the divorce and Anne's position used rumour to undermine Mary's reputation – which was necessary for her to be accepted as Henry's lawful queen. From both perspectives, Mary's reputation was central to the attainment of power as the court hierarchies shifted.

Chapter Three: Loyalty and Dynastic Identity

In 1525, Charles V of Spain described his younger cousin as 'Princess, future Empress, and Catholic Queen'.[1] His comment was made amid negotiations to wed Mary in a marriage treaty uniting England with the Habsburg House against the French. Although Charles abandoned the treaty and married Isabella of Portugal in 1526, Mary did eventually reign as Queen of England and married a Habsburg. As a descendant of the Habsburg and Tudor dynasties, Mary's identity was shaped by her loyalty to the family patriarchs. As such, this chapter seeks to understand the emotional practices that underpinned Mary's loyalty relationships with Henry and Charles which formed the basis of her dynastic identities.

Until recently, scholarship has given little consideration to the ways in which Mary constructed her identity. In particular, Mary's identity construction in the years before her queenship had attracted little scholarly interest.[2] This has begun to change, with increasing attention to the cultivation of Mary's royal image.[3] Stephen Hamrick argues that Mary engaged directly with Henry and Anne in 1534 to preserve her royal status. His analysis focuses on the publication and circulation of Giles Duwes's *An Introductorie for to Learn to Read, to Pronounce, and to Speak French* and John Heywood's 'Geve Place, ye Ladyes' in 1534 as part of a 'multimedia discourse' that included poetry, woodcut illustrations, ceremonial performances and letters from Mary herself. Hamrick posits these things were used by Mary, Duwes and Heywood cautiously, but intentionally, to oppose Henry's effort to demote his daughter's status from princess to lady. [4] Employing royal rhetoric between 1534 and 1536 enabled Mary to retain social and political agency despite

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[1] 'The Emperor to Louis de Praet, his Ambassador in England, 12 February 1525, no. 17' in *SP Spain*, vol. 3, part. 1, 39-59.

[2] For discussions of Mary's identity during her queenships see, for example, Sarah Duncan, *Mary I: Gender, Power, and Ceremony in the Reign of England's First Queen*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 245–316.

[3] See, for example, Stephen Hamrick, '"His Wel Beloved Doughter Lady Mary": Representing Mary Tudor in 1534', *Renaissance Studies* 31, no. 4 (2017): 497–518; Stephen Hamrick, '"Of Rose and Pomegarnet the Redolent Pryncesse": Fashioning Princess Mary in 1525', *Renaissance and Reformation* 40, no.2 (2017): 35–62.

[4] Hamrick, 'His Wel Beloved Doughter Lady Mary', 518.

attempts to slander her reputation. Hamrick concludes that, contrary to previous depictions, Mary was in fact 'a gifted heir to the Tudor throne consciously engaged in protecting her royal image'.[5] Similarly, Elizabeth McMahon raises the idea of an 'apprenticeship', whereby Mary learned from her father how to utilise fashion to express identity and authority.[6] Hamrick and McMahon demonstrate Mary was certainly aware of strategies to publicise her royal identity to yield political and social power. Jeri McIntosh has made a significant contribution in this area through the exploration of Mary's pre-succession households as spaces that encouraged and exhibited aspects of her religious and royal identities. For example, Mary's Welsh household established a precedent of authority connected to succession, and as an adult she similarly used her estates to cultivate social image.[7] It is evident, therefore, that Mary projected political and social status by connecting herself to the Crown. John Edwards argues that one can learn much about her by 'focusing as she did, on her family – mother, father, siblings – and on her husband. Much of her life centred on all of them. Even so, she was born to sovereignty and, as the events of 1553 showed, she firmly believed that it was her destiny to rule.'[8] Recognising Mary's connection to family provides an important step toward understanding her emotional character as one informed by lived experiences and relationships. The use of loyalty emotions to create dynastic ties is an important, but underexplored, aspect of her royal identity. This chapter contributes to the growing body of literature that rejects David Loades's claim that Mary was unable to explain or express her royal status.[9]

I have approached my analysis seeking to understand Mary's sense of self through the lens of affective familial bonds that shaped her place in the world. The firm belief

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[5] Hamrick, 'His Wel Beloved Doughter Lady Mary', 497.

[6] Elizabeth McMahon, 'Accounting Legitimacy in Purple and Gold: Mary Tudor, Household Accounts, and the English Succession', in *Mary I in Writing: Letters, Literature, and Representation*, ed. Valerie Schutte and Jessica S Hower (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022), 189–215.

[7] Jeri L. McIntosh, *From Heads of Household to Heads of State: The Preaccession Households of Mary and Elizabeth Tudor, 1516–1558* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009). McIntosh also discussed Mary;s vice-regal household in Wales: see Jeri L. McIntosh, 'A Culture of Reverence: Princess Mary's Household 1525–27', in *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth*, ed. Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 113–26.

[8] John Edwards, *Mary I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 345.

[9] David Loades, *Mary Tudor* (Stroud: Amberley, 2012), Chapter 13.

in her right to rule, as Edwards and others have recognised, was strengthened by dynastic identities that reinforced her sense of entitlement. Within this network, Mary utilised reciprocal bonds of loyalty to protect her social and political status after the separation of her parents. Where possible this chapter uses letters written by Mary to analyse her Habsburg and Tudor dynastic identities during Henry VIII's reign. In the absence of Mary's voice, I also look closely at her relationship with Eustace Chapuys as an emotional proxy for Charles. My analysis shows various loyalty relationships provided Mary with the capacity to exercise social capital through the sharing of identities. This chapter revises assessments of Mary as 'permanently conscious of her inadequacy' by demonstrating how she exploited the obligations of loyalty using a discourse of trust, faith, and obedience to protect her dynastic identities – demonstrating that she was, in fact, acutely aware of her rank.[10]

The embodiment of loyalty emotions was important in the curation of Mary's dynastic identities. Theories of embodiment describe how a person understands and experiences their body in relation to the world around them, including emotion, identity, and consciousness.[11] As such, embodied feeling – expressed on the body, and between bodies, in gestures, facial expressions, and in the experience of emotion itself – was central to the ways in which people communicated emotion.[12] Cultural norms defined how these feelings were scripted to conform to gender, power and familial dynamics. Karen Harvey shows that the embodiment of emotion was closely bound to gender norms. Her study of Mary Toft shows women's physical descriptions were inextricably associated with emotional experiences.[13] Harvey also describes how 'the relationship of the correspondents in letter-writing determined how they discussed their experience of the body.[14] Thus, this chapter explores the

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[10] David Loades, *Two Tudor Conspiracies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 10.

[11] Karen Harvey, 'Epochs of Embodiment: Men, Women and the Material Body', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 42, no. 4, (2019): 457.

[12] Monique Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and Is That What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuian Approach to Understanding Emotion', *History and Theory* 51, no. 2 (2012): 193-220.

[13] Karen Harvey, 'What Mary Toft Felt: Women's Voices, Pain, Power and the Body', *History Workshop Journal* 80, no. 1 (2015): 33-51. In 1726, Mary Toft reportedly gave birth to rabbits. The story was a sensation widely published in a variety of news mediums. Harvey argues that rather than a hoax, the story of Mary Toft provides a rich insight into the gendered power dynamics of early modern reproduction and birth.

[14] Harvey, 'Epochs of Embodiment', 458

embodiment of Mary's loyalty as an emotional practice informed by gender and power dynamics within her dynastic networks.

The purpose of this chapter is to understand the correlation between the emotional practices of loyalty and Mary's dynastic identities. Firstly, I discuss the theoretical approach by defining identity and drawing attention to loyalty as a means of accessing dynastic membership. As other scholars have shown, royal women found agency by embedding themselves in dynastic networks through embodied emotional practices. This is followed by an analysis of how Mary's Habsburg identity was produced through her relationships with Katherine, Chapuys and Charles. It discusses the challenges of maintaining dynastic membership given Mary's physical distance from Charles and the role of embodied emotions to reiterate intimacy and similarity. The final part of this chapter examines the shared affection between Mary and Henry as necessary for stability within the Tudor dynasty. In both circumstances, this chapter argues Mary's dynastic identities were shaped by her ability to cultivate loyalty relationships with family patriarchs through emotional practices.

I. Theoretical Framework

Loyalty shaped Mary's sense of self. James Connor's definition of identity as a 'negotiated understanding of one's place in the world' whereby 'actors construct and are constructed by their emotional experiences' has provided a framework for my analysis by demonstrating the connections between the affective experience of loyalty and the construction of identity.[15] I consider how Mary's sense of self was shaped by loyalty relationships with others based on affective practices that created similarity and 'togetherness'. Unlike the notion of reputation, wherein a judgment about a person is enforced by another, identity was formed, and informed by, Mary's beliefs, values and connections. As such, Mary often used emotion language to express her identity because it partly arose from emotional connections that created a sense of belonging.

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[15] James Connor, *The Sociology of Loyalty* (New York: Springer, 2007), 51.

Scholars have increasingly focused on understanding the complexity of dynastic identity formation and expression across early modern Europe.[16] Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline Van Gent's discussion of the individual and collective identities of the House of Orange-Nassau house in The Netherlands provides a useful context to this chapter because of their attention to the development and negotiation of the self. Broomhall and Van Gent analyse 'becoming' an Orange-Nassau, sensitive to age, gender, politics, religion and language as 'identity markers'.[17] Conceptualising identity as the accumulative portrayal of identity markers, Broomhall and Van Gent consider the complexity of the family network. Within this network, the suppression of individual goals was necessary to prioritise the collective enterprise of the dynasty. Loyalty between members was therefore crucial to ensure a cohesive unit that moved towards common goals and shared the same values.

Women's roles within these dynastic networks meant they experienced multiple identities that allowed for relationships between generations, dynasties and hierarchies. Stephanie Tarbin and Susan Broomhall discuss the implications of gender and identity for early modern women, suggesting identity 'denote[d] similarity or affinity, but … also connote[d] difference as well'.[18] More recently, historians have explored the ability of women to assume multiple identities as wives, consorts, daughters and mothers and the implications of their diverse roles.[19] As such, it is increasingly evident that identity defined roles, specifically in response to gender norms. Identity was significant within early modern dynasties because it

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[16] Jeroen Duindam, Tülay Artan and Metin Kunt, eds., *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires: A Global Perspective* (Leiden: Brill, 2011); Robert Bartlett, *Blood Royal: Dynastic Politics in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020); Joan-Lluís Palos, 'Introduction: Bargaining Chips: Strategic Marriages and Cultural Circulation in Early Modern Europe', in *Early Modern Dynastic Marriages and Cultural Transfer*, ed. Joan-Lluís Palos and Magdalena S. Sánchez (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 1 –18 ; Liesbeth Geevers and Mirella Marini, 'Introduction: Aristocracy, Dynasty and Identity in Early Modern Europe, 1520–1700', in *Dynastic Identity in Early Modern Europe: Rulers, Aristocrats and the Formation of Identities*, ed. Liesbeth Geevers and Mirella Marini (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 1–22; Liesbeth Geevers and Harald Gustafsson, 'Building Dynasties, Shaping States: Dynasty and State Formation in Early Modern Europe', in *Dynasties and State Formation in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Liesbeth Geevers and Harald Gustafsson (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2023), 7–24.
[17] Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline Van Gent, *Gender, Power and Identity in the Early Modern House of Orange-Nassau* (London: Routledge, 2016), 6.
[18] Stephanie Tarbin and Susan Broomhall, 'Introduction', in *Women, Identities and Communities in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Stephanie Tarbin and Susan Broomhall (Hampshire: Ashgate 2008), 1.
[19] See, for example, Caroline Dunn and Elizabeth Carney, eds., *Royal Women and Dynastic Loyalty* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

created community through a sense of similarity and defined boundaries through membership. This research highlights the implications of gender in the creation and expression of women's identities.[20] As Broomhall simply states, 'gender mattered'.[21] In the context of Catherine de' Medici's identities, Broomhall demonstrates the shape and function of woman's authority was largely determined by their relationships with men. As women transitioned between life stages from adolescence to marriage, motherhood and widowhood, their selfhood necessarily evolved. Maria Prendergast has analysed Katherine of Aragon's epistolary form and argues that her letters reflect a 'liminal identity, which was neither quite Spanish nor quite English'.[22] Many elite women experienced a liminal identity as they married and moved from their natal house into another dynasty, therein embodying the identities of their kin and spousal families. Prendergast concludes the letter was one of the few resources available for an early modern woman 'to shape and disseminate an idea of herself to a larger community and in order to influence others'.[23] Similarly, Jonathon Dewald references the conflict between women's 'dual loyalty, to both their families of origin and those into which they had married'.[24] Drawing attention to the challenges of liminal identities for royal and aristocratic women, Prendergast and Dewald demonstrate the ability of women to use liminality to access a wide network of both kin and spousal loyalty relationships. This is a

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[20] Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker, *Writing Lives: Biography and Textuality, Identity and Representation in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Julie Chappell and Kaley Kramer, eds., *Women during the English Reformations: Renegotiating Gender and Religious Identity* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Valerie Schutte, '"To the Illustrious Queen": Katherine of Aragon and Early Modern Book Dedications', in *Women during the English Reformations: Renegotiating Gender and Religious Identity*, ed. Julie A. Chappell and Kaley A. Kramer (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Jonathan Dewald, *Status, Power, and Identity in Early Modern France : The Rohan Family, 1550–1715* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015); Jennifer R. Daum, 'Gendered Expectations: An Exploration of Identity and Power in the Life of Katherine of Aragon' (Masters thesis, West Virginia University, 1998); Nicola Clark, *Gender, Family, and Politics: The Howard Women, 1485–1558* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018); Geevers and Marini, 'Introduction: Aristocracy, Dynasty and Identity in Early Modern Europe, 1520–1700'.

[21] Susan Broomhall, *The Identities of Catherine de' Medici* (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 1.

[22] Maria Teresa Micaela Prendergast, '"For the Debt of Blood": Form, Rhetoric, and Performance in Catherine of Aragon's Letters to Ferdinand of Aragon and Charles V, 1502–1536', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 20, no. 3 (2020): 88.

[23] Prendergast, 'For the Debt of Blood', 111.

[24] Dewald, *Status, Power, and Identity*, 96.

central tenet of this chapter, which explores the ways in which Mary used her dynastic identities to create reciprocal loyalty relationships for political gain.

II.   Mary, the Habsburg

Mary's Habsburg identity was both a product of kinship and political necessity. Mary's blood relation to the Habsburg patriarch was a significant part of her royal identity. However, unlike her mother Katherine, who was born and raised in Spain, Mary relied on others to articulate a sense of dynastic belonging. This section analyses the development of Mary's 'trust' in Charles V (and by extension the House of Habsburg) as an emotional connection that expressed membership through goodwill and affection. Trust reflected Mary's physical distance from the Habsburg court and a reliance on others to facilitate membership. Mary justifies her trust in letters emphasising that was that she was, herself, a Habsburg through her mother's lineage.

In 1529, Charles described the unfolding events between Katherine and Henry as 'injurious' towards the 'Queen, our aunt, and of the illustrious Princess, her legitimate daughter, and our most beloved cousin'.[25] He concluded the letter by referencing the familial loyalty that bound him to the Queen and Princess, proposing he was 'as closely bound and connected as with our own'.[26] A few years later, in November 1535, Charles admitted he 'considered it his duty to act in favour of the Queen and Princess' to protest the injustice of Henry's treatment.[27] Charles's involvement in the divorce crisis was framed as the actions of a concerned patriarch responsible for the welfare of his family. In considering the emotions of family, Mary's actions are best understood as emotional practices that demonstrated her place within the Habsburg dynasty to generate support.

i.   Maternal Influence

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[25] 'The Emperor to Don Iñigo, 6 February 1529, no. 623' in *SP Spain*, vol. 3, part 2, 883-894.
[26] 'The Emperor to Don Iñigo, 6 February 1529, no. 623' in *SP Spain*, vol. 3, part 2, 883-894.
[27] 'Eustace Chapuys to Nicolas de Granvelle, 15 November 1535, no. 241' in *SP Spain*, vol. 5, part 1, 574-589.

Born in Alcalá de Henares, Katherine of Aragon was the youngest surviving child of King Ferdinand II of Aragon and Queen Isabella I of Castile. Katherine lived in England from the age of fifteen and proved herself to be a skilled diplomat for both Spain and England by carefully negotiating her Habsburg identity while Queen of England.[28] She aligned herself with Habsburg interests by articulating emotions that emphasised familial commitment, and her dynastic membership provided powerful alliances across Europe that could be called upon when necessary. These affective strategies were passed from Katherine to her daughter, who was encouraged to align with the goals and values of the Habsburgs to establish her place within the family. As a result, Katherine not only provided Mary a blood-relationship with the Habsburgs but also displayed how to participate in the network through emotional connection.

Charles's visit to England in May 1522 to arrange an Anglo-Habsburg alliance with Henry is often regarded as the beginning of Mary's affection for the Habsburg king. An entry in Hall's *Chronicle* described Charles arriving at Greenwich welcomed by the queen and the six-year-old princess 'at the halle doore' before receiving a blessing from Katherine as was 'the fashion of Spain, between the Aunt and Nephew'. The encounter caused 'great joye' for Charles, who enjoyed the warm welcome from his aunt and cousin.[29] By 19 June 1522, a 'secret treaty', also referred to as the Treaty of Windsor, agreed on an arranged marriage between Mary and the visiting Emperor.[30] An age difference of sixteen years between Mary and her

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[28] For further discussion of Katherine's political role see, Michelle L. Beer, *Queenship at the Renaissance Courts of Britain: Catherine of Aragon and Margaret Tudor, 1503–1533* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2018), 1–26; Michelle L. Beer, 'Between Kings and Emperors: Catherine of Aragon as Counsellor and Mediator', in *Queenship and Counsel in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Helen Matheson-Pollock, Joanne Paul, and Catherine Fletcher (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 35–58; Theresa Earenfight, '"By Your Loving Mother": Lessons in Queenship from Catherine of Aragon to Her Daughter, Mary', in *Mary I in Writing: Letters, Literature, and Representation*, ed. Valerie Schutte and Jessica S Hower (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022); 19–39; Courtney Herber, 'Katherine of Aragon: Diligent Diplomat and Learned Queen' in *Tudor and Stuart Consorts: Power, Influence, and Dynasty*, ed. Aidan Norrie, Carolyn Harris, J. L. Laynesmith, Danna R. Messer and Elena Woodacre (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022), 41–58.
[29] Edward Hall, *Hall's Chronicle: Containing the History of England, During the Reign of Henry the Fourth, and the Succeeding Monarchs, to the End of the Reign of Henry the Eighth, in Which Are Particularly Described the Manners and Customs of Those Periods* (London: J. Johnson, 1809), 635.
[30] 'Secret Treaty between the Emperor and King Henry VIII, 19 June 1522, no. 430' in *SP Spain*, vol. 2, 434-447.

betrothed suggested the marriage was little more than a diplomatic arrangement between Henry and Charles, with the priority of the Anglo-Habsburg alliance being their endeavour against France. However, as John Edwards suggests, Charles's kindness during his meeting with Mary was 'engraved on her [Mary's] memory'.[31] The brief but affectionate encounter in 1522 was the beginning of a three-year engagement that provided Mary with a sense of personal connection to the Habsburg dynasty that would last a lifetime.

Mary's affection for Charles was closely associated with England's commitment to the treaty. From an early age, Mary was introduced to a dialogue that articulated personal affection as a statement of political loyalty. Directed to provide an account of the princess, Imperial ambassador Poupet de Lachaulx described Mary questioning him 'not less sweetly than prudently' about Charles, noting she wore 'on her bosom a golden brooch ornamented with jewels forming your majesty's name, which name she had taken on St. Valentine's Day for her valentine, which seems a happy augury'.[32] The encounter between the ambassadors and Mary occurred during treaty negotiations. In this context, Mary's display of affection toward the emperor was an important demonstration of goodwill toward the alliance.

In 1525, Henry refused to send Mary to Spain for a Habsburg education, which cast doubt over his commitment to the alliance. To assuage this, Mary's affection toward the emperor was once again used as a gesture of loyalty. Lucas Horenbout produced a miniature portrait of the princess that represented her devotion to Charles by depicting her wearing a broach with 'The Emperor' written on it (shown in Figure 1). Notably, there is no gold inscription in the background of Mary's miniature, unlike a portrait of Katherine painted in the same year inscribed with 'Katherine, his wife' in Latin, which was a common feature of Horenbout's portraits.[33] The absence of the inscription meant Mary's identity was emphasised in relation to her betrothed, rather than her status as the king's daughter. These examples have been recognised as diplomatic tropes used to reassure Charles of England's

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[31] Edwards, *Mary I*, 16.

[32] 'The Ambassadors in England to Charles V, 5 March 1522' in *SP Spain*, Further Supplement to vol. 1 and vol. 2, 69-78.

[33] Lucas Horenbout, Katherine of Aragon, watercolour on vellum, National Portrait Gallery, London, c. 1525.

commitment. However, given Mary's later loyalty to Charles and the Habsburgs, this period can also be understood as transformative, not just performative, in that it cultivated attachment.

Figure 3: Lucas Horenbout, Queen Mary I, circa 1525. watercolour on vellum, NPG 6453, London, National Portrait Gallery.

Objects such as portraits materialised dynastic alliances and reinforced dynastic identity.[34] Stephanie Downes, Sally Holloway and Sarah Randles argue that 'objects may be both expressions and sources of emotion in people, as well as mediums for the communication of emotional states'.[35] As such, the traditional interpretation of the brooch which suggests it served only a diplomatic message should be reconsidered to view it as an object with the potential to influence emotional states. Additionally, Jane Eade emphasises children's portraits during this period 'focused on becoming as much as being'. [36] Mary's affection for Charles was both embodied and produced through this diplomatic messaging. Anna Whitelock described the end of the Anglo-Spanish alliance as 'a personal affront' for Katherine and the 'beginning of an attachment that would endure for the rest of her [Mary's] life'.[37] The

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[34] Susan Broomhall and Jaqueline Van Gent, *Dynastic Colonialism: Gender, Materiality and the Early Modern House of Orange-Nassau* (London: Routledge, 2016), 40–48.

[35] Stephanie Downes, Sally Holloway and Sarah Randles, 'A Feeling for Things, Past and Present', in *Feeling things : objects and emotions through history*, ed. Stephanie Downes, Sally Holloway, and Sarah Randles (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 11.

[36] Jane Eade, 'Portraiture', in *Early Modern Childhood: An Introduction*, ed. Anna French (London: Routledge, 2019), 288.

[37] Anna Whitelock, *Mary Tudor: England's First Queen* (London: Bloomsbury, 2009), 31.

marriage alliance went far beyond an 'attachment' that Mary endured; it was monumental in the formation of Mary's identity and established her place within the Habsburg family through her attachment to and affection for its patriarch.

Katherine's knowledge of the Habsburg court from her own upbringing nurtured Mary's identity by preparing her to be Empress.[38] As a result of Henry's refusal to send Mary overseas to be 'acquainted with the language and manners of the said kingdom [of Spain]', Katherine assumed an important educational role to prepare her daughter for life in the Habsburg court.[39] In July 1525, Charles conveyed his aspirations for Mary's education to visiting diplomats, Cuthbert Tunstal and Richard Wingfield, and in doing so revealed the significance of cultural assimilation as integral to the success of the alliance. In lieu of sending her abroad, Charles recommended Henry should trust Katherine 'to frame her after the manner of Spain, and of whom she might take example of virtue'.[40] He reasoned that Henry would 'not find in all Christendom a more meet than she now hath … who is comen of this house of Spain, and who, for the affection she beareth the Emperor, will nourish her, and bring her up as may be hereafter to his most contentation'.[41] As a member of the Habsburg dynasty, Katherine had the capacity to educate her daughter in their values and customs. The expectation was for Katherine to transfer her cultural and dynastic identity to her daughter. As an aspect of this education, Mary adopted an affective rhetoric to foster familial relationships comparable to the language used by Katherine.

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[38] Theresa Earenfight discusses Katherine's education and preparation for queenship in, Theresa Earenfight, 'Raising Infanta Catalina de Aragón To Be Catherine, Queen of England', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 46, no. 1 (2016): 417–43. Katherine's educational influence on Mary is separately discussed in Theresa Earenfight, '"By Your Loving Mother": Lessons in Queenship from Catherine of Aragon to Her Daughter, Mary', in *Mary I in Writing: Letters, Literature, and Representation*, ed. Valerie Schutte and Jessica S Hower (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022), 19–39. For literature relating to Katherine's upbringing in Spain, see, Garrett Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1942), 13–26 Giles Tremlett, *Catherine of Aragon: Henry's Spanish Queen* (London: Faber and Faber, 2010), 22–61; Theresa Earenfight, *Catherine of Aragon: Infanta of Spain, Queen of England* (Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2021), 26–52.

[39] 'The Commissioners to Madame [Margaret of Austria, Duchess of Savoy], 20 April 1525, no. 79' in *SP Spain*, vol. 3, part 1, 126-144.

[40] 'Tunstal, Wingfield and Sampson to [HENRY VIII.], 8 July 1525, no. 1484', SPO, Cotton Vespasian C/III f.176.

[41] 'Tunstal, Wingfield and Sampson to [HENRY VIII.], 8 July 1525, no. 1484', SPO, Cotton Vespasian C/III f.176.

An example of Katherine's language is evident when Charles abandoned the Treaty of Windsor shortly after he defeated the French in 1525, disrupting the diplomatic relationship between niece and nephew. Without the need for English support, Charles announced his marriage to Isabella of Portugal. Katherine wrote to Charles urging him that, 'as long as our nephew keeps his promise to marry our daughter the alliance will remain unbroken' and that he 'may be sure of England'.[42] In 1526, Katherine wrote again to pronounce her disappointment in a lack of communication from Charles. Unsure why he was 'so angry', Katherine concluded she 'deserve not this treatment, for such are my affection and readiness for your Highness' service that I deserved a better reward'.[43] The collapse of the treaty points to evidence of how Katherine, and Mary, understood their relationship with Charles. The 'goodwill' demonstrated through expressions of affection, such as in Katherine's letters, demanded reciprocity. Charles's inaction offended Katherine so deeply because the affection she had shown was not rewarded or recognised. Moreover, Katherine used rhetoric of affection to articulate their familial relationship. Thus, her anger expressed a sense of abandonment from her nephew's inaction. While the language of the family implied a foundation of trust and affinity between dynasties, it did not guarantee reciprocity. This brings to our attention the complexity and instability of Mary's Habsburg identity as a product of affection.

Scholars examining the socialisation of children during this period remind us we should look more closely at these types of experiences as key to the formation of identities. Childhood, Broomhall and Van Gent argue in their analysis of the Orange-Nassau family in The Netherlands, was a period where children were shaped to be a member of the dynasty.[44] Senior members of the family unit taught children how to represent the household through identity markers. Although born into the dynasty through her mother, the marriage treaty encouraged Mary to align herself with Habsburg interests for diplomatic success. The process of *becoming* a Habsburg was especially crucial for Mary, given she was physically separated from the dynastic household. Katherine's kinship and family identity provided Mary's access

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[42] Quoted in, Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon*, 168.

[43] 'Queen Katharine to the Emperor, 26 November 1526, no. 621' in *SP Spain*, vol. 3, part 1, 1018-1028.

[44] Broomhall and Van Gent, *Gender, Power and Identity*, 104.

to the network and the tools to operate within it. But, as Charles demonstrated, familial loyalty was not assured, highlighting a power imbalance that reflected Mary's liminal dynastic membership. As such, Katherine's cultural influence and her own participation in the betrothal taught Mary how to create, negotiate and maintain Habsburg loyalty through emotional practices that reiterated a sense of alignment and similarity. Evidence of successful acculturation emerges during the 1530s, when Mary petitioned for Habsburg support using similar emotional practices.

<div align="center">

ii.   Trusting the Habsburgs

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Although kinship provided a basis of membership, the instability of Mary's Habsburg identity is evident in light of Katherine and Henry's divorce. Petitioning the Habsburg patriarch for protection from her father, Mary utilised dynastic loyalty to appeal to the mercy of Charles. This section examines how dialogues of trust communicated Mary's Habsburg loyalty in her petitions to Charles, particularly between 1535 and 1536. It is during this period that Mary's Habsburg identity emerges more clearly in response to the uncertainty of her natal family circumstances, relying on loyalty relationships with Charles to find a sense of security and support. Mary's personal connection with the Imperial ambassador significantly shaped her perception of Charles and vice versa. Mary used affective strategies to demonstrate dynastic loyalty and secure Habsburg support.

Expressions of trust had an important function in various early modern relationships and formed the basis of Mary's affective attitude toward the Habsburgs. Tania Colwell examines affective communications between monarchs, arguing that trust formed part of an 'affective framework' that allowed for interfaith and intercultural relationships across the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages. Colwell argues that trust 'sought to minimise any a priori uncertainty experienced about each other by creating an affective foundation of shared interests based on mutual benefit'.[45] Ian Forrest explains trust that 'can form part of strategic utterances as well as heartfelt

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[45] Tania M. Colwell, 'Friendship and Trust between Medieval Princes: Affective Strategies for Navigating Intercultural Difference across the Mediterranean', *Emotions: History, Culture, Society* 4, no. 2 (2020): 354.

expressions of emotion'.[46] Historians have demonstrated a dialogue of trust embedded in social interaction to foster reciprocity from the person being trusted. In the context of Mary, trust mediated her liminal status by creating an affective foundation with Charles (through Chapuys) that reiterated her commitment to and reliance on the Habsburgs.

Another of Mary's strategies was to echo Katherine's language in her letters. For example, in October 1535 Katherine asked her nephew to protect Mary 'and provide a remedy' for their situation.[47] Mary, in turn, begged Chapuys to convince the emperor 'in the name of the Queen, my mother, and mine, for the honour of God' to take the 'matter in hand, and provide a remedy for the affairs of this country'.[48] In doing so, Mary justified the Emperor's involvement on the premise of kinship that implied a shared experience of her suffering, which he would naturally seek to relieve. Mary repeated similar language and sentiments in her letter to Mary of Hungary in August, stating she hoped 'an efficient remedy will be found for these troubles'.[49] By adopting comparable rhetoric to that employed by her mother, Mary reiterated her connection to the Habsburgs through blood and acculturation thus extending the embodiment of suffering between family members.

As Charles's diplomatic representative in England, Eustace Chapuys's relationship with Mary also enabled dynastic loyalty. Although blood connection founded Mary's Habsburg identity, Chapuys facilitated and maintained access to Charles through their regular correspondence. Lauren Mackay argues that a dynamic and reciprocal relationship existed between the ambassador and the princess.[50] Mackay describes the relationship as 'loyal, affectionate and unwavering', reflecting a warmth between them that was not entirely based on political interests.[51] Derek Taylor recognises the value of Chapuys's accounts to understand 'how and why' Charles viewed Mary

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[46] Alexey Tikhomirov, 'Trust and Distrust in Exploring the Human Past: An Interview with Geoffrey Hosking, Francesca Trivellato, and Ian Forrest', *Journal of Modern European History* 18, no. 4 (2020): 388.

[47] 'Katherine to the Emperor, 10 October 1535, no. 210' in *SP Spain*, vol. 5, part 1, 545-562.

[48] 'Mary Tudor to Eustace Chapuys, October 1535, no. 218' in *SP Spain*, vol. 5, part 1, 545-562.

[49] 'Mary Tudor to Queen Mary of Hungary, 12 August 1535, no. 194' in *SP Spain*, vol. 5, part 1, 523-535.

[50] Lauren Mackay, *Inside the Tudor Court: Henry VIII and his Six Wives through the Eyes of the Spanish Ambassador* (Stroud: Amberly, 2014), 266-74.

[51] Mackay, *Inside the Tudor Court*, 266.

as he did.[52] These arguments revise David Loades's assessment that Chapuys manipulated Mary for political gain, instead finding an emotional complexity and reciprocal relationship between them.[53] Their friendship meant Chapuys's letters portrayed sympathy for Mary, emphasising her suffering to elicit a response from Charles. Extending Taylor's work, a closer analysis of the emotions in Chapuys's letters reveals their friendship shaped Mary's dynastic identity through a rhetoric of trust.

Historian have advanced our understanding about the role of early modern ambassadors in symbolising the emotions of the monarch they represented, providing a new framework to understand Mary and Chapuys's relationship. A critical but overlooked aspect of the ambassador's function was their capacity to receive, relay and represent affective exchanges on the monarch's behalf.[54] The ways in which Chapuys characterised Mary in diplomatic dispatches were shaped by his affective experiences with her. As such, Mary's membership of the Habsburg network significantly relied on Chapuys's goodwill to correspond with Charles in her favour.

Mary's friendship with the ambassador positively shaped perceptions of her dynastic loyalty. In October 1535, she wrote to Chapuys pleading for him to approach Charles on her behalf. Beginning the letter by thanking the ambassador for the 'many and singular services' he provided her and Katherine, Mary urged:

> Now more than ever those services on your part are urgently required, considering the miserable plight and wretched condition of affairs in this country, which is such that unless His Majesty, the Emperor, for the service of God, the welfare and repose of Christendom, as well as the honor of the King, my father, takes pity on these poor afflicted creatures, all and everything will go to total ruin, and be irretrievably lost.

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[52] Derek M Taylor, '"A Paragon of Beauty, Goodness, and Virtue": Princess Mary in the Writings of Imperial Ambassador Eustace Chapuys', in *Writing Mary I: History, Historiography, and Fiction*, ed. Valerie Schutte and Jessica S Hower (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022), 16.
[53] David Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 83.
[54] Susan Broomhall, 'Diplomatic Emotions: International Relations as Gendered Acts of Power', in *The Routledge History of Emotions in Europe: 1100–1700*, ed. Susan Broomhall and Andrew Lynch (London: Routledge, 2019), 283-84.

Mary painted a bleak picture of her affairs that required Charles' immediate assistance. However, within the description of chaos and suffering, Mary made several admissions that tell us about the nature of her relationship with Chapuys. The beginning of the letter acknowledged his ongoing support for Mary and concluded that she found 'some consolation and comfort in the idea that you yourself will supply the want, and do and say in my name what is proper and fit'.[55] Given the 'many and singular' services he had previously provided, Mary placed great trust in Chapuys as an ally who would support her in any way necessary.

Mary's trust in Chapuys was indicative of her dynastic loyalty to the Habsburgs. Navigating a liminal status in the family, the expression of goodwill used emotions to encourage reciprocity. Chapuys emphasised that Mary was willing to 'say and do whatever may be considered most fit for the success of our enterprise'.[56] The notion of 'our enterprise' implied the shared goals between himself, Charles and Mary. Through Mary's declaration of trust, 'our' could be extended to encompass her through membership and loyalty. Thus, Mary's affective relationship with Chapuys was a means to access Charles's support, and as her letter in October 1535 demonstrated, she was willing to utilise emotion to do so. In his February dispatch, Mary again declared 'she trusted entirely to [Chapuys's] discretion' meaning the detail of his actions need not be explained because of their shared venture.[57] The expression of trust inferred Mary's goals aligned with Habsburg goals.

More specifically, the friendship between Mary and Chapuys also symbolised a loyalty relationship between Mary and Charles. The entanglement of Chapuys's and Charles's emotions was addressed during an audience with Henry. Discussing the deteriorating situation between Henry and Katherine, Chapuys voiced his discontent at the 'disorderly turn' and he considered himself 'unhappy having to represent Your Majesty'. In response, 'the King frowned,' Chapuys recounted, 'and moving his head to and fro, said rather abruptly: "Before I listen to such representations, I must know from whom they proceed, whether from the Emperor, your master, or from yourself; for if they be private remarks of your own I shall know how to answer them."'[58] As

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[55] 'Mary Tudor to Eustace Chapuys, October 1535, no. 218' in *SP Spain*, vol. 5, part 1, 545-562.
[56] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 29 January 1536, no. 13' in *SP Spain*, vol. 5, part 2, 11-29.
[57] 'Chapuys to Charles V, 17 February 1536, no. 307' in *L&P*, vol. 10, 108-126.
[58] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 15 April 1533, no. 1061' in *SP Spain*, vol. 4, part 2, 628-646.

Broomhall notes in her analysis of this interaction, Chapuys's reply that this was a redundant question exhibited his confidence in asserting personal emotions on behalf of the emperor.[59] This brings into question the difficulty, if not impossibility, of discerning Chapuys's personal feelings from the emperor's. The extent to which Mary interpreted Chapuys's affection as that of the emperor shifts our interpretation of the love and devotion she demonstrated toward the Habsburg dynasty, as actually a reflection of the affective exchange between herself and Chapuys.

In a letter to her cousin Mary of Hungary in 1535, Mary touches on how Chapuys shaped her perceptions of the Habsburgs. Thanking her cousin, Mary expresses 'joy and comfort' from her 'kind letters' and that 'together with what the Imperial ambassador has told her' she could 'live in hope'.[60] Evident in the short letter is that Chapuys's influence and friendship was key to Mary's sustained involvement in the Habsburg network by relaying messages between members. The depiction of Mary as a loyal Habsburg in his letters to members of the dynastic network (such as Mary of Hungary and Charles V) was just as important as how he interpreted and relayed their responses to Mary in England. As such, Mary's sense of belonging in the family was shaped by Chapuys's interception and interpretation of correspondence in the Habsburg network.

The events after Katherine's death in January 1536 illustrate the closeness of Mary and Chapuys. In the immediate aftermath of her mother's death, Mary found companionship and guidance from Chapuys in an emotional and politically delicate situation. Chapuys informed Charles he wrote a letter for Mary that was placed 'into her hands the moment her mother's death should be notified to her'.[61] Mary, he assured, found 'consolation and comfort through it'.[62] Given Mary and Henry's relationship was strained at the time, Chapuys's role in comforting her through grief is significant because it exhibited an interest in her well-being that reflected a relationship of reciprocity. As a consequence of the affection that had evolved between the pair, Chapuys felt it necessary to provide reassurance during a particularly emotional event in the princess's life.

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[59] Broomhall, 'Diplomatic Emotions', 294–96.
[60] 'Princess Mary to Queen Mary of Hungary, 12 August 1535, no. 71', in *L&P*, vol. 9, 19-40.
[61] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 21 January 1536, no. 9' in *SP Spain*, vol. 5, part 2, 11-29.
[62] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 21 January 1536, no. 9' in *SP Spain*, vol. 5, part 2, 11-29.

Chapuys acknowledged this blurring of diplomatic boundaries himself. Writing to Charles, he admitted 'the pity and affection I feel for the latter [Mary] has perhaps carried me beyond the just limits of my charge ... excuse the expression of sentiments entirely caused by commiseration'.[63] This was not the first time Chapuys had apologised; writing in 1533, he asked for forgiveness if he ventured 'too far on matters which are not my incumbence', citing his 'great interest' in Charles's concerns as reason for his interest in Katherine's state of affairs.[64] He concluded the letter, asking Charles 'to forgive me if I dare give advice in such matters, for besides the above causes the great pity I have for the Queen and Princess, Your Majesty's aunt and niece, absolutely compel me to take this course'.[65] Chapuys addressed emotion as a site of motivation that carried him 'beyond' his role – both his own compassion for Mary, and what he felt was the 'concern' of his Emperor.

Broomhall argues that diplomatic agents such as Chapuys were permitted to use personal judgment informed by their lived experiences in the foreign court.[66] Chapuys, she highlights, understood his capacity to represent Charles according to his judgment and that this was, by all indications, an expected practice. As such, it is necessary to consider how Chapuys's personal judgment – including his emotions – shaped Mary's dynastic loyalty. The motivation to protect Mary arose from feelings of pity and concern, even if it was only Chapuys himself, and not Charles, who provided the most support. As such, Mary felt part of the Habsburg dynasty with the Imperial ambassador acting on her behalf.

Mary's trust in the Habsburgs, however, was a source of tension with her father. Henry had once described Mary's obstinacy as a product of her 'Spanish blood', citing the influence of her mother and the Habsburg dynasty as the reason for her resistance to his authority.[67] This was reiterated in 1536, when he suggested Mary's 'obstinate resistance to his will' was 'encouraged and strengthened by the confidence and trust she had in [Charles]'.[68] While trust created a sense of belonging in the Habsburg dynasty, it also created loyalty conflict with her father. As

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[63] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 21 January 1536, no. 9' in *SP Spain*, vol. 5, part 2, 11-29.
[64] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 10 April 1533, no. 1058' in *SP Spain*, vol. 4, part 2, 628-646.
[65] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 10 April 1533, no. 1058' in *SP Spain*, vol. 4, part 2, 628-646.
[66] Broomhall, 'Diplomatic Emotions', 295.
[67] 'Chapuys to Charles V, 11 February 1534, no. 171' in *L&P*, vol. 7, 68-85.
[68] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 3 August 1536, no. 85' in *SP Spain*, vol. 5, part 2, 218-231.

a result, emotional practices that denoted loyalty were as equally important to maintain her place as a dutiful daughter to the Tudor dynasty.

III.   Mary, Daughter of England

Maintaining her legitimate status, Mary wrote to Henry in October 1533 as noted above, complaining that a letter addressed her as 'the lady Mary, the King's daughter' and noting that it omitted 'the name of Princess'. She justified such disobedient behaviour by suggesting Henry must not have been aware of the error on the account that she was his 'lawful daughter, barn [born] in true matrimony'.[69] This encounter encapsulates Mary' defiant resistance between 1528 and 1536 to accepting that her parent's marriage was unlawful. As a consequence, she suffered alongside her mother the humiliation, isolation and loneliness orchestrated by Henry. Mary's resistance was guided by her confessional values, allegiance to Papal authority and Habsburg support. However, against a backdrop of increasing fear and following the advice of Chapuys, Mary attempted to engage with her father after Katherine's death. Loades, more sympathetically, remarked 'with Catherine's moral stiffening removed, and Chapuys urging surrender to save her life, her conscience could find no support. The psychological pressure was cruel'.[70] Thus, to regain Henry's favour, Mary used her dynastic identity to convey political and familial submission and restore order to the hierarchy she had resisted for several years. To do this, Mary emphasised blood and the body as a source of Henry's natural affection and obligation to receive the forgiveness of a father.

The 1534 Act of Supremacy declared Henry and Katherine's marriage unlawful, Mary illegitimate and Anne the true queen. Importantly, the Act stated '[e]very suche refusal [i.e., to acknowledge these claims] shalbe demed and adjuged mesprysion of high treason', which cast Mary's actions as a treasonous offence.[71] This formed part of the attempts to force Mary into acknowledging and obeying the King's authority. Katherine's death in January 1536 left Mary isolated in an increasingly hostile environment. By the end of May 1536, however, Anne Boleyn had been

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[69] 'The Princess Mary to [Henry VIII.], 2 October 1533, no. 1207' in *L&P*, vol. 6, 497-514.
[70] Loades, *Mary Tudor*, 102.
[71] Statute 25 Henry VIII c.22 in Alexander Luders et al., eds., *The Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 3 (London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1963), 471–74.

charged, tried and executed for adultery and Henry had married for the third time, to Jane Seymour. In the unstable political climate and motivated by fear, Mary followed Chapuys's advice to seek her father's forgiveness in order to regain his affection.

i.   Seeking Forgiveness

In June 1536, Chapuys reported that the 'King got into a great anger against the obstinacy and disobedience of the said Princess, showing clearly that he bore her very little love or goodwill'. This is perhaps why the potential threat of a treason charge was taken more seriously.[72] Occurring less than a month after Anne Boleyn's execution, Mary and Chapuys were acutely aware that Henry had demonstrated a capacity to follow through on his threats. Analysis of Mary's letters seeking Henry's forgiveness reveals the use of performative and gendered language to communicate their shared familial identity. Using such language exploited the 'little love' Henry had left for his daughter to regain the protection of a father and king.

Mary had written to Henry on several occasions pursuing his favour without accepting him as head of the Church. At the beginning of June, Mary differentiated between her confessional loyalty to God and her loyalty as a daughter and subject. Writing to Henry she begged 'humbly as child can for his daily blessing – her chief desire in this world', adding that she '[a]cknowledges all her offences since she had first discretion to offend till this hour, and begs forgiveness. Will submit to him in all things next to God', as she urged her father to consider she was 'but a woman, and your child, who hath committed her soul only to God, and her body to be ordered in this world as it shall stand with your pleasure'.[73] The ambiguity of Mary's reputation as 'Princess' of England was closely bound to religion, given Henry's split from Rome to secure a divorce. While Mary's 'body' could be 'ordered in this world' by Henry, her 'soul' was independent of his control. Refusal of Henry's religious authority meant she also failed to recognise her parent's divorce, thus preserving a status of legitimacy.

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[72] 'Chapuys to Charles V, 6 June 1536, no. 1069' in *L&P*, vol. 10, 440-470.
[73] 'Princess Mary to [Henry VIII], 1 June 1536, no. 1022', SPO, SP 1/104 f.87.

The embodiment of devotion to Henry was an important theme in Mary's letters. The differentiation between the body and the soul as distinctive parts of Mary's being gave her the capacity for multiple, but conflicting, loyalties. Making this distinction was an attempt to appease Henry by creating a paradigm that separated religious identity from her political and familial devotion. Describing herself as 'but a woman, and your child', Mary also used gender to reconcile insubordination, drawing on patriarchal stereotypes about women's ineffectual power and rebellious nature to downplay the threat she offered. This was repeated on 10 June when Mary wrote again, begging 'him to accept his penitent child, who henceforth puts her state and living in his mercy, next to Almighty God, under whatever conditions'.[74] Again, she carefully differentiated between the mercy of God and Henry, emphasising the 'state and living' of her physical body as opposed to the soul. This was followed by a letter on 14 June in which Mary lamented:

> she has twice written to his Highness, has not yet obtained her fervent desire or any piece of the same, to her intolerable discomfort. Is enforced to cry to his merciful ears, and, prostrate at his feet, implore him to put apart his displeasure. His grace has never been wanting to those who repented, and who did not offend by malice but by youth, frailty, and ignorance.[75]

This letter continued to employ physical experience, in this case the expression of discomfort, crying and lying in front of the King, to authenticate her desire for acceptance. In doing so, Mary aligned her 'discomfort' with Henry's increasing impatience and her 'fervent desire' with Henry's happiness. Mutual goals were an important aspect of Mary's communication with Henry because it reiterated their shared identity as father and daughter. The 'body' was an important representation of this relationship because it bound them by nature.

The body, specifically blood, was often used to represent and express kinship in early modern England. Patricia Crawford analyses how blood shaped ideas and discourses of paternity.[76] Crawford argues that the concept of blood was used to

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[74] 'Princess Mary to [Henry VIII], 10 June 1536, no. 1109', SPO, Cotton Otho C/X f.261.
[75] 'Princess Mary to [Henry VIII], 14 June 1536, no. 1133', SPO, Cotton Otho C/X f.265.
[76] Patricia Crawford, *Blood, Bodies and Families in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 2004), 113-39.

explain the natural bond between a father and his children, which was often associated with affection. Blood was also used to metaphorically represent social configuration, with the blood of a father passed down from one generation to the next, creating a line of descent. This was an important aspect of dynasties, with blood explaining the inheritance of wealth, status and power. Thus, in Mary's context, the body, a vessel of blood, connected her to Henry despite his attempts to sever their relationship. The 'sharing' of blood translated to the 'sharing' of identity, and Mary used this as a reason to resist accepting her illegitimate status. In the absence of other identity markers that had previously represented Mary's dynastic identity, such as her household, fashion and presence at Court, references to the body and blood assured she remained attached to the King through a 'natural' relationship.

When Mary finally acknowledged the Act of Succession in mid-June 1536, expressions from the heart provided a sense of sincerity to her statements. Mary began the letter by declaring herself 'Most humbly prostrate before the feet of your most excellent Majesty, your most humble, faithful, and obedient subject, which hath so extremely offended your most gracious Highness that mine heavy and fear ful heart dare not presume to call you father'.[77] The tone of the submission positioned Mary as the king's subject, undeserving of a kin relationship. The heavy and fearful heart, however, described a desire to reconcile that privilege. Mary confessed with the 'perfect declaration of her heart', an important statement of veracity given her previous disingenuous attempts to regain her father's affection without accepting his religious authority. She then acknowledged her disobedience as both a daughter and subject admitting she had 'most unkindly and unnaturally offended him [Henry] by not submitting to his just laws'. This was followed by a statement that endeared herself to Henry, promising to 'never ask his compassion if she henceforth privily or openly vary from what she has now written' corroborated by the fact she composed the letter 'with her own hand'. The authenticity of Mary's statement was implied by the 'heart' that guided the statement and the 'hand' that wrote the letter itself.

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[77] 'Princess Mary to Henry VIII, 15 June 1536, no. 1136', in *L&P*, vol. 10, 470-491. The letter printed was from a modern copy. The original is available on SPO, Cotton Otho C/X f.282 but is fragmentary and difficult to decipher.

Concluding the submission, Mary 'put her soul in his [Henry's] direction, so she commits her body to his mercy and fatherly pity, desiring no state or manner of living except what he shall appoint her:—it cannot be so vile as her offences have deserved'.[78] Mary accepted Henry's political, familial and spiritual authority. However, this part also highlighted that Mary sought not only forgiveness but protection from her father. By reaffirming obedience, Henry was reminded of his obligations as a father and monarch to show 'mercy and fatherly pity'.

Mary's expectations for reciprocity were featured in subsequent correspondence. A recurring feature was the giving of her heart as a form of reconciliation and demonstration of fidelity.[79] In July 1536, she wrote 'your most humble faithful and obedient child and subject by the course of nature planted in this your most noble realm. Promises to continue in obedience according to her promises, both spoken and written, made to the King.'[80] This was also articulated in a letter to Henry's new wife, Jane Seymour, where Mary promised 'that from this day she shall neither be lacking in duty to her father, who has the whole disposition of her heart in his noble hand, nor in humble and obedient service to her Grace'.[81] Although this was a political matter, Mary often emphasised the parent-child dynamic of their relationship. Did she conceive a father likely to be more forgiving to his daughter than a king to his subject? Mary had disrupted the order of authority within both the family and the kingdom but assumed the natural affection of a father would triumph over residual anger. The heart represented the interior self – a window, as such, into Mary's soul. Mary's body, and by extension her identity, was 'placed' into the care of her father.

The construction of Mary's identity in these letters emphasised a narrative of kinship and the natural affection between a father and daughter. On several occasions she consciously acknowledged the hierarchy between king and subject, father and child, and that her disregard for this authority had disrupted that natural order. While this

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[78] 'Princess Mary to Henry VIII, 15 June 1536, no. 1136', in *L&P*, vol. 10, 470-491.

[79] Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline Van Gent discuss the heart as a symbol of reconciliation in letters between denominally divided family members in the Nassau dynasty. See Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline Van Gent, 'Converted Relationships: Re-negotiating Family Status after Religious Conversion in the Nassau Dynasty', *Journal of Social History* 47, no. 3 (2014): 659.

[80] 'Princess Mary to [Henry VIII], 8 July 1536, no. 43', in *L&P*, vol. 11, 19-29.

[81] 'Princess Mary to Jane Seymour, June 1536, no. 1204', SPO, SP 1/104 f.204.

dimension of this relationship compounded Henry's anger, it provided a framework for Mary to relate to her father despite their divergent religious and political goals. References to fatherly pity, compassion, the heart and body represented the intimacy of the relationship that set Mary apart from other subjects. Thereby Henry's forgiveness was as natural as Mary's obedience, restoring the balance between father and daughter. As such, Mary's dialogue in these letters suggests that she perceived her royal identity in relation to family and accessed this through her father's loyalty. Mary's return to favour confirmed her dynastic identity was largely facilitated by Henry's affection.

ii.   The King's Daughter

After accepting the Act of Succession, Mary's identity shifted in relation to the king. Mary, as the 'King's Daughter', was a powerful representation of her dynastic identity without the restoration of her titles. There are few letters from Mary after the reconciliation with her father, but evidence suggests that between her submission in 1536 and Henry's death in 1547 she enjoyed relative stability in her status at his court. Thus, this section is mostly reliant on the observations of others and their documentation of Mary as the king's beloved daughter.

Mary enjoyed the rewards of her father's favour. On 1 July 1536, Mary wrote to Cromwell that she had 'made no bill for her apparel. The King's favor is so good clothing to her, she desires no more'.[82] By August, it was reported that Henry had shown mercy to his daughter by returning items that had previously been confiscated. Ortiz wrote to Isabella of Spain commending Henry's treatment of Mary to which he added 'the Princess' robes and jewels which had been taken from her [were] to be restored'.[83] Chapuys also wrote to Isabella suggesting that 'ever since her reconciliation with the King, her father, well and kindly treated,—nay, with greater ceremony and attention than in times of old, when nobody could dispute her title to the throne of England'.[84] Ortiz's and Chapuys's observations raise two important points regarding Mary's return to favour. The first is that it brought into

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[82] 'Princess Mary to [Cromwell], 1 July 1536, no. 6' in *L&P*, vol. 11, 2-19.

[83] 'Dr. Ortiz to the Empress, 17 August 1536, no. 91' in *SP Spain*, vol. 5, part 2, 231-238.

[84] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Empress Isabella, 29 August 1536, no. 94' in *SP Spain*, vol. 5, part 2, 231-238.

focus the advantage of Henry's loyalty. Adorning Mary with material items connected to monarchy emphasised her dynastic kin. Secondly, Mary's obedience reconfirmed Henry's paternal obligations to provide for his child. Thus, the provisions of clothing, attention and affection provided value to being the King's daughter, even without titles, because of the access she had to the monarch.

Epitomising the literal value of obedience, Henry gifted Mary a ring in July 1536. Originally commissioned by Cromwell, Henry decided to gift the piece on his behalf as a token of goodwill between them. On one side 'in relief, the figure of the King and Queen, on the other that of the Princess; and round about was a writing in Latin'. The Latin inscription read:

> Obedience leads to unity, unity to constancy and quiet mind, and these are treasures of inestimable worth. For God so valued humility that he gave his only son, a perfect exemplar of modesty, who in his obedience to the divine father, taught lessons of obedience and devotion.[85]

Chapuys was also of the opinion that 'her father's affection for her increases daily', which the ring represented. The example of Jesus and God symbolised the father–child and monarch–subject dynamic of Mary's relationship with Henry, characterising her place within the dynasty as an example to others. The gift was not subtle in equating Mary's obedience with unity, peace and love, to be worn as a reminder of her duty.

Chronicler Charles Wriothesley commented 'the Kinge spake with his deare and wel beloved daughter Marye, which had not spek with the Kinge her father in five yere afore, and there she remained with the Kynge tyll Frydaye at nyght'.[86] This observation suggested because Mary was 'deare and wel beloved' by the King, she

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[85] Latin original in 'Chapuys to Granvelle, 23 July 1536, no. 148' in L&P, vol. 11, 54-73: 'Obedientia unitatem parit, Unitas animi quietem et constantiam; Constans vero animi quies thesaurus inestimabilis. Respexit humilitatem Qui in Filio nobis reliquit Perfectum humilitatis exemplar. Factus est obediens Patri, Et ipsa etiam natura parentibus Et patrie obediendum docuit.' English translation quoted from Whitelock, *Mary Tudor*, 91.

[86] Charles Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England during the Reigns of the Tudors, from A. D. 1485–1559*, vol. 1, ed. William Douglas Hamilton (Westminster: Printed for the Camden Society, 1875), 51.

had been permitted to visit Henry for the first time in several years.[87] The reintegration of Mary into Henry's court was articulated as a result of father–daughter reconciliation. This correlated with the language Mary used seeking forgiveness from Henry and suggests that she embraced an identity as the King's daughter to affirm her dynastic membership. Writing to Cromwell in November, Mary acknowledged '[t]he King has already shown her more goodness than she deserves, and she desires nothing so much as his presence'.[88] Mary conveyed humility and gratitude, as expected by a dutiful daughter, but also aligned her 'desire' with the King. Thus, by December 1536, when Wriothesley noted 'the Kinges Grace, the Queens Grace, and my Ladye Marye, the Kinges daughter, tooke their horses at the sayde Pallase of Westmynster accompanied with a goodlye company', Mary had transitioned from secret meetings with Henry to public processions.[89] Given my findings in Chapter One regarding Henry's use of intimacy to represent loyalties, the transition at the end of 1536 firmly placed Mary within the Tudor dynasty as the King's 'beloved' daughter.

The birth of Prince Edward in October 1537 transformed Mary's position within the family. The long-awaited birth of a male heir created a clear path of succession from Henry to Edward, displacing the tension surrounding Mary and Elizabeth's right to succession. A letter to Cromwell shortly after Edward's birth encapsulated Mary's transition in identity.

> At the coming down of the lady Mary into these Marches of Wales, I was appointed, by the King, solicitor to her Grace, and have remained in the said office with the King's Commissioners here. Now that God has sent us a prince I beg you will have me in remembrance when the King appoints his officers here.[90]

Having been in the Marches of Wales ten years earlier, Mary was the last royal child linked to the principality. As such, for the first time, Mary was removed from her liminal identity as heir apparent and firmly placed as the King's daughter and sister

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[87] See also Chapter One where I discuss the implications of distance in the negotiation of Henry's relationship with Mary between 1528 and 1536.

[88] 'Princess Mary to [Cromwell], 17 November 1536, no. 1090', SPO, Cotton Otho C/X f.268.

[89] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, 1, 59.

[90] 'Rich. Hassall to Cromwell, 28 October 1537, no. 997' in *L&P*, vol. 12, part 2, 345-355.

to the heir. Although Catholics adamantly defended Mary's legitimacy, she seemed to accept her brother's right to succeed as he would have priority as the king's son regardless of her status. Her role within the Tudor dynasty was redefined in relation to not only her father but also her younger brother, and she maintained obedience to Henry to distance herself from the rebellions challenging his break from Rome.[91] Thus, in subsequent years, Mary announced to Cromwell that 'she would rather suffer bodily pain than lose any jot of the Kings favour' as she navigated the relationship with her father that relied on active displays of loyalty.[92]

In 1544 a third Act of Succession formally reinstated Mary in the line of succession, along with her half-sister Elizabeth. The statute read that:

> in case it shall happen the Kinges Majestie and the saide excellent Prince his yet only sonne Prince Edwarde and here apparaunte, to decease without here of either of their bodies lautullye begotten … then the side Imperiall Crowne and all other the p'misses shalbe to the Ladye Marie the Kinges Highnes Daughter and to the heires of the bodye of the same Ladye Marie lautullie begotten.[93]

Charles Beem argues the Third Act of Succession 'put into statutory form what most of her father's subjects had always believed to be just and true, that she was, and had always been, her father's heir'.[94] It is true, that Mary had always had a large and loyal source of support for her legitimacy. However, it is also true, that substantial effort and sacrifice on Mary's behalf had restored her place within the Tudor dynasty. Mary had played her part by demonstrating herself to be a dutiful daughter with the capacity to represent the Tudor dynasty – thereby embodying the values of her father.

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[91] The Pilgrimage of Grace rebellion occured between 1536 and 1537 in response to Henry's religious reforms. For further discussion, see Susan Loughlin, *Insurrection: Henry VIII, Thomas Cromwell and the Pilgrimage of Grace* (London: The History Press, 2016), 34–56.

[92] 'Princess Mary to [Cromwell.], 27 May 1538, 1082' in *L&P*, vol. 13, part 1, 393-416.

[93] 'Statute 35 Henry VIII c.1' in Luders et al., *The Statutes of the Realm*, 955–58.

[94] Charles Beem, 'Princess of Wales? Mary Tudor and the History of English Heirs to the Throne', in *The Birth of a Queen Essays on the Quincentenary of Mary I*, ed. Sarah Duncan and Valerie Schutte (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 27.

In the same year, Master John painted Mary as the King's daughter, reiterating her connection to the Crown. The painting depicted Mary from the waist up, wearing a French-cut gown in cloth of gold, with cloth of silver, ruby and pearl biliments and jewellery.[95] Mary was painted on a blue background with a gold inscription that reads 'Anno Dni.1544 Ladi Mari Dovghter To The Most Vertvovs Prince Kinge Henri The Eight The Age Of XXVIII Yeres'. Notably, the painting resembles a portrait of Katherine Parr painted by John the same year, which aligned both women with the Crown.[96] In August 1546, Mary signed a letter to the Duke of Alburquerque as 'Mary, Daughter of England'.[97] Her signature was different to earlier letters which frequently, and for a time defiantly, used 'Marye, princesse'.[98] While the change omitted 'princess', Mary maintained her royal position by emphasising her identity as not only the King's daughter but England's.

Figure 4: Master John, Queen Mary I, 1544, oil on panel,
NPG 428, London, National Portrait Gallery.

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[95] Master John, *Queen Mary I*, 1544. oil on panel, 28 in. x 20 in. (711 mm x 508 mm).

[96] Master John, *Katherine Parr*, 1544–1545. oil on panel, 71 in. x 37 in. (1803 mm x 940 mm). National Portrait Gallery.

[97] 'Princess Mary to the Duke of Alburquerque, 1 August 1546, no. 1389' in *L&P*, vol. 21, part 2, 697-714.

[98] See, for example, 'Princess Mary to Cromwell, 28 May 1533, no. 550' SPO, Cotton Vespasian F/XIII f.282.

Mary's privy purse expenses documented a 'flower wt five great diamonds, ij. Rubies, oon Emerawde, and a great ple pendunte' gifted by Henry, which resembles the necklace worn in the portrait.[99] The opulence of Mary's necklace is significant compared to ten years earlier when, under Henry's orders, Norfolk 'seized her best jewels and robes [and] likewise all others that she had' as punishment for her disobedience.[100] Given Henry had previously made the point of confiscating Mary's jewels when their relationship was at its worst, it is significant that Mary was wearing a necklace gifted by the king in the portrait. Just as the removal of these items revealed a breakdown of loyalty, the exchanging of such expensive gifts was inversely a gesture of loyalty. In addition to the connection to the king the jewellery represented, Hilary Doda has analysed the colours of Mary's clothing in the portrait and found they were important identity markers in themselves. The colour and textiles of Mary's clothing demonstrated her 'restoration to royal favor' and reintegration into the family.[101] In addition to this, Doda argues that Mary deliberately chose 'items and color palettes that would fit into [Henry's] well-defined and exuberant aesthetic', thereby creating a 'visual relationship with his public body'.[102]

Cumulatively, these examples thus point to the re-imagination and representation of Mary's dynastic identity by herself and others as the 'Daughter' of the king and of England. Scholars have noted women were important conduits for the royal bloodline. In discussing Empress Matilda, Heckel argues women were 'prized as transmitters of legitimacy and power but not welcomed when they sought to exercise the latter'.[103] Richards briefly addresses this issue in her biography of Mary, commenting 'how readily Mary was seen as a means of advancing the interests of

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[99] Frederic Madden, ed., *Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary, Daughter of King Henry the Eighth, afterwards Queen Mary with a Memoir of the Princess, and Notes* (London: William Pickering, 1831), 176.

[100] 'Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor, 24 March 1534, no. 31', in *SP Spain*, vol. 5, part 1, 84-100. Hilary Doda, 'Lady Mary to Queen of England: Transformation, Ritual, and the Wardrobe of Robes', in *The Birth of a Queen: Essays on the Quincentenary of Mary I*, ed. Sarah Duncan and Valerie Schutte (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 53.

[102] Doda, 'Lady Mary to Queen of England', 53-54. Waldemar Heckel, 'King's Daughters, Sisters, and Wives: Fonts and Conduits of Power and Legitimacy,'' in *Royal Women and Dynastic Loyalty*, ed. Caroline Dunn and Elizabeth Carney (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2018), 20.

others'.[104] However, historians have increasingly argued the ability of women to use gender to their advantage, exercising soft power without disrupting patriarchal authority.[105] As this section has demonstrated, Mary's dynastic identity, and therefore her value to others, was found in the affection between herself and Henry. Without this love, Mary's membership in the Tudor dynasty was isolating and fruitless. While she used blood ties to remind Henry of the 'natural' affection between father and daughter, her presence as an obedient and dutiful daughter was far more powerful in cultivating favour.

<div align="center">iii.   The King's Sister</div>

The way in which Mary communicated dynastic loyalty to the Tudor house changed when her younger brother became king as Edward VI. Edward was only nine years old when he inherited the throne in January 1547, and special arrangements were made to help the young king govern. Henry's will named sixteen people with 'charging his said son to be ruled as regards marriage and all affairs by the aforesaid Councillors … until he has completed his eighteenth year'.[106] However, the council Henry intended to help Edward rule only lasted three days, after which Edward Seymour, the Duke of Somerset and Edward's maternal uncle, was elected as Lord Protector of the Realm and Governor of the King's Person. The Spanish ambassador at one point commented that Seymour 'governs everything absolutely', given the powers the council had bestowed him. The line between Edward's decision-making as king and Seymour's influence is often blurred during the protectorate.[107] The restructuring of the government was a time of 'great political

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[104] Judith Richards, *Mary Tudor*, (London: Routledge, 2008), 69.

[105] Caroline Dunn and Elizabeth Carney, 'Introduction: Royal Women and Dynastic Loyalty', in *Royal Women and Dynastic Loyalty*, ed. Caroline Dunn and Elizabeth Carney (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018); Susan Broomhall, 'In the Orbit of the King: Women, Power and Authority at the French Court, 1483-1563,'" in *Women and Power at the French Court, 1483-1563*, ed. Susan Broomhall (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018); Broomhall, *The Identities of Catherine de' Medici*, Chapters 1 and 2.

[106] 'Henry VIII's Will, 30 December 1546, no. 634' in *L&P*, vol. 21 part 2, 313-348. The digital manuscript was also consulted but is mutilated. See *SPO*, SP 1/227 f.216.

[107] There has been substantial scholarly interest in Edward Seymour's protectorate; for more detailed discussions of the Edwardian government see, for example, Stephen Alford, *Kingship and Politics In the Reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); A. F. Pollard, *England under Protector Somerset: An Essay* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1966); Lockyer Roger and Gaunt Peter, *Tudor and Stuart Britain: 1485–1714* (Taylor and Francis, 2018), 125–44.

delicacy' as power dynamics shifted within the Court hierarchy.[108] Edward himself often intervened on religious issues and was particularly concerned with his sister's dissent. Jennifer Loach argues Edward took a special interest in 'matters of religion, notably confronting his sister Mary over services in her household'.[109] Seymour's protectorate complicated Mary's response, as she sought to distinguish familial loyalty to her brother from the political demands of his Council. To whom Mary owed loyalty was a question that caused conflict with Edward and his Council.

Tension between Mary, Edward and his Council was aggravated by the introduction of *The Book of Common Prayer* in the 1549 Act of Uniformity, which changed the religious landscape in England. Eamon Duffy argues, that at its core, the Prayer Book transformed 'lay experience of the Mass, and in the process eliminated almost everything that had till then been central to lay Eucharistic piety'.[110] The Prayer Book was supposedly a gentle introduction to more intense Protestant reform; however, as Duffy states, it disrupted long-existing patterns of faith and daily life for lay people. Among the changes was the delivery of Mass in English, which in turn removed the need for choirs, causing a starkly different Church experience. The elevation or showing of the Host was forbidden and the sharing of holy bread stopped. The traditional calendar of feast and fast days was substantially reduced to the celebration of Christmas, Easter and Whitsun along with a few saints' days.[111] It was a substantial break from religious tradition and not well received by all of Edward's subjects.

As the King's Catholic sister and heir, Mary was among those affected by the introduction of the Prayer Book. To appease Mary, Edward and his council wrote to her in August 1549 granting permission to practice Mass in her private chamber, writing:

> in respect of your weakness, we have dispensed you and your chaplains
> and priests for hearing and saying services other than set forth by our

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[108] Loades, *Mary Tudor*, 135.

[109] Jennifer Loach, *Edward VI*, ed. G. W. Bernard and Penry Williams (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 101.

[110] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 464.

[111] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 464–8.

statutes. For fear of seducing others, the services are to be in your private chamber, in the presence of yourself and not more than twenty ladies and gentlemen.[112]

Mary's Catholic identity was problematic for Edward's authority. She remained the 'legitimate' heir to the throne for many people, and the Council was certainly aware of her capacity to influence others.[113] Control of his sister's religious practices was necessary to show the strength of Edward's authority and set an example for his realm.

Mary, however, resisted Protestant reform and continued to practise Catholicism in her household. As Jeri McIntosh argues, the magnitude of Mary's inheritance from Henry provided her with both a degree of independence and the capacity to exhibit royal wealth and power.[114] In fact, McIntosh emphasises the extent of revenues at Mary's disposal was only exceeded by six others in the realm, one of whom was her brother Edward.[115] Such wealth made her not just a powerful woman, but a powerful figure in Edwardian England.[116] A letter from the Habsburg Secretary, Jehan Dubois, in 1548 describes Mary touring her estates, writing he understood 'she was much welcomed and well received in the north country, and wherever she had power to do it she has had Mass celebrated and the services of the Church performed according to the ancient institution'.[117] Resembling a royal progress, the tour of Mary's estates shows how her inheritance allowed her to promote Catholicism in her estates. The public nature of Mary's devotional practices contextualises the anxiety expressed in Edward's letter the following year, that she had the power to seduce. In the political paradigm of Edward's reign, Mary's religious loyalty rivalled that to the Tudor dynasty and it became difficult to manage both.

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[112] 'The King to Princess Mary, August 1549, no. 348' in *SP Edward*, 132. The digital manuscript was also consulted but is mutilated. See *SPO*, SP 10/8 f.92

[113] Loades, *Mary Tudor*, 135.

[114] McIntosh, *From Heads of Household to Heads of State,* 132–6.

[115] McIntosh, *From Heads of Household*, 132.

[116] McIntosh, *From Heads of Household*, 4; Barbara Harris, *English Aristocratic Women, 1450–1550: Marriage and Family, Property and Careers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

[117] 'Secretary Jehan Dubois to Loys Scors (Louis de Schore, President of the Flemish Council of State), 4 October 1548' in *SP Spain*, vol. 9, 293-309.

To navigate this loyalty conflict, Mary differentiated between her confessional identity and sibling loyalty. An encounter between three of Edward's councillors at the end of August 1551 illustrates Mary's distinction between the two types of loyalties. The councillors delivered Mary the news that she and her household were no longer permitted to hear Mass in private.[118] Mary outright refused to accept this ruling, responding her servants should be at liberty to do as they willed' and that 'the new service would not be used in her house'.[119] According to the report, Mary 'protested loyalty but said she would rather die on the block than use any services other than those in use at her father's death', a sentiment she had expressed on multiple occasions. Insulted by the Council's demands, the reference to Henry's posthumous authority suggests the hierarchy in the Tudor house was complicated due to Edward's age.

Mary used Edward's youth to negotiate what loyalty was expected of her. In a letter complimenting him for his intelligence 'far beyond that possessed by others at your age', she urged Edward to

> consider that both sides of the question are not brought before you; and therefore I beseech your Majesty to suspend your judgment on spiritual matters until you reach riper and fuller years, and then with better knowledge and understanding your Majesty will exercise your freedom to decide according to your pleasure. Concerning the opinion your Majesty has formed of me, from my letters to your Majesty's Council, or from reports made by them, I hope I may in the end prove myself to be as truly loyal to your Majesty as any other subject.[120]

Wary of the influence surrounding Edward, Mary shifted perceptions of disloyalty as an act of goodwill toward her brother. Mary's natural affection encouraged the hope that Edward would one day understand – and maybe share – her faith. It challenged

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[118] 'Report to the privy council of the delivery of their message to Princess Mary by [Lord Rich], lord chancellor, [Sir Anthony Wingfield], comptroller of the household and Sir William Petre, secretary, 29 August 1551, no. 534' in *SP Edward*, 200

[119] 'Report to the privy council of the delivery of their message to Princess Mary by [Lord Rich], lord chancellor, [Sir Anthony Wingfield], comptroller of the household and Sir William Petre, secretary, 29 August 1551, no. 534' in *SP Edward*, 200

[120] 'The Lady Mary to Edward VI, [undated]' in *SP Spain*, vol. 10, 203-219.

the hierarchy within the family to prioritise age and wisdom, which provided Mary with a sense of authority.

Thus, Mary's disloyalty was not directed toward her brother and the Tudor Dynasty, but was instead a rejection of the Council's influence over the young king. Insisting she would 'obey the king's orders in religion only when he was old enough to judge', Mary acknowledged Edward's right to command her but challenged the power of his Council, accusing them of misleading the young king.[121] She remained loyal to the family, not to his Council. Upon receiving a letter from Edward, Mary proclaimed she would 'kiss [the letter] for the honour of his signature rather than their content', separating sibling affection from matters of state.[122] However, given Mary's power and status, the separation of religion, state and family was impossible and her attempt to do so was unproductive. Mary's devotional identity no longer aligned with the 'values' of her brother and, as such, of the Tudor dynasty.

The dynamic between Mary and Edward was markedly different to her relationship with Henry. Mary used loyalty emotions to regain her father's affection. Edward, however, used loyalty emotions to negotiate Mary's religious conformity. A letter from 28 January 1551 exhibits the negotiation of Edward's authority rather than the exercise of it. The letter began by emphasising the 'love and so much reason' Edward and his council had offered Mary to only be rewarded with the 'transgression of our laws'.[123] The emotional tone within the letter varied, at some points highlighting love and duty between siblings while reminding Mary of the 'grievous' suffering her disrespect had caused. The letter elaborated on the tensions between them, stating:

> Your near relationship to us, your exalted rank, the conditions of the times, all magnify your offence. It is a scandalous thing that so high a personage should deny our sovereignty; that our sister should be less to us than any of our other subjects is an unnatural example; and finally, in

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[121] 'Report to the privy council of the delivery of their message to Princess Mary by [Lord Rich], lord chancellor, [Sir Anthony Wingfield], comptroller of the household and Sir William Petre, secretary, 29 August 1551, no. 534' in *SP Edward*, 200

[122] 'Report to the privy council of the delivery of their message to Princess Mary by [Lord Rich], lord chancellor, [Sir Anthony Wingfield], comptroller of the household and Sir William Petre, secretary, 29 August 1551, no. 534' in *SP Edward*, 200

[123] 'Edward VI to the Lady Mary, 28 January 1551' in *SP Spain*, vol. 10, 203-219.

a troubled republic, it lends colour to faction among the people. You think we are too young in years to weigh the arguments set forth. In truth, sister, we think our youth is an advantage, for perhaps the evil has endured in you so long that it is more strongly rooted than we suppose, and this but troubles us the more, fearing that our youth may not permit us to gauge the extent of the evil, if we are to judge by what we perceive at present. Truly we do not wish to presume beyond what our age concedes; that is to say, in matters yet doubtful we place no reliance in our own wisdom; but in those things which are plain we believe there is no difference (between us and older men).[124]

Addressing the king's age, the letter showed the political implications of domestic disobedience. Edward justified his demands through embodied emotions of both love and anger toward Mary and reminded her of her duty as a sister, not just a subject. It reiterated the blurred hierarchy in the Tudor dynasty after Henry's death, in which Mary's age and wealth made her a powerful figure at court. Edward's letters blended the language of familial loyalty with the demands of a king to invoke reciprocity for his goodwill, but in doing so he acknowledged Mary's capacity to resist his authority.

Mary's membership of the Habsburg dynasty further problematised her disregard for Edward's laws. A critical shared identity marker between Mary and her Habsburg relatives was their Catholic faith. In a letter to Charles V, Mary confided that 'after God' she regarded him as her 'father in all spiritual and temporal matters'.[125] Mary's Catholicism was not just a domestic issue; it also affected Edward's foreign policy. The young king documented tensions with the emperor in his diary, describing a diplomatic standoff that 'if the Emperor would allow my ambassador to worship then I would his. If he would not allow mine to worship, then I would not allow his. Likewise,' he reminded Charles, 'that my sister was my subject and should worship as appointed by Act of Parliament.'[126] This entry and others referenced the young king's frustration with the Emperor and his ambassador's continued involvement

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[124] 'Edward VI to the Lady Mary, 28 January 1551' in *SP Spain*, vol. 10, 203-219.

[125] 'The Lady Mary to the Emperor, 12 January 1550' in *SP Spain*, vol. 10, 1-11.

[126] Edward Tudor, *England's Boy King: The Diary of Edward VI, 1547–1553*, ed. Jonathan North (Welwyn Garden City: Ravenhall, 2005), 79.

with Mary.[127] Mary assured the emperor that she considered him her 'only refuge' considering the 'tender age' of her brother.[128] The ways in which Mary's Habsburg loyalties coexisted and complimented religious loyalties perpetuated her identity as a Catholic Spaniard but further alienated her from Edward's regime.

As Edward's heir, Mary's public displays of faith undermined his authority. An entry in the diary of a London merchant, Henry Machyn, suggests she was willing to disregard the King's statutes publicly. On 15 March 1551, during a period of heightened hostility between the siblings, Mary rode 'through London unto St John's, her place, with fifty knights and gentlemen in velvet coats and chains of gold afore her'. [129] In particular, Machyn recalled 'every one' of Mary's entourage having a 'peyre of bedes of black'.[130] Mary's public and noteworthy display of faith directly contradicted the King's laws. A few days after Mary's public display of Catholicism, Edward recorded a visit from his sister in his diary. On 18 March, he recalled, his sister 'came to me at Westminster'. The siblings discussed Mary's continued hearing of Mass in her household, but Edward agonised there was 'no hope' of reconciliation from her letters, and he 'could not bear it'.[131] Mary replied that 'her soul was God's and that she would not change her faith, nor hide her opinion through doing contrary doings'.[132] The confrontation was unproductive, and Mary returned to her estates in a defensive and defiant state. Edward wrote in his diary that 'her example might breed to much inconvenience', which was followed by increasing pressure from the king and his council throughout 1551 and 1552. Like her alliance with Charles as her 'only refuge', Mary's actions decisively cultivated an identity that opposed Edward's government. Mary was unwilling to compromise where and how she practised her faith, which concerned her brother. Since Mary was Edward's heir, the boundaries between internal household conflict among siblings were blurred with issues of dynastic authority.

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[127] See, for example, Tudor, *The Diary of Edward VI*, 48, 62-64, 88-89, 97-99.

[128] 'The Lady Mary to the Emperor, 3 April 1549' in *SP Spain*, vol. 9, 360-371.

[129] Henry Machyn, *The Diary of Henry Machyn: Citizen and Merchant-taylor of London, from A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1563*, ed. John Gough Nichols (London: Camden Society, 1848), 4–5.

[130] Machyn, *The Diary of Henry Machyn*, 4-5.

[131] Tudor, *The Diary of Edward VI*, 76–77.

[132] Tudor, *The Diary of Edward VI*, 76–77.

IV.   Conclusion

This chapter has established that loyalty fundamentally shaped Mary's access to, and expression of, her dynastic identities. The formation of dynasties relied on the unity of members to present a shared and cohesive collective identity to assert power. Thus, membership was generated through expressions of loyalty that indicated shared values and goals. As Edward's succession demonstrates, what it meant to be a Tudor changed according to hierarchy of the family structure. Due to the fluctuating dynamics of dynastic networks, Mary moulded interactions to adapt, especially during conflict. The expression of loyalty emotions then, was crucial because they communicated similarity, reciprocity and duty. Conceptualising Mary's dynastic identities recognises the overlap and intersection of political and personal goals with the shared values of the dynasty.

The plurality of identities recognises the ways in which Mary understood herself as both a Habsburg and a Tudor as a reflection of her maternal and paternal kinship. Her membership in these dynasties, although inherited, was by no means secure. Mary's gender and doubts about her legitimacy formed a liminal status within the dynastic hierarchies that required negotiation. As such, Mary's emotional discourses varied depending on the nature of the relationships to facilitate inclusion. The rhetoric of 'trust' in correspondence within the Habsburg network implied Mary was willing to follow the emperor's judgement. It also denoted membership because the sharing of 'trust' expressed an expectation of reciprocity, especially when that faith was given on the premise of familial bonds. Because Mary had proven loyalty to the Habsburgs, she believed this loyalty would be returned. In comparison, Mary's correspondence to Henry was more focused on emphasising blood as a natural source of affection. The loss of Henry's affection as a result of her disobedience had demonstrated it to be crucial for Mary's dynastic inclusion. The difference between the King's daughter, and the King's beloved daughter was significant. Therefore, in seeking Mary's forgiveness, she used expressions of intimacy to remind Henry of his paternal obligations toward her.

This chapter has argued the importance of individual relationships in cultivating Mary's concepts of belonging. Expressions of love, affection, duty and trust provided Mary with the opportunity to create relationships within the dynasty. Because Mary's

relation to the emperor was more removed (in terms of relation and distance), she relied on connections with Katherine and Chapuys to cultivate a sense of belonging. In contrast, Mary was eager to re-establish direct communication and contact with her father as a means of generating warmth. Throughout the negotiation of Mary's dynastic identities, loyalty was used to weave connections directly or indirectly with the patriarch. Gender was an ever-present determinant of how Mary participated in these relationships, and the affective discourses that implied dependence, suffering and obedience reflect that. Nonetheless, it is perhaps evident that Mary used this framework to remind Charles and Henry of their duty to protect, love and guide her as the dynastic patriarchs. The following chapter examines the manifestation of Mary's dynastic identities as the Tudor matriarch during her reign, and the extent to which it shaped her decision-making as queen.

Chapter Four: The Loyalty of a Queen

On 19 July 1553, thirteen days after the death of her younger brother King Edward VI, Mary was proclaimed Queen of England having challenged Edward's successor, Lady Jane Grey, for the throne in a triumphant display of leadership. As the first woman crowned Queen Regnant, Mary faced substantial challenges even after she secured the throne. The English government was not equipped for a female ruler and the question of marriage – and an heir – caused anxiety and conflict. Mary's reign was plagued by other challenges too, as the country endured widespread famine and epidemic, religious division and conflict, and economic decline. In one account of Mary's oration at Guildhall in 1554 as Thomas Wyatt's rebellion loomed, she is said to have declared to her subjects that 'And I thus louing you, cannot but thinke that ye as hartilie and faithfullie loue me againe: louing togither in this knot of loue and concord, I doubt not, but ye togither shall be able to giue these rebels a short and speedie ouerthrow'.[1] In the context of many and varying hardships, I argue that loyalty worked as a 'knot' that tied the queen to her people to overcome conflict. The love Mary referenced in her Guildhall oration 'did something', by arousing loyalty between monarch and subject. However, as this chapter argues, the knot of loyalty that bound Mary to the nation was insecure and required constant retying to maintain.

Emotions were an important part of early modern statecraft.[2] Humanist texts in the early sixteenth century emphasised a deeply patriarchal system of governance that relied on restraint and benevolence. Thomas More's *Utopia*, published in 1515, urged rulers to place the interest of the Commonwealth above their own.[3] Similarly, in *The Education of a Christian Prince*, Desiderius Erasmus (influenced by the work of Aristotle) declared:

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[1] Raphael Holinshed, *The Firste Volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande* (London: 1577), 1728–29.

[2] Susan Broomhall, 'Ruling Emotions: Affective and Emotional Strategies of Power and Authority among Early Modern European Monarchies', in *The Routledge History of Monarchy*, ed. Elena Woodacre et al. (London: Routledge, 2019), 668–84; Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly 'Monarchies', in *Early Modern Emotions: An Intoduction*, ed. Susan Broomhall (London: Routledge, 2017), 179–82.

[3] Thomas More, *Utopia*, trans. Ralph Robinson, ed. Edward Arber (Westminster: A Constable and Co, 1895).

> If a prince has the interests of the state at heart his power is not
> checked on this account, so it will be adjudged, but rather helped. If
> his attitude is otherwise, however, it is expedient that the state break
> and turn aside the violence of a single man.[4]

The reciprocal nature of monarchy is evident in Erasmus's argument that the prince who shows love will be loved in return. Using an example of marriage, he suggests 'the wife should first learn the ways and means of loving her husband and then let him show himself worthy of her love. And so with the people – let them become accustomed to the best, and let the prince be the source of the best things.'[5] He summarises this argument with '[t]hose who begin to love through reason, love long'.[6] The reciprocity of love between monarch and realm was the source of peace and prosperity. Juan Luis Vives also wrote on statecraft. His ideas, like Erasmus, encapsulated a deeply patriarchal system of governance that reiterated a natural order between king and his subjects.[7] However, Vives stated that the good of the state and king are inseparable and the monarch has a responsibility to maintain the welfare of the commonwealth. As Mary's tutor, Vives's views are significant. Cathy Curtis posits that Vives educated the 'young princess Mary towards the moderation of the emotions, right reason, virtue, and knowledge of God'.[8] These traits are not too dissimilar to the values outlined by More, Erasmus and Vives in their ideas of an ideal prince. The issue, however, was that Mary was a woman and women were understood to be less capable of restraining their emotions.

Women were considered subordinate to men and naturally unsuited for authority. John Knox articulated these views in *The First Blast of the Trumpet*, published during Mary's reign in 1558. Knox argued women in positions of authority are 'repugnant to nature, contumelie to God, a thing most contrarious to his reueled will

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[4] Desiderius Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince*, trans. and ed. Lester K. Born (New York: W. W. Norton, 1968), 173–74.

[5] Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince*, 206-7.

[6] Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince*, 207.

[7] Cathy Curtis, 'Advising Monarchs and their Counsellors: Juan Luis Vives on the Emotions, Civil Life and International Relations', *Parergon* 28, no. 2 (2011): 38-39.

[8] Curtis, 'Advising Monarchs and their Counsellors', 34. For further discussion about Mary's education, see Timonthy G. Elston, 'Transformation or Continuity? Sixteenth-Century Education and the Legacy of Catherine of Aragon, Mary I, and Juan Luis Vives', in *'High and Mighty Queens' of Early Modern England: Realities and Representations*, ed. Carole Levin, Elizabeth Carney and Debra Barrett-Graves, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 11–26.

and approued ordinance, and finallie it is the subuersion of good order, of all equitie and justice'.[9] He cites women's weak, frail, impatient, feeble and foolish nature as reasons for their inaptness to rule.[10] Although Knox is now understood as extreme in his views, his text serves as a pertinent reminder of the patriarchal structure within which Mary's queenship existed.[11] Revisionist historians have addressed the various ways Mary's queenly representation challenged these gender norms.[12] This chapter explores the role of loyalty in Mary's queenship that were designed to appease the idea that a 'man was not created for the cause of the woman, but the woman for the cause of man' and that in their 'greatest perfection' women were naturally subordinate to men.[13] Here she used a rhetoric of queenship that created reciprocal interdependence between queen and realm.

Despite a growing revisionist literature, there is general agreement that further attention to Mary's 'character' is required. Loades acknowledges that 'Mary's state of mind … merits serious consideration, because her actions were a curious mixture

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[9] John Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, ed. Edward Arber (London: 1878), 11.

[10] Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet*, 12.

[11] Judith Richards, 'Gender Difference and Tudor Monarchy: The Significance of Queen Mary I', *Parergon* 21, no. 2 (2004): 28.

[12] Mary Hill Cole, 'The Half-Blood Princes: Mary I, Elizabeth I, and Their Strategies of Legitimation', in *The Birth of a Queen: Essays on the Quincentenary of Mary I*, ed. Sarah Duncan and Valerie Schutte (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman, eds., *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Sarah Duncan, *Mary I: Gender, Power, and Ceremony in the Reign of England's First Queen*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Sarah Duncan, '"Bloody" Mary? Changing Perceptions of England's First Ruling Queen', in *The Name of a Queen: William Fleetwood's Itinerarium ad Windsor*, ed. Charles Beem and Dennis Moore (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Alice Hunt, 'The Reformation of Tradition: The Coronations of Mary and Elizabeth', in *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth*, ed. Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018); Anne Mearns, 'Unnatural, Unlawful, Ungodly, and Monstrous: Manipulating the Queenly Identities of Mary I and Mary II', in *The Birth of a Queen: Essays on the Quincentenary of Mary I*, ed. Sarah Duncan and Valerie Schutte (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Natalie Mears, 'Politics in the Elizabethan Privy Chamber: Lady Mary Sidney and Kat Ashley', in *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450–1700*, ed. James Daybell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2017); Alexander Samson, *Mary and Philip: The Marriage of Tudor England and Habsburg Spain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020); Valerie Schutte, *Mary I and the Art of Book Dedications: Royal Women, Power and Persuasion* (London: Palgrave Macmillan 2015); Melita Thomas, *The King's Pearl: Henry VIII and His Daughter Mary* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2017); Anna Whitelock, '"A Queen, and by the Same Title, a King Also": Mary I: Queen-in-Parliament', in *The Birth of a Queen: Essays on the Quincentenary of Mary I*, ed. Sarah Duncan and Valerie Schutte (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

[13] Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet*, 15

of politic caution and impolitic zeal'.[14] Encouraged by these comments, I consider the parameters of duty, conscience and desire as the rhetoric of loyalties essential to Mary's identity within the paradigm of queenship. In doing so, I contribute to the growing revisionist literature by addressing a broader failure to adequately integrate emotion as a genuine focus of analysis for Mary's reign despite its pervasive inclusion in the literature. Many of the decisions she made were bound by duty, conscience and desire that worked to fulfil the loyalty relationships necessary for success as a female monarch.

As such, this chapter focuses on the emotional practice of Mary's loyalty while she was queen. The Venetian ambassador, Giovanni Michiel, wrote a detailed account of Mary and her kingdom commonly referred to as the *Report* in which he observed the physical and mental attributes of England's queen. The unflattering depiction of a small, wrinkly and short-sighted queen with eyes so 'piercing that they inspire, not only respect, but fear' is well known, but the second half of Michiel's description is more often than not overlooked.[15] 'Internally,' he commented, Mary was 'like other women, being sudden and passionate, and close and miserly, rather more so than would become a bountiful and generous queen.' He later added that 'she might live with her mind at ease, and quite consoled, were she likewise undisturbed by her own thoughts and passions, both public and private, which often subject her to a very deep melancholy'. Despite Mary's sudden and passionate temperament, which he attributed to her gender, Michiel praised the English queen for she was 'not only … brave and valiant, unlike other timid and spiritless women, but so courageous and resolute that neither in adversity nor peril did she ever even display or commit any act of cowardice or pusillanimity, maintaining always, on the contrary, a wonderful grandeur and dignity'.[16] In the ambassador's opinion, the courageous and resolute identity Mary demonstrated was a defining feature of her character. Michiel's description highlights the paradox of Mary's emotional character as necessary for an effective ruler while recognising that these emotions also hindered her at times. I interrogate this enigma to understand how the affective reciprocity

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[14] Loades, 'Personal Religion of Mary I', 19.

[15] 'Report of England made by Giovanni Michiel, late Ambassador to Queen Mary and King Philip, to the Venetian Senate, 13 May 1557, no. 884', in *SP Venice*, vol. 6, 1041-1095.

[16] 'Report of England made by Giovanni Michiel, late Ambassador to Queen Mary and King Philip, to the Venetian Senate, 13 May 1557, no. 884', in *SP Venice*, vol. 6, 1041-1095.

between Mary and the realm can attribute for an 'increasing decline' in affection for a queen who was 'universally' adored at the beginning of her reign.[17] Mary's queenship, I argue, evolved according to constantly fluctuating emotional transactions between monarch and nation.

The structure of this chapter responds to the key features of Marian historiography. Historians focus on three aspects of Mary's reign – gender, religion and the 'Spanish Marriage'. My analysis similarly addresses these factors but approaches them from perspective of loyalty, duty, conscience and desire, which I argue are crucial to understanding the perceived successes and failures of her queenship. Firstly, I discuss the methodology and sources that I use to analyse loyalty as a source of motivation whilst Mary was queen. The second section focuses on Mary's succession and the rhetoric of queenly *duty* that she used to stimulate affective relationships with her Council and subjects. In the third section I identify Mary's articulation of *conscience* as a motivating feeling that she used to support religious reform. Finally, Mary's decision to marry Philip of Spain was based on *desire*, which orientated the political question of Mary's marriage as a personal affair. Duty, conscience and desire were a vocabulary of queenship that emphasised emotion was at the heart of decision-making. This chapter identifies the distinctive ways Mary communicated loyalty emotions within the affective economy of the monarchy and, consequently, demonstrates how emotion facilitated rather than hindered Mary's governance.

I.   Theoretical Framework

How can the emotional 'turn' facilitate a better understanding of Mary's queenship? Several scholars have explored the role of emotion in maintaining and challenging monarchical structures.[18] These scholars identify the varying functions of emotion within the monarchy by reinforcing power hierarchies. Emotions such as fear of the king's wrath and envy of his boldness reinforced models of the monarch's authority

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[17] 'Report of England made by Giovanni Michiel, late Ambassador to Queen Mary and King Philip, to the Venetian Senate, 13 May 1557, no. 884', in *SP Venice*, vol. 6, 1041-1095.

[18] See, for example, William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 173–210; Broomhall, 'Ruling Emotions', 668–84.

through princely ideals.[19] Emotion was also an important feature in diplomatic relationships between dynasties. Susan Broomhall argues early modern monarchs, subjects and ambassadors 'firmly identified emotional management as critical apparatus for a leader's ability to liaise with his or her people and with others'.[20] An important aspect of authority is how a monarch performed emotion and what emotions they exhibited. The correlation between emotion and the monarchy was personal and public, influenced and influential, implicit and spiritual. As a result of the diversity of emotion in Mary's reign, I have limited my focus to the motivational capacity of loyalty.

James Connor's proposition that loyalty 'illustrates for the actor their identity position, role in an interaction and possible actions' has provided a theoretical foundation for my research.[21] In the historical context of Mary Tudor, the assertion that loyalty provided guidance is useful because of the many 'firsts' she encountered and navigated while queen. The very nature of loyalty required people to *be* loyal. It was an emotional practice that required maintenance through performance. Therefore, by acknowledging and understanding Mary's loyalties as an emotional practice and markers of her identity, we can better understand her decision-making. I analyse how Mary chose to express particular emotions to demonstrate loyalty to and cultivate it among her subjects, and how emotions of loyalty informed the course she took as queen. This chapter contributes to the narrative of Mary's rule with a focus on understanding how she understood and experienced tribulations, disappointments and triumphs as queen, which is an under-explored (and criticised) aspect of her reign. In doing so, this evaluation re-considers Mary's queenship in a

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[19] Gerd Althoff, '*Ira Regis*: Prolegomena to a History of Royal Anger', in *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. Barbara H. Rosenwein (New York: Cornell University Press, 1998), 59–74; Paul Hayms, 'What Did Henry III of England Think in Bed and in French about Kingship and Anger?', in *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. Barbara H. Rosenwein (New York: Cornell University Press, 1998), 92–124; Kate McGrath, *Royal Rage and the Construction of Anglo-Norman Authority, c. 1000–1250*, (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019); Bradley Irish, *Emotion in the Tudor Court: Literature, History, and Early Modern Feeling* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2018), 55–91.

[20] Susan Broomhall, 'Diplomatic Emotions: International Relations as Gendered Acts of Power', in *The Routledge History of Emotions in Europe: 1100–1700*, ed. Susan Broomhall and Andrew Lynch (London: Routledge, 2019), 286. See also, Susan Broomhall and Jacqueline Van Gent, *Dynastic Colonialism: Gender, Materiality and the Early Modern house of Orange-Nassau* (London: Routledge, 2016).

[21] James Connor, *The Sociology of Loyalty* (New York: Springer, 2007), 132.

more nuanced way by assessing what historians have typically described as a personal shortcoming that limited her political aptitude.

Secondly, I have drawn inspiration from Sara Ahmed's seminal text, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, and in particular her notion of an affective economy.[22] Ahmed's model of affective economies explains how emotion produces meaning, particularly within governance systems. In this framework, emotion is inherently inbuilt into governance systems to create a cohesive identity and unity. Ahmed advocates that 'attention to emotions allows us to address the question of how subjects become *invested* in particular structures'.[23] Those structures in this chapter are Mary's loyalties to the realm, Church and Habsburgs, and how she communicated those loyalties as monarch. Loyalty mediated the relationship between monarch and the collective 'realm', which amalgamated Mary with her subjects while strengthening her authority, creating a national 'ideal' of the monarchy. However, Ahmed argues that emotions can destabilise this relationship between object and subject – in this chapter, Mary and the realm – if the object does 'not reflect back the good image the nation has of itself'.[24] The affective economy of emotional exchange between the Queen and her subjects is evident during Mary's rule as she fashioned a rhetoric of queenship that assimilated her within established boundaries of (male) monarchy. Emotion shaped how Mary governed and how her subjects responded. Emotions determine social relationships and, as a result, bring people together while forcing others out.

II.   A Queen's Duty

Mary began her reign as an unmarried woman in a system of governance designed for men. Traditionally, the public duty of a queen was to be by the side of her husband and king. Within this position, queens consort functioned as important political agents who wielded formal and informal authority in various ways.[25]

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[22] Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004). See also, Sara Ahmed, 'Affective Economies', *Social Text* 22, no. 2 (2004): 113-26.

[23] Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 12.

[24] Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 134.

[25] Scholarship dedicated to the political function and power of queen consorts in Early Modern Europe has expanded significantly in recent years; see, for example, Helen Matheson-Pollock, Joanne Paul and Catherine Fletcher, eds., *Queenship and Counsel in Early Modern Europe* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018); Giles Tremlett, *Catherine of Aragon: Henry's Spanish Queen*

Nonetheless, queens consort were attached to their role through marriage, their rank and position dependent on their husband. This was not the case for Mary, who had succeeded to the throne in her own right. Free from scripts of queenship created for the wife of a king, England's new monarch fashioned a rhetoric of rule that reflected both her gender and authority. Charles Beem argues that Mary represented herself to 'her subjects as monarch within conventional perceptions of sixteenth-century womanhood', thereby merging her gendered identity as a woman with her position as monarch.[26] Where, how and with whom the monarch interacted, in addition to the clothing, ritual and law that secured a monarch's position, was necessarily adapted to a female ruler and is addressed in existing scholarship.[27] Instead, I shift the focus from these aspects and consider the concept of duty as an affective rhetoric of power that Mary adapted to create loyalty bonds with her subjects. Queenly duty implied obligation to her people, which fitted the language describing responsibilities within marriage and politics.

Duty designated Mary to a role of servitude and offered affective substance to the relationship between monarch and subject. Women used the language of duty in different aspects of their lives, from their family and husband to household and Church. Within these domestic settings, duty articulated predesignated roles within a patriarchal society. Within these dynamics, a woman's duty was also emotional – for example, to love, care and be kind. Duty was also an important political emotion. Victoria Kahn discusses the 'duty to love' in her analysis of early modern political theory. Among Kahn's conclusions are the importance of passions in compelling subjects to political allegiance. Essentially, she argues affective bonds of loyalty between government and subject were an important feature of political stability.[28] Inspired by Kahn's work, Angela McShane analysed the function of loyalty objects. McShane argues for a political model where 'the subject was free

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(London: Faber and Faber, 2010); Aidan Norrie et al., eds., *Tudor and Stuart Consorts: Power, Influence and Dynasty* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022).

[26] Charles Beem, *The Lioness Roared: The Problems of Female Rule in English History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 63.

[27] See, for example, Duncan, *Mary I*; Hunt, 'The Coronations of Mary and Elizabeth'; Alice Hunt, *The Drama of Coronation: Medieval Ceremony in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Whitelock, 'Mary I: Queen-in-Parliament'; Beem, *The Lioness Roared*.

[28] Victoria Kahn, '"The Duty to Love": Passion and Obligation in Early Modern Political Theory', *Representations* 68, no. 1 (1999): 99.

to *choose* obligation and deference', which they did out of 'love and the expectation of being loved in return'.[29] Further to this point, McShane observes that 'the allegiance offered by the subject to the state was neither unconditional nor irrevocable, and it depended upon the mutual maintenance of affective relations and benefits'.[30] Kahn and McShane demonstrate the value of loyalty relationships between state and subject and the expectations of reciprocity it entailed. The articulation of queenly duty attempted to mitigate the fear of a tyrannical female ruler. Mary's love and devotion to her kingdom created a dialogue of loyalty between the queen and realm.

Mary's queenly duty was established when on 1 October 1553 she was anointed Sole Queen in an elaborate coronation. There are several descriptions of this day, but the primary account comes from the anonymous author of *The chronicle of Queen Jane and of Two Years of Queen Mary.*[31] Richly dressed in a 'gown of blew velvett, lyned with pouderyd armyn', Mary was 'solemnelie crowned and anointed by the Bishop of Winchester, which coronation and other ceremonies and solemnities then used according to the olde custome'.[32] Acknowledgment that Mary was crowned and anointed according to the 'olde custome' recognised the preservation of tradition despite the anomaly of declaring a queen regnant. Before she was anointed, the Lord Chancellor asked, '"Yf eny man will or can alledge eny cause whie quene Mary shoulde not be crowned, let theym speke now:" and then the people in every place of the churche cryed, "Quene Mary! quene Mary!"'[33] Several accounts report Mary being met with cheers and joy by people lining the streets as she rode to Westminster accompanied by a large procession. Alice Hunt argues the coronation was an event 'scrutinized carefully' by a range of commentators to foreshadow the ensuing reign.[34] Historians agree that Mary's coronation was an important stage to legitimise authority and have noted the subtle

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[29] Angela McShane, 'Subjects and Objects: Material Expressions of Love and Loyalty in Seventeenth-Century England', *Journal of British Studies* 48, no. 4 (2009): 872.

[30] McShane, 'Subjects and Objects,' 872.

[31] Unknown, *The Chronicle of Queen Jane and of Two Years of Queen Mary, and Especially of the Rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyat. Written by a Resident in the Tower of London.*, ed. John Gough Nichols (London: Camden Society, 1850).

[32] Unknown, *Chronicle*, 31; a similar outfit is also described on page 28.

[33] Unknown, *Chronicle*, 31.

[34] Hunt, 'The Coronations of Mary and Elizabeth', 64; Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009),

integration of gender to establish a rhetoric of queenship.[35] It was also an occasion that embedded an emotional connection between the queen and her subjects. The joyous participation of the crowd during the ceremony and in the procession represented goodwill toward Mary – something they hoped would be reciprocated. It was Mary's duty to maintain the affection they had shown her at the coronation.

Loyalty exchanges between Mary and her Council were also an important part of establishing power during the coronation events. More intimate interaction with aristocrats in the days of the public and ritualised ceremony offered Mary the chance to establish individual bonds of loyalty. Two days before the coronation and in front of her new council, Mary 'sinking on her knees' professed loyalty to her duty as monarch, to God and the 'public good and all her subjects' benefit'.[36] Mary's actions were utterly unique but undoubtedly deliberate. As a result of Mary's 'humble and lowly discourse', the ambassadors reported that not a single councillor 'refrained from tears'.[37] By dropping to her knees Mary gestured her loyalty in a distinctly gendered way that expressed humility and softened her image in a room full of men. The action attempted to preserve stability in the patriarchal system on an otherwise unfamiliar and disruptive occasion. The report recognises the success Mary's succession depended on the immediate support of her council, in addition to the support of her people.

Collective responses during the coronation events suggest Mary's strategy of humility was interpreted as well-meaning and dutiful. Charles Wriothesley's records of the event stated 'she deliuered the scepter to my Lord Mayor againe, which words were so gently spoken and with so sinylinge a countenance that the hearers wept for joye'.[38] The expression of joy and approval through tears was in reaction to the soft and gentle image Mary is said to have portrayed. Her conformity to gendered

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[35] Hunt, 'The Coronations of Mary and Elizabeth', 65–69; Judith Richards, 'Mary Tudor as "Sole Quene"?: Gendering Tudor Monarchy', *The Historical Journal* 40, no. 4 (1997): 900–02; Duncan, *Mary I*, 21-36.

[36] 'The Ambassadors in England to the Emperor, 30 September 1553' in *SP Spain*, vol. 11, 250-261.

[37] 'The Ambassadors in England to the Emperor, 30 September 1553' in *SP Spain*, vol. 11, 250-261.

[38] Charles Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England during the Reigns of the Tudors, from A. D. 1485–1559*, vol. 1, ed. William Douglas Hamilton (Westminster: Printed for the Camden Society, 1875), 94.

expectations may not have aligned with contemporary ideals of leadership and governance, but it created significant loyal relationships. The author of the earlier account in which Mary kneeled in front of her council recognised it softened 'several hearts and [turned] them away from thoughts of an evil and suspicious nature'.[39] There was a transformative effect from Mary's dutiful and submissive gesture, which was reciprocated with love and admiration. Although the anonymous chronicle account lacks details of Mary or the crowd's emotions, descriptions of her clothing, such as the '[t]he said call and circle being so massy and ponderous that she was fayn to beare uppe hir hedd with hir handes', juxtaposed the weakness of Mary's female body with the weight of the 'precyouse stones' of 'inesetymable' value.[40] Cumulatively, observations like these would typically be associated with weakness; however, the warm reception she received because of these acts suggests they were in fact welcomed. Through the familiar rhetoric of duty and humility, Mary monopolised perceptions of a woman's weakness to gain support.

Mary's speech at Guildhall in 1554 similarly encapsulated the idea of queenly duty as a love contract between monarch and subject. The rebellion led by Thomas Wyatt, who was displeased with the announcement of the queen's betrothal to Philip of Spain, tested Mary's leadership as she had been crowned only a few months earlier. The Guildhall speech was used to motivate her subjects by reiterating the emotional bonds of duty that bound them – the queen would serve her people if the people served her. The coronation was a key feature of the Guildhall speech, which conveyed the affective experience of queenly duty. As recorded by Raphael Holinshed, Mary declared:

> I am your Queene, to whome at my Coronation when I was wedded to
> the Realme, and to the lawes of the same, (the spousall ring whereof I
> haue on my finger, which neuer hitherto was, nor hereafter shall be left
> off) ye promised your allegiaunce and obedience vnto mee…[41]

The coronation, according to this account, epitomised a marriage whereby she wed the realm and laws, thus binding Mary to her kingdom. Mary's commitment to the

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[39] 'The Ambassadors in England to the Emperor, 30 September 1553' in *SP Spain*, vol. 11, 250-261.
[40] Unknown, *Chronicle*, 28.
[41] Holinshed, *Chronicles* 4, 1728.

realm was compared to the duty and obedience expected of a wife in marriage. She represented this commitment as a ring that she assured would never be removed, a permanent reminder of her queenly duty. Marriage was a concept familiar to those in the audience and the metaphor reminded them of the obligations between husband and wife. The gender roles in marriage meant gender-specific behaviour and action indicated love.[42] Thus, her army's response to Wyatt's threat was an act of love towards their queen.

In the latter half of her speech, Mary more directly addressed the connection between love and duty to motivate her subjects. A 'Prince and Gouernour' she said,

> maye as naturallye and as earnestlye loue subiectes, as the mother doth
> hir chylde, then assure youre selues, that I being youre Soueraigne Ladie
> and Queene, doe as earnestly and as tenderlye loue and fauour you…[43]

Her love, she explained, was a manifestation of the duty that bound Mary to her subjects. It implied Mary's responsibility to protect and nurture as a natural maternal instinct. Rather than establishing autocratic authority, Mary wielded influence through feminine emotions that allowed subjects to assume an active role in her governance. In return, she expressed that 'thus louing you, cannot but thinke that yee as heartilye and faithfully loue me'.[44] Mary's references to the relationships between husband and wife, mother and child, monarch and subject not only defined her role, but implied the obligations of the other participant. Reciprocity was fundamental to these relationships, and Mary stated she expected 'love' to be exchanged between them.

Mary's oration at Guildhall has attracted significant scholarly discussion for its multifaceted meaning and significance in the construction of her queenly representation.[45] Duncan argues that Mary's willingness to 'risk her body' for the

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[42] Katie Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power: Marriage and Patriarchy in Scotland, 1650–1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 109.

[43] Holinshed, *Chronicles* 4, 1728.

[44] Holinshed, *Chronicles* 4, 1728-29.

[45] Jonathan McGovern, 'A Herald's Account of Mary I's Oration at the Guildhall (1 February 1554)', *Notes and Queries* 66, no. 3 (2019): 387–88; Moira R. Duncan, '"Word of a Prince": Collaborative Authorship in Mary I's Guildhall Speech', in *Mid-Tudor Queenship and Memory: The Making and Re-making of Lady Jane Grey and Mary I* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023), 145–66; Anna Whitelock '"Woman, Warrior, Queen?" Rethinking Mary and Elizabeth', in *Tudor Queenship: The*

realm emphasised her royalty through the shedding of not 'ordinary bloody but royal blood' and her masculine qualities as a fearless ruler.[46] This appealed to her male subject's own masculinity, in that if 'they supported their fearless queen, here figured as prince, they acted as "true men," firm in their allegiance; if they refused, they not only forswore their ruler, but they reversed their own gender identity by demonstrating their womanly fear, thus becoming cowardly or effeminate men'.[47] Whitlock's analysis reaches a slightly different conclusion, arguing Mary was 'confident to use the language of her gender to win support' by asserting she held the qualities of defiance and courage as a woman.[48] Duncan and Whitelock agree, however, that the body was an important aspect of Mary's oration. As Broomhall reminds us, the 'body of the monarch was a persuasive tool of communication' and contemporaries viewed affective performances to assess the 'suitability (or unsuitability)' of individuals in the political sphere.[49] Mary's physical presence at the Guildhall oration was a powerful tool in the affective exchange between monarch and subject. Her body, to her subjects, was clearly that of a woman.

Cumulatively, these examples show how Mary's expressions of queenly duty was represented to generate loyalty relationships with her subjects. The accounts of her speech demonstrated an acute awareness that Mary's power depended on those around her. Thus, love and duty created an affective economy to create a reciprocal relationship that reinforced her authority. Did Mary intentionally present herself as meek, soft and submissive to provoke affection? In many respects, it echoed her approach with Henry and Charles V to establish her dynastic identities.[50] It is evident Mary constructed a cooperative union between the crown and realm to maintain recognisable roles in contemporary gendered relationships. Central to this paradigm of female rule, Mary relied on the reciprocal nature of loyalty connections to preserve authority by creating a mutual dependence. This notion extended to her

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Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth, ed. Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock, (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 177; Jessica S. Hower and Valerie Schutte, 'Introduction' in *Mary I in Writing: Letters, Literature, and Representation*, ed. Valerie Schutte and Jessica S Hower (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022), 1-3.

[46] Duncan, *Mary I*, 127.

[47] Duncan, *Mary I*, 127–28.

[48] Whitelock, 'Woman, Warrior, Queen?', 177.

[49] Broomhall, "Ruling Emotions', 670–72.

[50] For further discussion see Chapter Three.

faith in God, which she also conceptualised as a reciprocal relationship necessary to facilitate authority.

III.   Religious Conscience

The principal objective of Mary's reign was to restore the Catholic Church in England. The queen's conscience was used to articulate a personal loyalty relationship between Mary and God. In this section, I focus on two examples that illustrate Mary's religious reform as a product of her Catholic loyalty through emotion. The first example is the way in which Mary was understood to be indebted to God for her succession. Secondly, I evaluate the introduction of religious reform in parliament at Mary's insistence. It is evident that Mary's commitment to restoring 'traditional' faith in England remained at the core of her short queenship. The language of conscience and the heart frequently appeared in personal correspondence which describes how her faith informed and motivated decisions she made as queen.

The religious tenor of Mary's reign has received substantial scholarly attention and criticism. The persecution of Protestant heretics earned her the nickname 'Bloody Mary'. Assessment of Mary's character was an extension of traditional interpretations of the Marian church; for example, A. G. Dickens suggests 'it should have been engraved on Mary's heart, not that she lost Calais but that she failed to discover the Counter-Reformation'. Her government, he argues 'was haunted by the ghost of her father'. [51] The work of Eamon Duffy provides a noteworthy break with Protestant-influenced historiography.[52] Duffy argues for the relative success of the Marian church in reintroducing Roman Catholic doctrine to England. By doing so, Duffy firmly establishes a revised understanding of the religious terrain in England when Mary ascended the throne. It is now widely accepted that Roman Catholicism remained pervasively popular despite the efforts of Henry and Edward.[53] A return to the 'traditional religion', Duffy argues, was not difficult for most

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[51] A.G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1965), 280.
[52] Eamon Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005); Duffy and Loades, *The Church of Mary Tudor*.
[53] Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Christopher Haigh, ed., *The English Reformation Revised*

of the population.[54] According to Duffy, the Marian government 'did, in fact, possess a realistic set of objectives' in its quest to reinstate Catholicism.[55] However, it was still necessary for Mary to exercise caution in the way these changes were introduced and enforced.

According to Mary and many of her supporters, her accession was the will of God, a miracle, and her reign was to be driven with the sole purpose of restoring traditional faith to England. In a dispatch to Charles V, his ambassadors said Mary was not 'thankless for the favour shown her by God in choosing her', professing she was 'His unworthy servant'.[56] This was repeated by Mary herself five days later where she apologised for the delay in writing to him because of the 'great troubles, changes and disorders' the beginning of her reign had endured. God, she added, was 'pleased to call' her to reign despite these troubles.[57] She also wrote to Cardinal Reginald Pole in Italy that her success was 'through the assistance of the grace of God, to whom she feels very much bound to render the most humble thanks for this'.[58] The belief that sovereigns possessed the divine right to rule was common during this period; her grandfather, father and brother all believed the same. Thus, Mary's comments were not unique or unsurprising. They did, however, represent an essential aspect of Mary's approach to religion during her reign. Mary's loyalty to God and papal authority is clearer when we consider language about servitude as an emotional debt. The reciprocal nature of loyalty relationships meant Mary felt the need to repay God, which partly motivated her to restore Catholicism after Henry's and Edward's reigns. Although this is a relatively minor detail of Mary's succession, recognising gratitude as a motivating emotion represents a more

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Ethan Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Alexandra Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (London: Routledge, 2014). For a discussion of the revisionist historiography of the Reformation, see Peter Marshall, '(Re)defining the English Reformation' *Journal of British Studies* 48, no. 3 (2009): 564–86

[54] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*.

[55] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 525.

[56] 'The Ambassadors in England to the Emperor, 2 August 1553' in *SP Spain*, vol. 11, 127-150.

[57] 'Mary I to the Emperor, 7 August 1553' in *SP Spain*, vol. 11, 150-162.

[58] 'Queen Mary to Cardinal Pole, translated [into Italian] from the English, 8 October 1553, no. 807' in *SP Venice*, vol. 5, 413-426.

accurate understanding of the queen's psyche for ecclesiastical and secular reform during her reign.

After the coronation, it was reported that Mary's priority was to reintorduce the Mass and other traditional liturgical elements. In her first meeting with Simon Renard, Charles V's ambassador, Mary made clear her stance regarding the Mass by reminding Renard that 'as far as religion went, before coming to the throne, she had always plainly told the late King and his Council that she would never change her faith'.[59] No matter the pressure to persuade her otherwise, Renard recounted, she 'felt so strongly on this matter' the queen would 'hardly be moved'.[60] This was not solely a political matter but a matter of conscience, driven by a strong emotional devotion to her faith. Despite criticism of her naivety, Mary was reportedly confident the council would accept her proposed changes and conceded that some would 'consent out of dissimulation and fear', which she was prepared to use 'for a great end'.[61] In his response to Mary, Renard urged her 'not to hurry where religion was concerned' and encouraged the queen to first win her 'subjects hearts' by showing herself 'to be a good Englishwoman' focused on the kingdom's welfare and 'refusing to be guided by private considerations'.[62] This was a discussed as a deeply personal matter for Mary given the suffering her adherence to her natal religion had caused in the years prior to her accession to the throne. As such, the desire to repay God for her succession was interpreted as an urgent matter for Mary.

Renard's advice encouraged Mary to secure her authority within the council and realm before dissolving the Protestant reforms Edward's government had initiated. His cautious approach differed from Mary's enthusiasm. Loades describes the ambassador's response as rational, while Mary was driven by political inexperience.[63] While Mary was undoubtedly an inexperienced monarch, this situation can be better understood through an emotional framework that focuses on her conscience as a guiding motivation. This was highlighted by Mary's insistence that her brother would be buried with traditional Roman Catholic rites, despite his

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[59] 'The Ambassadors in England to the Emperor, 2 August 1553' in *SP Spain*, vol. 11, 127-150.
[60] 'The Ambassadors in England to the Emperor, 2 August 1553' in *SP Spain*, vol. 11, 127-150.
[61] 'The Ambassadors in England to the Emperor, 2 August 1553' in *SP Spain*, vol. 11, 127-150.
[62] 'The Ambassadors in England to the Emperor, 2 August 1553' in *SP Spain*, vol. 11, 127-150.
[63] Loades, *Mary Tudor*, 187.

devout Protestant faith. Mary argued it would allow for 'peace of her own conscience' to see her brother buried according to tradition.[64] While this was an obvious choice for Mary, Renard and Charles V both expressed concern that it would 'cause her Majesty's subjects to waver in their loyal affection'.[65] From the outset, tension between her queenly and religious loyalties was evident. Both were important to Mary; however, it was clear Mary understood her faith as a means of fulfilling her queenly duty – they were not separate in her mind. This initiated fear from Renard that Mary's 'obedience' to God would be interpreted as disloyalty to her people. As a result, Mary attempted to navigate ecclesiastical reform in a way that appeased her subjects and allowed peace of her conscience.

Mary often referred to her 'conscience' as a guiding force, especially during conflict. She was concerned about and worked to maintain the peace of her conscience. Various scholars interested in histories of religion, identity and toleration have explored the notion of conscience in sixteenth-century Europe.[66] Moshe Sluhovsky traces the transformation of conscience from a personal mode of regulation to one that was a form of religious confession. 'Loyalty', he argues, 'was no longer to one's presumed essence … but rather to a divinely ordained order.'[67] Sluhovsky's study of conscience demonstrates Catholic conscience as a form of emotional practice to God. More specific case studies of conscience demonstrate its role in decision-making. For example, James Daybell's analysis of women's letters in sixteenth-century England finds references to conscience are prevalent in situations of conflict or social negotiation.[68] The dialogue of Mary's conscience, therefore, should be taken more seriously by historians as a distinctly motivating aspect of her queenship. It was, after all, an examination of the self by the self. In letters and conversations where Mary included utterances of conscience, she outlined and

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[64] 'The Ambassadors in England to the Emperor, 2 August 1553' in *SP Spain*, vol. 11, 127-150.

[65] Letter written by Renard enclosed in a dispatch in 'The Ambassadors in England to the Emperor, 2 August 1553' in *SP Spain*, vol. 11, 127-150.

[66] See, for example, James Daybell, 'Women's Letters, Literature and Conscience in Sixteenth-Century England', *Renaissance Studies* 23, no. 4 (2009); K. V. Thomas, 'Cases of Conscience in Seventeenth Century England', in *Public Duty and Private Conscience in Seventeenth Century England*, ed. John Morrill, Paul Slack, and Daniel Woolf (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 29–56.

[67] Moshe Sluhovsky, *Becoming a New Self: Practices of Belief in Early Modern Catholicism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017), 122.

[68] Daybell, 'Women's Letters, Literature and Conscience in Sixteenth-Century England', 528–30.

justified motives and actions aligned with Catholic loyalties. It also echoed the loyalty language Mary used elsewhere, such as *obedience* and *servitude*. Conscience worked as a moral compass to align Mary's decision-making with her religious values and marginalised human judgement in preference for the higher power of God.

While Mary's conscience and duty to God were paramount, she also demonstrated the political capacity to identify the danger of provoking anger and hostility if she moved too quickly. Mary recognised the political climate of England in a letter to Cardinal Pole in October 1553. The letter records Mary's personal faith and defends her lack of action. She was concerned Pole recognised her 'obedience and due devotion' towards the Catholic Church and informed him of the 'pain' she felt from her inability 'as yet by any fitting means, to manifest the whole intent of her heart in this matter'.[69] This letter exemplified Mary's understanding of queenship and outlined an order of authority by which she was bound. Loyalty to the Church consumed her *whole* heart, which was perhaps different to the marriage of her body to the 'realm'.[70] 'So soon as it shall be in her power', Mary assured Pole, she would 'declare to the world her due and sincere intention, and the obedience, by executing it thoroughly, should it please God'.[71] Mary made it clear that religious reform was the priority, and she was merely waiting for the opportunity to make good on her promises. While the queen did not mention her conscience in the letter to Pole, it did discuss similar tropes. Rather than conceptualising reconciliation with Rome for the benefit of the realm, Mary expressed it as a personal obligation – evident in the way she embodied faith through her heart. Driven by the 'pain', the new queen was intent on fulfilling her obligations to God.

To express personal obligation to God to her subjects, Mary's emotions were articulated to explain her poltical motivation and reason. The Proclamation of Religion, issued on 8 August 1554, and direction from the queen to her council in December 1554 represent two examples that associated religious reform with

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[69] 'Queen Mary to Cardinal Pole, translated [into Italian] from the English, 8 October 1553, no. 807' in *SP Venice*, vol. 5, 413-426.

[70] The heart as a site of Mary's faith was also discussed in Chapter Three.

[71] 'Queen Mary to Cardinal Pole, translated [into Italian] from the English, 8 October 1553, no. 807' in *SP Venice*, vol. 5, 413-426.

Mary's emotional state. In the Queen's Pronouncement of Religion, her 'desire' to 'preserve' the faith until the day of her death was shared with the desire that 'her subjects may come to embrace the same faith'.[72] The articulation of religious reform as a product of 'desire' elicited the monarch's political will and affective passion. Using a language of desire, often associated with love, the queen asserted authority through affective discord that implied care for the nation. Perhaps Mary and her council believed the shared experiences of desire, love and the 'great happiness' Mary 'shall receive' if her subjects restored the ancient faith was the best way to communicate such controversial changes.[73]

Furthermore, the implication that Mary's happiness depended on compliance obliged her subjects to fulfil her desire in the matter. This sentiment was extended by stating their obedience would 'avoid her displeasure and the rigour of her wrath, giving her no cause for sorrow'.[74] Juxtaposing sorrow with happiness and warning of the 'rigour of her wrath' further entwined affective discourse within an authoritative political document. In a letter later that year, Mary wrote to her Council stating she felt 'bound to show such example that it may be evident to all this realm how I discharge my conscience'.[75] By her admission, Mary's loyalty to God involved the faith of her subjects. To the public, Mary communicated religion as emotional and deeply personal. However, to fulfil that personal desire and remedy her conscience, Mary placed an obligation on her subjects.

Mary's royal prerogative for religious policies was interpreted as weakness due to her gender. The emotions available for a king to exercise royal prerogative were not necessarily acceptable for a female monarch. Kate McGrath argues that in the context of the eleventh- and twelfth-century monarch, anger enabled 'greater legitimacy for the exercise of royal prerogatives by enabling their actions as not only just but even often righteous'.[76] Unlike her male counterparts, where rage and anger

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[72] 'The Queen's Pronouncement on Religion, 8 August 1553' in *SP Spain*, vol. 11, 150-162. An alternative version is also available, see, 'Proclamation for order and conformity in religion, 18 August 1553, no. 9' SPO, SP 11/1 f.14.

[73] 'The Queen's Pronouncement on Religion, 8 August 1553' in *SP Spain*, vol. 11, 150-162.

[74] 'The Queen's Pronouncement on Religion, 8 August 1553' in *SP Spain*, vol. 11, 150-162.

[75] 'Directions from the queen to the council, [Unknown] December 1554, no. 140' in *SP Domestic*, 66.

[76] McGrath, *Royal Rage,* 3.

could be attributed to the masculinity and divine right of a king, Mary's devotion to religious policy 'hardened many hearts' rather than inspiring them.[77] Renard warned that '[c]ruel punishments are not the best way; moderation and kindness are required', and that the people would realise the traditional faith 'without having recourse to chastisement so severe that it may alienate the people's hearts'.[78] Mary's anger was at odds with the 'love' she had professed for her subjects and disrupted the affectionate exchange between monarch and realm. Although she had tried to reconcile this contradiction by explaining religious reform as her desire, Mary's subjects did not respond well to her firm approach.

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[77] 'Simon Renard to the Emperor, 27 March 1555, no. 161' in *SP Spain*, vol. 13, 143-153.
[78] 'Simon Renard to Phillip, Unknown [most likely March or April] 1555, no. 164' in *SP Spain*, vol. 13, 143-153.
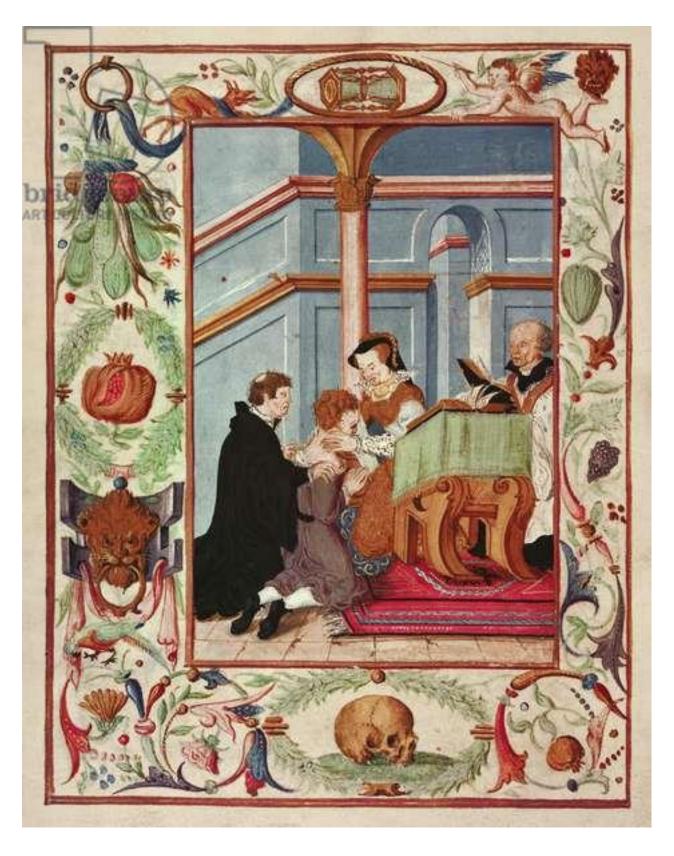
Figure 5: Mary Tudor touches a scrofulous boy, (1558), pigment on vellum, XCF3744635, London, Westminster Cathedral Library.

A softer and more inclusive approach to religious reform can be observed during the week of Easter in 1556, when Mary reintroduced the royal tradition of healing scrofula, also known as the 'king's evil', through touch.[79] This ritual is represented in the manuscript illumination above (Figure 5) and in a written account by the Venetian Secretary Marco Antonio Faitta to Cardinal Reginald Pole. In May 1556, Mary participated in a ceremony in which she cleaned the feet of 'poor' women before donating food and clothing. Faitta described the queen signing the women's feet with 'the cross she kissed the foot so fervently that it seemed as if she were embracing something very precious'.[80] The following day, on Good Friday, Mary exercised the royal touch with subjects suffering scrofula, placing 'her hands in the form of a cross, on the spot where the sore was, with such compassion and devotion as to be a marvel'.[81] The rituals exhibited Mary's divine right and, as Whitelock argues 'by exercising her "healing power", Mary had demonstrated once again that a female monarch could conduct the ceremonies previously prescribed only to a "divinely appointed" king'.[82] The reintroduction of these rituals – which had not been performed during Edward's reign – realigned the monarchy as the conduit to God, giving credence to Mary's legitimacy as queen. Duncan posits that rituals such as touching the king's evil during Henry VII's reign 'gave proof to his contention that he was England's legitimate king in spite of his weak claim to the throne by right of primogeniture'.[83] Mary, she argues, 'was adept at performing the type of act that simultaneously displayed her humility and exalted her status'.[84] Mary's regal power was exhibited in a display that connected her to both the history of the realm, following the practice of her father and grandfather, but also her divine right to rule.

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[79] For further discussion about the ritual see James F Turrell, 'The Ritual of Royal Healing in Early Modern England: Scrofula, Liturgy, and Politics', *Anglican and Episcopal History* 68, no. 1 (1999): 6–8. The 'king's touch' was also an important ritual in France: see, for example, Anne Byrne, *Death and the Crown : Ritual and Politics in France Before the Revolution* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), 190–204.

[80] 'Marco Antonio Faitta to Ippolito Chizzola Doctor in Divinity, 3 May 1556, no. 473' in *SP Venice*, vol. 6, 424-441.

[81] 'Marco Antonio Faitta to Ippolito Chizzola Doctor in Divinity, 3 May 1556, no. 473' in *SP Venice*, vol. 6, 424-441.

[82] Whitelock, *Mary Tudor*, 276.

[83] Duncan, *Mary I*, 120.

[84] Duncan, *Mary I*, 122.

The intimacy during the ritual demonstrated Mary's loyalty to the realm, between the physical closeness of queen and subject as a product of her care and love for the commonwealth. Faitta reflected that Mary 'seemed to act thus not merely out of ceremony, but from great feeling and devotion', which showed Mary's love for both her religion and queenly duty. His distinction between a hollow ceremony and Mary's engagement 'struck' him as a 'great and rare example of goodness, performing all those acts with such humility and love of religion, offering up her prayers to God with so great devotion and affection'.[85] It illustrated Mary's negotiation of faith through a *softer* approach that used proximity to emphasise her queenly devotion to the realm.

The unity between Mary and her realm was undermined by the persecution of Protestant heretics, which began in 1555. The first of 258 to be condemned during Mary's reign was John Rogers on 4 February 1555. Historians have debated how involved Mary was in the decision to burn heretics; however, it is widely accepted that the image of 'Bloody Mary' arose after her reign.[86] The potential for the burning to create discord between the monarch and the realm was, however, recognised by Mary's contemporaries. The day after Rogers was executed Renard wrote to Philip describing public reaction:

> The people of this town of London are murmuring about the cruel enforcement of the recent acts of Parliament on heresy which has now begun, as shown publicly when a certain Rogers was burnt, yesterday. Some of the onlookers wept, others prayed God to give him strength, perseverance and patience to bear the pain and not to recant, others gathered the ashes and bones and wrapped them up in paper to preserve them, yet others threatening the bishops. The haste with which the bishops have proceeded in this matter may well cause a revolt.[87]

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[85] 'Marco Antonio Faitta to Ippolito Chizzola Doctor in Divinity, 3 May 1556, no. 473' in *SP Venice*, vol. 6, 424-441.

[86] Susan Doran, 'A "Sharp Rod" of Chastisement: Mary I through Protestant Eyes during the Reign of Elizabeth I', in *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives*, ed. Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 28–31; Thomas S. Freeman, 'Inventing Bloody Mary: Perceptions of Mary Tudor from the Restoration to the Twentieth Century', in ed. Doran and Freeman, *Old and New Perspectives*, 78.

[87] 'Simon Renard to Phillip, 5 February 1555, no. 148' in *SP Spain*, vol. 13, 137-143.

While Thomas Freeman argues claims of a 'universal reaction against the burnings' are exaggerated, Renard's observations reveal an awareness of the reciprocal nature of monarchy and the capacity for collective affect to destabilise Mary's power.[88] Duffy alludes to the notion of communal loyalty, stating 'the ties of neighbourhood could make the execution of dissidents problematic'.[89] Renard's comments reiterate an ongoing theme of religious policy, that maintaining the public's favour was necessary for Mary's success as queen. Remaining aligned with the nation's feeling was an important indication of Mary's capacity to rule as a loving and restrained queen. The issue of marriage amplified tension between Mary's queenly duty and personal prerogative.

IV.   Marrying a Queen: Desire and Obligation

Motivated by loyalty to the Habsburgs, Mary's marriage to Philip of Spain was perhaps the most controversial and unpopular decision during her reign. On 14 January 1554, the proclamation 'Announcing Articles of Marriage with Philip of Spain' was published following months of negotiation.[90] Throughout this thesis, I have considered how Mary articulated and demonstrated loyalty to the Habsburgs. This section argues Mary's enduring loyalty to the Habsburgs was at odds with her loyalty to the realm and fractured the relationship with her subjects as a result. The dynastic union between Tudor and Habsburg England was also considered synonymous with Catholicism. Therefore, the marriage encompassed core aspects of Mary's identity: loyalty to the Crown through the continuation of the Tudor line, the reunification with Catholic Europe and familial loyalty to the Habsburgs. With guidance from God, Mary wholeheartedly believed her marriage to Philip satisfied dynastic, familial and religious loyalties.

A foreign match for the first queen regnant caused great anxiety for her council. A traditional model of marriage wherein the wife was expected to obey her husband was complicated by Mary's authority as queen. Additionally, English law specified that a woman's property was transferred to her husband's control and ownership

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[88] Thomas S. Freeman, 'Burning Zeal: Mary Tudor and the Marian Persecution' in ed. Doran and Freeman, *Old and New Perspectives*, 202.

[89] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 160.

[90] Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin, eds., *Tudor Royal Proclamations II 1553–1587*, 3 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), 21.

after marriage. The council's anxiety was thus that marriage would permit a foreign prince to take control of the English government.

The expectation of women to fulfil wifely duties obediently was clearly defined by Juan Luis Vives in his instructional manual dedicated to Katherine of Aragon for Mary's education.[91] Mary had dedicated many years in preparation for marriage and was well versed in the duties expected of her within a husband–wife relationship. However, she had been schooled for a life as a queen consort, not as queen regnant. Although marriage was widely considered necessary for Mary to secure an heir, the selection of a suitable husband and the political logistics of a married reigning queen exercised the minds of many in her council.

Although Mary's position may have been an anomaly in English history, there were examples of queen consorts marrying and maintaining monarchical authority beyond England's shores. In fact, as Judith Richards acknowledges, 'Mary's own family history provided an impressive model for it'.[92] Mary's grandmother, Isabella of Castile, remained the figurehead of the Castile dynasty after her marriage to Ferdinand of Aragon in 1469. Mary likely found an exemplary model of female governance in her maternal grandmother, who successfully established and distinguished between public and private obligation.[93] In a letter to Charles, Renard confirmed that although Mary would obey and love her husband, 'if he wished to encroach in the government of the kingdom, she would be unable to permit it'.[94] The distinction between private and public duty attempted to mitigate the concerns of her government and fulfil her obligation to the marriage.

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[91] Juan Lu Vives, *The Education of a Christian Woman: A Sixteenth-Century Manual*, ed. and trans. Charles Fantazzi (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

[92] Richards, *Mary Tudor*, 145.

[93] Theresa Earenfight, 'Two Bodies, One Spirit: Isabel and Fernando's Construction of Monarchical Partnership' in *Queen Isabel I of Castile: Power, Patronage, Persona*, ed. Barbara Weissberger (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2008), 3–18; Elizabeth A. Lehfeldt, 'Ruling Sexuality: The Political Legitimacy of Isabel of Castile' *Renaissance Quarterly* 53, no. 1 (2000): 31–56. For Iberian queens more generally see
Theresa Earenfight, *The King's Other Body: María of Castile and the Crown of Aragon* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009); Theresa Earenfight, ed., *Queenship and Political Power in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2005).

[94] 'Simon Renard to the Emperor, 12 October 1553' in *SP Spain*, vol. 11, 285-302.

Despite attempts to separate queenly duty and dynastic loyalty, Mary's trust in the Habsburgs shaped her political decisions as queen. The first few letters Mary wrote to Charles as Queen of England indicated that she intended to maintain their dynastic relationship. On 7 August 1553, Mary wrote to Charles, 'may it please your Majesty to continue in your goodwill towards me, and I will correspond in every way which it may please your Majesty to command, thus fulfilling my duty as your good and obedient cousin'.[95] The following day, Mary wrote to him again, saying: 'We have thought well to declare to you that the desire nearest to our hearts is to reciprocate your amity and continue and foster it by all the means we shall be able to devise.'[96] Although the rhetoric of these letters was standard for diplomatic correspondence, it is likely these statements reflected a familial affection for Charles that had endured throughout Mary's life. The question, however, was how Mary intended to maintain her dynastic duty as queen.

Mary was reportedly conflicted over the gravity of her decision to marry. She apparently 'had not slept' and 'continually wept and prayed' with 'all her heart' while she deliberated her options.[97] The prospect of marriage had a consuming effect on Mary's body and mind – not only was this a political decision that affected England and its people, but it was also deeply personal. Having 'believed what I [Renard] told her' about Philip's qualities and the assurance Charles would continue to 'show her kindness, observe the conditions that were to safeguard the welfare of the country, be a good father to her as you had been in the past and more', Mary felt 'inspired by God, who had performed so many miracles in her favour, to give me her promise to marry his Highness there before the Holy Sacrament'.[98] Central to Mary's decision was her trust in Charles to prioritise the welfare of herself and the realm. Thus, from Mary's perspective, her queenly duty, Catholic conscience and Habsburg loyalty were all fulfilled in her marriage to Philip.

By November 1553, 'the first notice among the people touching the maryage of the quene to the king of Spayne' was met with widespread discontent.[99]   The

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[95] 'Mary I to the Emperor, 7 August 1553' in *SP Spain*, vol. 11, 150-162.
[96] 'Mary I to the Emperor, 8 August 1553' in *SP Spain*, vol. 11, 150-162.
[97] 'Simon Renard to the Emperor, 31 October 1553' in *SP Spain*, vol. 11, 316-331.
[98] 'Simon Renard to the Emperor, 31 October 1553' in *SP Spain*, vol. 11, 316-331.
[99] Unknown, *Chronicle*, 32.

disapproval of a union with Philip suggests Mary's queenly duty conflicted with her loyalty to the realm. With rumours circulating that the queen insisted 'her mind was made up', Renard was particularly diligent in attempts to persuade Mary otherwise.[100] A heated exchange between Mary and the Speaker of her parliament on 16 November 1553 illustrates swelling tension. Accompanied by several prominent courtiers and councillors on behalf of parliament, the Speaker visited Mary with two objectives: 'induce her to marry, and to choose a husband in England'.[101] In voicing the displeasure of the people at a foreign match, he reasoned that 'foreigners would wish to lord it over the English; the kingdom would be put to expense in entertaining them'.[102] In addition to the financial and political dilemmas, in the Speaker's view,

> he would promise and not keep his word; he would wish to take her away from the kingdom out of husbandly tyranny; if he had children and the Queen were to die, he would try to get the Crown for himself; he might usurp the English possessions on the continent, Scotland, and Ireland.'[103]

The 'English', evidently, did not share Mary's trust in the Habsburgs. Marriage interrupted the exchange of love between Mary and her subjects because she would owe affection to her husband – who they believed would not value England's welfare. The council, it seems, found it difficult to differentiate between Mary as a ruler and Mary as a wife, and thus the duties of a queen and wife combined in their fearful conception of marriage to a foreign prince.

Mary, however, rebutted these claims by assuring Parliament that a dynastic alliance would be for the benefit of the realm. First, she expressed feeling 'offended by his [the Speaker's] manner of speaking' because of the disrespect he had shown 'asserting that it would be better for her Majesty to marry a subject of hers'. The 'Parliament' she added, 'was not accustomed to use such language to the kings of

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[100] 'Simon Renard to the Emperor, 6 November 1553' in *SP Spain*, vol. 11, 337-352.

[101] 'Simon Renard to the Emperor, 17 November 1553' in *SP Spain*, vol. 11, 363-374. Renard recorded the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, Derby and Pembroke, the Bishops of Durham, Winchester and Norwich, Lords Privy Seal and Paget among those present.

[102] 'Simon Renard to the Emperor, 17 November 1553' in *SP Spain*, vol. 11, 363-374.

[103] 'Simon Renard to the Emperor, 17 November 1553' in *SP Spain*, vol. 11, 363-374.

England, nor was it suitable or respectful that it should do so'.[104] According to Renard's account, Mary assured them of her high regard for the welfare of the kingdom, and asserted her freedom to choose a suitable match herself as was any monarch's prerogative.

Mary's letter to Charles V on 17 November 1553 explains why she agreed to marry Philip. According to Mary, she was motivated by

> zeal for my kingdom's welfare, towards which I have the duty your Majesty is aware of, that moved me to give my consent; my belief in the Prince's excellent qualities, and confidence that your Majesty will ever remain my good lord and father, and will offer terms in accordance.[105]

Mary expressed confidence the match was the best option for the welfare of her kingdom. She emphasised Charles's obligation to fulfil the 'great alliance' the marriage restored, which she was confident would be satisfied given the 'mindfulness' and 'constant care' he had shown for Mary's 'interests and concerns'.[106] The letter concluded with 'humble thanks for the great honour and your more than paternal solicitude, of which I shall be sensible all my life long'.[107] Charles reciprocated by thanking Mary for 'consenting to this alliance, for your pains in communicating in a familiar and confidential manner on the subject with my ambassador, and the timely steps you have taken to win over your councillors'. He added that those actions demonstrated 'how well you [Mary] requite the singular affection I have always borne you, and lays me under an obligation to do all in my power to favour you and your kingdom and assist you in its good governance'.[108] Thus, the foundation of her union with Philip was based on the familial bonds that implied mutual ambition and shared values. Referring to Charles as 'good lord and father', and referencing his 'paternal solicitude' is evidence of a loyal relationship that gave Mary confidence to proceed with the marriage. Although historians criticise Mary for being manipulated by Charles, their correspondence shows she

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[104] 'Simon Renard to the Emperor, 17 November 1553' in *SP Spain*, vol. 11, 363-374.
[105] 'Mary I to the Emperor, 1 December 1553' in *SP Spain*, vol. 11, 407-423.
[106] 'Mary I to the Emperor, 1 December 1553' in *SP Spain*, vol. 11, 407-423.
[107] 'Mary I to the Emperor, 1 December 1553' in *SP Spain*, vol. 11, 407-423.
[108] 'The Emperor to Mary I, 21 November 1553' in *SP Spain*, vol. 11, 374-387.

endeavoured to safeguard her kingdom by generating a strong and affectionate relationship.

Complicating the Council's fear of the marriage, Mary combined the welfare of her kingdom, which she spoke of often, with the welfare of her body. According to Mary, the union touched Mary 'more nearly than anyone else in the world', reiterating the intimacy of what the Council viewed a matter of politics.[109] It has long been accepted that the body of the monarch was an important representation of the kingdom and therefore highly politicised.[110] However, the body was also a vessel of conscience, which, as I have argued, Mary highly valued. On numerous occasions, she expressed *feeling* 'offended' by the dismissive behaviour of the Council, and that she would 'conquer her own feelings' to enter marriage.[111] Mary even declared 'to force her to take a husband who would not be to her liking would be to cause her death, for if she were married against her will she would not live three months, and would have no children'.[112] Mary very much understood that her duty, like that of her male predecessors, was to produce an heir. However, she also understood that the success of marriage was emotional. Warning the Council that forcing her to take a husband would cause death certainly conveyed the extremely personal nature of marriage in Mary's mind. Only if the queen *felt* happy with the match would the relationship yield any political benefit through the birth of an heir, which allowed Mary to assume more control over whom she would marry. Thus, based on personal affection, Mary overruled her council's objection and deviated from the cohesive union between queen and subject, and her speech at Guildhall in February 1554 attempted to reconcile that loyalty.

Such efforts began before Philip arrived in England, including her speech at Guildhall. Aside from associating marriage with the duty of a monarch to her realm, Mary assured her subjects that the marriage was for the benefit of the entire nation. 'And as touching my self', she declared, 'I am not so desirous of wedding, neither so precise or wedded to my will, that either for mine own pleasure I will chose where

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[109] 'Simon Renard to the Emperor, 4 November 1553' in *SP Spain*, vol. 11, 331-337.

[110] Ernst Kantarowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), 7–13.

[111] 'Simon Renard to the Emperor, 17 November 1553' in *SP Spain*, vol. 11, 363-374.

[112] 'Simon Renard to the Emperor, 17 November 1553' in *SP Spain*, vol. 11, 363-374.

I lust, or else so amorous as needs I must haue one.'[113] This fragment partially admitted that she recognised her subjects associated desire, pleasure and lust as irrational. However, the statement did not deny those feelings; rather, Mary conveyed that her principal motivation was to 'leaue some fruit of my [Mary's] bodie behind me to be your gouernour' for the 'great comfort' of her subjects.[114] The queen's public oration was distinctly emotional in tone, with the sole purpose of motivating her subjects to defend against the rebels protesting the marriage. Therefore, the sharing of emotions bound them together against the 'other'. In this context, it was important for Mary to share the same concern for the kingdom's future that her subjects had expressed. Mary described the 'knot of loue and concord', tied them together, giving them the ability to 'giue these rebels a short and speedie ouerthrow'.[115] This encounter was an emotional transaction between the monarch and her subjects. Those defending Mary against the rebels were motivated by love for their monarch. The same love, Mary reiterated, had prioritised the nation's welfare in her decision to marry Philip. Thus, Mary highlighted a knot of love to build an affective connection with the nation, inspiring action that would maintain her authority.

The English remained hesitant to accept Philip when he arrived in England during July 1554. A large entourage accompanied Philip to England, which, according to several accounts, was not well received by the public. His arrival was a physical intrusion on the royal court and the Tower chronicler remarked that when Mary and Philip entered London, Spaniards outnumbered the Englishmen four to one. This, he argued, caused 'discomfort of the English nation'.[116] Feeling uneasy about the Spanish arrival was a shared feeling among the English. By projecting a discourse of pain, boundaries were established between those who *felt* that pain and those who did not. This observation echoes Ahmed's argument that hate is an emotion that creates community in affective economies, arguing 'together we hate, and this hate is what makes us together'.[117] From the first encounter with Philip, Mary's

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[113] Holinshed, *Chronicles* 4, 1728.
[114] Holinshed, *Chronicles* 4, 1729.
[115] Holinshed, *Chronicles* 4, 1728.
[116] Unknown, *Chronicle*, 81.
[117] Ahmed, 'Affective Economies', 118.

subjects bonded in their shared dislike of the Spanish prince who was to be their king.

Unlike the notion of queenly duty, which stimulated a sense of 'togetherness' with the nation, the Habsburg marriage created indifference between Mary and her subjects. In the months after her marriage, amidst the 'discomfort' of the nation, multiple ambassadors commented on Mary's Habsburg loyalties, implying she was an outsider in her own realm. In August 1554, the Venetian Ambassador, Giacomo Soranzo, wrote that 'the Queen, being born of a Spanish mother, was always inclined towards that nation, scorning to be English and boasting of her descent from Spain'.[118] Soranzo contrasted the queen's love for Spain with her discontent with England, creating an opposition between the two. Mary understood the marriage as an act of queenly duty; however, these values were not shared by her council, causing a conflict of loyalty. Renard was acutely aware of this issue, writing to Charles that 'they' – this being the collective body of the English nation – 'work themselves up into a violent hatred of foreigners and especially of Spaniards' for fear they are 'they are going to be enslaved, for the Queen is a Spanish woman at heart and thinks nothing of Englishmen, but only of Spaniards and bishops'.[119] The desire to marry Philip became the principal problem between Mary and her kingdom because it aligned her 'heart' with the Habsburgs and not her people. These sources suggest that Mary's failure to share her subjects' fear, anxiety and 'discomfort' prevented her from identifying with the English nation.

Although he showed little enthusiasm for a wife eleven years his senior, Philip recognised the tension he and his entourage had caused upon arrival. Endeavouring to 'inspire my subjects that they may realise the affection you bear this kingdom', Philip tried to integrate with the English Court.[120] Accounts of his success vary. In October after Philip arrived, Renard wrote to Charles that they were 'beginning to appreciate the King's goodness, the honour done the country by the marriage, the peace and quiet in public affairs and the private profit that have been

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[118] 'Report of England made to the Senate by Giacomo Soranzo, late Ambassador to Edward VI. and Queen Mary, 18 August 1554, no. 934' *SP Venice*, vol. 5, 531-567.
[119] 'Simon Renard to the Emperor, 18 September 1554, no. 60' in *SP Spain*, vol. 13, 39-55.
[120] 'Mary I to the Emperor, 15 August 1554, no. 33' in *SP Spain*, vol. 13, 13-30.

the results of it'.[121] As a result, Renard noted that the 'nobility are now mixing a little with the Spaniards and are greatly impressed by the King's humanity and kindness'.[122] The boundaries, at least according to Renard, softened between the English and Spaniards.

There was, however, a distinction between the 'mixing' Renard described and acceptance. Count Langosco da Stroppiana documented an example in a letter to the Bishop of Arras in November 1554. Stroppiana said 'a game of cane-play' took place among other festivities that 'left the spectators cold' and the 'and the English made fun of it'.[123] Cane play was a Spanish game that involved attacking the opposition with blunted spears and then retreating. In his text analysing ideals of Habsburg princely chivalry, Braden Frieder described the cane game as a local flavour, which may attest to the English dislike of the game.[124] Stroppiana's narrative of the spectators feeling 'cold' about the Spanish entertainment differs from Renard's report of friendly encounters. Philip's effort at introducing entertainment such as the cane game only reinforced his foreignness. The very description of 'mixing' between the Spanish and English nobility reinforced the boundaries that made them different. Philip's ability to connect emotionally with his courtiers was an important aspect of legitimising authority that has not yet been acknowledged.[125] Duncan argues Philip was successful in defining his role as king of England and employed various tactics to help smooth relations between the two nationalities.[126] While these competitions emphasised cooperation in an effort to amalgamate

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[121] 'Simon Renard to the Emperor, 13 October 1554, no. 76' in *SP Spain*, vol. 13, 55-71.

[122] 'Simon Renard to the Emperor, 13 October 1554, no. 76' in *SP Spain*, vol. 13, 55-71.

[123] 'Count G. T. Langosco da Stroppiana to the Bishop of Arras, 25 November 1554, no. 111' in *SP Spain*, vol. 13, 96-112.

[124] Braden Frieder, *Chivalry and the Perfect Prince: Tournaments, Art, and Armor at the Spanish Habsburg Court* (Philadephia: Penn State University Press, 2008), 25–26.

[125] The literature discussing Philip's political role in England is extensive. See, for example, Harry Kelsey, *Philip of Spain, King of England: The Forgotten Sovereign* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012); David Loades, 'Philip II and the Government of England', in *Law and Government under the Tudors: Essays Presented to Sir Geoffrey Elton on his retirement*, ed. Claire Cross, David Loades, and J. J. Scarisbrick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 177–94; Gonzalo Velasco Berenguer, *Habsburg England: Politics and Religion in the Reign of Philip I (1554–1558)* (Leiden: Brill, 2023), 112–94; Anna Santamaría López, '"Great Faith is Necessary to Drink from this Chalice": Philip II in the Court of Mary Tudor, 1554– 58', in *Early Modern Dynastic Marriages and Cultural Transfer*, ed. Joan-Lluís Palos and Magdalena S. Sánchez (Farnham: Ashgate, 2016).

[126] Sarah Duncan, '"He to Be Intituled Kinge": King Philip of England and the Anglo-Spanish Court', in *The Man behind the Queen: Male Consorts in History*, ed. Charles Beem and Miles Taylor (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 72.

English ideals of royalty with Spanish traditions, in doing so they maintained boundaries that denoted Philip as an 'other' in the English court.

By mid-November 1554, Renard conceded Philip's acceptance as English king consort depended on his ability to assimilate. Having been in England for some time, Renard had integrated into the Court and had worked closely with Mary since her succession. Therefore, his advice was likely an accurate reflection of the English courtiers' concerns. In his letter to Philip, Renard advised:

> Let them decide what they wish you to do, and you will spare no labour to answer the hopes they have conceived of you and show them that you are not only the husband of the Queen, but the spouse of their republic, for whose prosperity and welfare you are as sincerely ambitious as if it were your own.[127]

Fundamentally, Renard urged Philip to show genuine care for England and its people, reminiscent of Mary's Guildhall speech. The Habsburgs' motivation was the primary concern when the marriage was first proposed, with the council specifically fearing England's wealth and land would be usurped by a Spanish outsider. Underlying this fear was the concern Philip would not share the emotions of love and affection that bound a monarch to their people. Renard's counsel recognised the solution to this fear was to *share* the ambitions of his English subjects, engaging in the affective transaction between monarch and realm. Renard acknowledged that although the Crown was not solely Philip's, he should engage 'as if it were [his] own' because he was not just a husband of the queen, he was 'the spouse of their republic'.[128] The loyalty contract between husband and wife extended to Mary's subjects. Expanding involvement of the 'republic' in a traditionally intimate union between two people was the rhetoric Mary had used to describe queenly duty. Perhaps Renard recognised the value of replicating a familiar rhetoric of duty to demonstrate their new monarch understood his obligation to the kingdom while also reminding Philip of this duty.

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[127] 'Simon Renard to Philip, Undated [likely written 12 November 1554]' enclosed in 'Simon Renard to the Emperor, 23 November 1554, no. 108' in *SP Spain*, vol. 13, 96-112.
[128] 'Simon Renard to Philip, Undated [likely written 12 November 1554]' enclosed in 'Simon Renard to the Emperor, 23 November 1554, no. 108' in *SP Spain*, vol. 13, 96-112.

The apprehensive emotions expressed by courtiers made it difficult for Mary to remain dutiful to the 'English Nation' if she did not share their discomfort with the marriage. Mary's reaction to the arrival and marriage with her new husband was distinctly different to public sentiment. A letter written to Charles shortly after Phillip arrived encapsulated Mary's feelings by proclaiming 'how happy the arrival of his Highness' made her and presented 'humble commendations and thanks for allying me with a Prince so full of virtues that the realm's honour and tranquillity will certainly be thereby increased, assuring you that I will take pains to serve you in gratitude.[129] In another letter, Mary told Charles the marriage and alliance rendered her 'happier than [she could] say' as she daily discovered Phillip's 'many virtues and perfections' that 'deeply embounded' her to him.[130] Possibly, as Mary alluded to in her letter, she believed her subjects would 'realise the affection' the Habsburgs had for them.[131] The overwhelming joy and 'how happy' Philip's arrival made Mary juxtapose the shared feeling among the public. The disapproval of Philip's arrival was not just a product of xenophobic anti-Spanish sentiment, and closer analysis of emotion suggests Philip's entrance disrupted the affective economy between the queen and her subjects. Motivated by loyalty to the Habsburgs, Mary's choice of husband was interpreted as disloyalty to her realm. This upset the affective exchange between the queen and her subjects because, as Ahmed argues, she did 'not reflect back the good image the nation has of itself'.[132] The English nation's disapproval of the Spanish was one thing, but that their Queen did not *share* this sentiment was just as harmful.

Philip's departure from England in late August 1555 was the beginning of an intensely difficult period for Mary. The king would not return to England until March 1557 and left again in July that year, never to return. Philip's short return was only to secure money and persuade England to declare war on France. During this time the country faced several unprecedented difficulties; crop failures that caused widespread famine between 1554 and 1556, in conjunction with influenza epidemics between 1556 and 1558, religious persecution that saw heretics burned, and the

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[129] 'Mary I to the Emperor, 26 July 1554' in *SP Spain*, vol. 12, 312-322.
[130] 'Mary I to the Emperor, 15 August 1554, no. 33' in *SP Spain*, vol. 13, 13-30.
[131] 'Mary I to the Emperor, 15 August 1554, no. 33' in *SP Spain*, vol. 13, 13-30.
[132] Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 134.

loss of Calais to the French in 1558. As a consequence, there was growing discontent and fear of Mary. The queen faced several political challenges, not least a false pregnancy that left her vulnerable without a Catholic heir, which encouraged schemes to put Elizabeth on the throne.[133] The 'miserable plight into which this country has now fallen', as Mary herself described, tested her governance and ability to preserve peace. She believed Philip's absence made the situation more difficult. It is during this period that descriptions of the queen's fragility were observed by ambassadors, courtiers and acknowledged by Mary herself.

In the several letters written to Charles, Mary often distinguished between personal desire and political need for Philip's return. In one letter Mary wrote how 'deeply' she felt the 'solitude in which the King's absence leaves me', adding 'he is the chief joy and comfort I have in this world'.[134] In another she described the 'unspeakable sadness' she experienced 'because of the absence of the King'.[135] In Mary's own hand, she recorded how she felt about Philip, confirming an emotional investment in the marriage. Within the letter there was a distinction between personal and political need, admitting that 'apart from my own feelings' Mary wrote, 'his presence in this kingdom has done much good and is of great importance for the good governance of this country'.[136] Several months later Mary again assured Charles she was 'not moved by … personal desire' and required his presence because of 'care for his kingdom',[137] although she contradicted herself with the admission she longed for him in the same letter.[138] These letters depict Mary's personal feelings not just her dependence on him to help govern England. In fact, the reoccurring reference to desire, love, and sadness in his absence further supports the notion that this union was not just about politics for Mary. The queen's marriage to Philip represented the resolute loyalty she had always felt toward the Habsburgs.

Courtiers noticed the queen's grief, and it was yet another example of an affective disconnect between the realm and its monarch. In Michiel's departing report of England, he noted that for 'a woman naturally tender' who 'heartily' and violently

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[133] For further exploration of these issues, see, Richards, *Mary Tudor*, 162–202.

[134] 'Mary to the Emperor, May 1556, no. 269' in *SP Spain*, vol. 13, 267.

[135] 'Mary to the Emperor, 6 April 1556, no. 264' in *SP Spain*, vol. 13, 259-267.

[136] 'Mary to the Emperor, July or August [?] 1555, no. 228' in *SP Spain*, vol. 13, 226-239.

[137] 'Mary to the Emperor, 10 September 1556, no. 279' in *SP Spain*, vol. 13, 275-280.

[138] 'Mary to the Emperor, 10 September 1556, no. 279' in *SP Spain*, vol. 13, 275-280.

loved her husband, the king's travels were 'one of the anxieties that especially distresse[d]' Mary.[139] Those surrounding her observed the queen's unhappiness without Philip; however, just like Philip's arrival, there were divided feelings about his departure.

An account by Alfonso de Castro, who had accompanied Philip to England, describes the hatred toward his king as they left England. According to Castro the 'King's confessor' recounted 'a variety of foul language uttered by the English, indicating their ill-will towards his Majesty and the Spanish nation [and says] that on seeing him and the rest of the attendants depart, they made great rejoicing well-nigh universally'.[140] The realm's overwhelming joy at Philip's departure was at odds with the grief Mary experienced. Aside from Castro's comment, and acknowledgement that Mary mourned as if grief-stricken 'as may be imagined with regard to a person extraordinarily in love', there is little comment on the nation's *feeling* after Philip left.[141] Perhaps the lack of documented reaction is, in itself, an indication of feeling among the English. Did the absence signify a lack of attachment to Philip? Rather than reconnecting with courtiers and subjects in Phillip's absence, Mary's emotional state solidified imaginings of dependence and loyalty to her Habsburg husband, which the English had feared.

V.   Conclusion

As the first Queen Regnant of England, Mary was a loyal monarch driven by a strong sense of purpose. Michiel's departing summary of Mary articulated her queenship was a testament to her strong character:

> In the darkness and obscurity of that kingdom she remained precisely
> like a feeble light buffetted by raging winds for its utter extinction, but

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[139] 'Report of England made by Giovanni Michiel, late Ambassador to Queen Mary and King Philip, to the Venetian Senate, 13 May 1557, no. 884', in *SP Venice*, vol. 6, 1041-1095.

[140] Translated quote from Whitelock, *Mary Tudor*, 269.

[141] 'Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Doge and Senate, 27 August 1555, no. 200' in *SP Venice*, vol. 6, 163-175.

always kept burning and defended by her innocence and lively faith, that

it might shine in the world as it now does shine.[142]

A poetic reflection on her reign, the passage suggests Mary's emotional character was necessary for her rule, rather than a limitation. Loyalty in its various expressions of duty, conscience and desire lay at the heart of Mary's decision-making as queen and produced relationships that enabled the exercise of female power.

This chapter has argued a reciprocal dialogue between the monarch and realm helped facilitate Mary's queenship. Challenging the assumption Mary was simply an 'emotional person', it has demonstrated gendered emotions were necessary to obtain and maintain female power in a patriarchal government. Generating a rhetoric of queenship that emphasised emotions such as duty, love and devotion replicated the intimacy of individual gendered relationships such as husband and wife. Within this dynamic, sharing love and devotion created an expectation of reciprocity from her subjects which enabled her to exercise authority without offending patriarchal norms. Mary adopted a similar approach in the curation of her relationships with Henry and Charles, showing that gendered emotional practices in both individual and collective relationships allowed women to access and exercise autonomy using affective dialogue.

These affective transactions meant Mary's authority was seen as a product of her emotions. While reciprocal dialogue created loyalty bonds between the Queen and the kingdom, her marriage to Philip showed that connection could be disrupted when her emotions did not reflect collective feeling. Mary, motivated by trust, love and a sense of dynastic duty, felt the marriage was in England's best interest. However, this was at odds with the collective feeling of her subjects, who expressed fear of the marriage and resentment towards the Spanish. The consequences of Mary's emotions meant she was viewed as an 'outsider' in her own kingdom, influenced not by the will of her people but the will of her foreign husband.

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[142] 'Report of England made by Giovanni Michiel, late Ambassador to Queen Mary and King Philip, to the Venetian Senate, 13 May 1557, no. 884', in *SP Venice*, vol. 6, 1041-1095.

Conclusion

In January 1559 the Bishop of Winchester, John White, delivered the sermon at Mary's funeral, after her unfortunate death at the age of forty-two. Mary, he said, 'was a King's daughter, she was a King's sister, she was a King's wife. She was a Queen, and by the same title a King also.' In recent years, historians have acknowledged the challenges Mary encountered as queen of England and how she overcame them to establish a precedent of female rule.[1] According to the bishop, Mary was also a person with 'the fear of God in her heart' and the 'Love, Commendation and Admiration of all the World' who was 'never unmindful or uncareful of her promise to the realm'. This thesis has addressed a less explored aspect of White's sermon, which recognises the cultivation of Mary's authority through loyalty relationships. As queen, White declared, Mary 'used singular mercy towards offenders … pity and compassion towards the poor and oppressed' and 'clemency amongst her nobles'.[2] Scholarship to date has not fully situated Mary's emotional practices in their historical context. Loyalty, I have argued, was an emotional bond that shaped Mary's values, relationships and identities and enabled her to navigate conflict and uncertainty.

This thesis has explored the negotiation of loyalties throughout Mary's life with the intent of understanding how it provided agency. Central to my analysis is understanding loyalty as an embodied emotional practice informed by individual experience and cultural norms. To be loyal, an individual needed to appear to *feel* loyal. The rhetoric of duty, love and trust were common iterations of loyalty and manifested differently in various social settings and relationships. Overall, these emotions denoted a level of attachment towards the recipient. Thus, loyalty was

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[1] See, for example, Sarah Duncan, *Mary I: Gender, Power, and Ceremony in the Reign of England's First Queen*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Valerie Schutte and Jessica S Hower, eds., *Writing Mary I: History, Historiography, and Fiction* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022); Valerie Schutte and Jessica S Hower, eds., *Mary I in Writing: Letters, Literature, and Representation* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022); Sarah Duncan and Valerie Schutte, eds., *The Birth of a Queen Essays on the Quincentenary of Mary I* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).
[2] John Strype*, Ecclesiastical Memorials, Relating Chiefly to Religion under King Henry VIII, King Edward VI and Queen Mary I*, vol. 3, part 2, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1822), 546–48

equally associated with reciprocity, in which the duty, love and trust would be returned through some form of action. Examining the significance of loyalty as an affective bond has allowed for a more nuanced analysis of Mary's connection to people, institutions and ideologies. Rather than calling into question her political and social aptitude, as has previously been done, I argue that fostering and performing emotional connections allowed Mary to navigate complex situations. In doing so, this study has provided a necessary, and long over-due, examination of England's first queen regnant using a history of emotions methodology.

The first chapter found Mary was integral to the emotional processes of negotiating loyalties during the divorce crisis. Through an analysis of intimacy as an emotional practice, I argue Mary's regular absence from the court between 1528 and 1536 framed affective dialogue between Henry Katherine, and Anne. The value of having intimate access to Henry is evident in Katherine's reluctance to leave his presence as a gesture of wifely devotion. Intimacy was also a tool of control, as evidenced by Henry's endeavour to use his daughter's absence to coerce Katherine into choosing Mary over him. Without success, Henry imposed boundaries between mother and daughter as a form of punishment, changing the dynamics of intimacy as a space of loneliness and fear. Moreover, Anne's intention to protect her status by limiting intimacy between father and daughter was motivated by the fear of natural affection between them. Despite being physically separated, Mary and Katherine used letter-writing to create intimacy, through which they found comfort in their shared experiences. This chapter identified intimacy as a emotional practice that informed the loyalty relationships between various actors in the divorce crisis. The meaning of intimacy was negotiated through affective discourses, and as such it was a form of both control and resistance.

There were opportunities to negotiate loyalty for those without the power to control access, as Henry did. Rumour, for example, provided an informal avenue to shape loyalty emotions for courtiers without official authority. Chapter Two examined how Mary's reputation was used by others to negotiate, secure and justify loyalties as the dynamics of privilege changed in reaction to the divorce crisis. Not only was physical proximity to the king valued but perceptions of his affection were just as meaningful. Discourses about Mary's legitimacy demonstrated this, as rumours

sought to incite either fear of the king's 'love' for his daughter, or fear that this love would be interrupted.

One of the results of the significance of emotional intimacy is that the embodiment of loyalty emotions was central to *being* loyal. Chapter Three examined how Mary negotiated her dynastic identities by emphasising the sharing of values and goals within a network of familial loyalty that connected her to the Habsburg and Tudor houses. The imagining of Mary's loyalty to Charles (and the Habsburgs) emphasised trust to imply closeness despite the distance that separated them. On the other hand, she sought forgiveness from Henry by reiterating the natural affection between father and daughter. Descriptions of giving her heart to Henry and laying at his feet provided authenticity to Mary's remorse and reconciled her inability to demonstrate loyalty in his presence. Within this framework, a rhetoric of dependence, suffering and obedience strategically reminded the patriarchs of their duty to protect and care for Mary as a member of their dynastic family. As such, Mary's sense of belonging in these dynasties relied on the formation of reciprocal loyalty bonds to affirm membership. It was not merely enough for Mary to be born into these dynastic houses; instead, it required affective dialogues to illustrate feelings of loyalty to the Habsburg and Tudor patriarchs. In doing so, these loyalty relationships provided her with the capacity to exercise social capital by sharing the values of Charles and Henry.

Sharing emotions to generate loyalty was also evident during Mary's queenship and showed how emotional practices contributed to the establishment of a new sovereignty. It is evident Mary established a reciprocal dialogue between monarch and her realm to facilitate and explain female authority in a patriarchal society. As Chapter Four discussed, Mary's emotional performances conformed to gendered norms to reassure her council and subjects that she was – as a wife to her husband – indebted and obedient toward the Crown. As a result, Mary often explained her decisions through discourses of love for the realm, affirming queenly duty through action. However, issues arose when demands between the realm and personal desire caused loyalty-based conflict, meaning Mary appeared to deviate from the rhetoric of 'love' she established. The Spanish Marriage caused discontent because Mary did not *share* the collective fear of the nation. As such, Mary disturbed the

loyalty relationship with her subjects by deviating from the reciprocal exchange of emotion.

This study has gone some way towards enhancing our understanding of how Mary – and those around her – used emotion practices to navigate conflicting loyalties and negotiate new alliances. It has identified these emotional practices existed within patriarchal structures informed by gendered norms of expression. Once recognised as 'feminine weakness', this thesis finds Mary's emotional practices existed within a framework of loyalty that was far more nuanced than previously acknowledged. Through these emotional processes, alliances were formed with significant social, political and dynastic outcomes that enabled Mary to navigate loyalty-based conflict. Through this analysis, Mary emerges as resourceful and capable of negotiating her own interests and welfare. She found agency, not just as queen, but in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI by using loyalty that enabled her to resist oppression and find connection through emotional ties. I have demonstrated there is much to learn about Mary's political and social capability as a woman by considering the function of loyalty emotions within the changing social hierarchy of the Tudor court. Although Mary's experiences mark her as distinct in a wider European context, the findings of my analysis demonstrate how power and gender affect the emotional practices of loyalty and its contemporary reception. Analyses of loyalty will provide an avenue for scholars to integrate emotion into early modern European court studies for a more nuanced historical narrative reflective of power, gender and status. Such analyses will further disclose the role of women in the development and negotiation of networks that shaped early modern political culture.

The various relationships implicated by loyalty means this thesis has examined several but by no means all of Mary's loyalties. A selection of Mary's loyalty relationships has been explored in this thesis, with the potential to explore more – especially with the benefit of more extensive archival research than I was able to conduct. Moreover, further work is necessary on her sibling relationships with Edward and with Elizabeth, in which religious and dynastic loyalties complicated familial relationships and dynamics. A natural progression of this study is to also examine Mary's Catholic faith in the context of emotional practices, and how these shaped wider loyalty networks of patronage that enabled her to navigate the English

Reformation; an examination of her relationship with Cardinal Pole, for example, would be useful.[3] Loyalty provides a point of analysis to understand how affective discourses created, maintained and challenged relationships in a variety of contexts. Exploration of loyalty would provide new perspectives on royal women across early modern Europe whose liminal status often required them to manage multiple, and sometimes conflicting, loyalties and this intricacy offered the opportunity to exercise agency.[4] Although questions remain, this thesis has made a significant contribution towards understanding Mary's choices as rationally embedded in social and emotional norms rather than as products of emotional instability or hysteria.

Appreciating loyalty as an emotional practice is critical to understanding how the Tudor court and the royal family functioned, and how Mary operated within familial and courtly networks. Expressions of trust, love and duty provided Mary with the capacity to form reciprocal bonds in the tumultuous Henrician court that provided a sense of companionship and security. Loyalty relationships were integral to the ways in which Mary negotiated her values, sense of self, and agency in a patriarchal environment. She was resourceful at protecting her own interests in an often-hostile setting. Loyalty tied Mary to others in a 'knot of love' that connected her to networks in the Tudor court necessary to navigate political and dynastic uncertainty, before and during her reign. Only by considering Mary's emotions within their historical context can we establish a more nuanced assessment of her as an individual.

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[3] Jeri L. McIntosh, *From Heads of Household to Heads of State: The Preaccession Households of Mary and Elizabeth Tudor, 1516–1558* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009).

[4] Caroline Dunn and Elizabeth Carney, eds., *Royal Women and Dynastic Loyalty* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

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