The Marriage of Philip II of Spain with Mary Tudor

by Sheila Himsworth

HE following three accounts of the marriage which took place in Winchester Cathedral between Philip of Spain and Mary Tudor have been translated and brought together it is believed for the first time. They have been used previously along with English and other sources to compile articles firstly by Martin Hume, 'The Visit of Philip' in the English Historical Review, Vol. VII, 1892, pp. 253-280, and secondly by Ronald Hilton in the Papers and Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club (1938), Vol. XIV, Pt. 1, pp. 46-62, 'The Marriage of Queen Mary and Philip of Spain'. The general picture presented by the Spanish accounts is the same but each has its own detail not related by either of the others and there are many points on which they do not agree such as the manner of taking supper on the night of the marriage. Because of these differences it is thought that each is an original account not based on either of the others, although the one by Andrés Muñoz is not that of an eye-witness.

This marriage must be reckoned among the spectacular events in the history of Winchester. The verses made by Winchester College scholars on the occasion are preserved in B.M. Royal MS. 12AXX (see John Gough Nichols in Appendix XII of Chronicle of Queen Jane, Camden Society, 1850), and a fireplace in the Old Bursary Clerk's Room, now part of the Library extensions, and formerly the posers' Servants' Room, erected in or about 1554 bears the initials 'P R' which cannot be traced to any College personality of the time, and are therefore thought to be for a loyal 'Philippus Rex'.

I have to thank Mr. John Harvey, Archivist of Winchester College, and Don Jesus González Méndez, Lecturer in Spanish, Bristol University, for help over difficult passages.

- 'THE VOYAGE OF PHILIP II TO ENGLAND' by ANDRÉS MUÑOZ [Printed in Sarragossa in 1554, and other accounts relating to the same event, edited by Pascual de Gayangos for La Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, Madrid, 1877.]
- P. 58 (News reaches Philip at Corunna of Queen Mary). Her Majesty the Queen was in Winchester, which is a port and a splendid fortress.
- P. 64. Of how His Highness disembarked at the port of Southampton, and of the reception he was given.

Leaving Corunna on the 13 July aforesaid, the weather was so favourable that they ran before the wind with a calm sea, and in four days fourteen hours His Highness with all his fleet arrived safely at the port of Southampton which is in the realm of England on Thursday the 19 July at two o'clock in the afternoon. There he was received with a sovereign salute

1. An English translation of the whole of Barahona's letters from which the third account is taken can be found in *The Accession Coronation and Marriage of Mary Tudor as related in four Manuscripts of the Escorial* translated and published by C. V. Malfatti; Barcelona, 1956 (limited edition of 250 copies).

of thirty ships exceeding fair which were gathered there; fifteen were the Admiral of England's and the other fifteen were of the Admiral of Flanders. They were waiting for this purpose to receive him. In them were many beautiful royal standards with the Order of Flanders (which is the Golden Fleece; in England it is the Rose), and much heavy artillery. The sailors of that most gallant company were dressed in many colours. Beyond the ships firing the salute were two fine strong castles² built on the land, one opposite the other in such a way that the whole fleet was greatly delighted to see how immediately, at the command, the ships fired and the fortresses replied.

After these things His Highness remained all afternoon and night on the ship where he was, without going ashore, and on the morrow, which was Friday, in the morning he took breakfast there and without informing any of his fleet went out in a boat which the Lord High Admiral of England³ had made ready for him. In his company were the Duke of Alba, the Count of Feria, Ruy Gómez de Silva, and the four stewards who were the Count of Olivares. Don Pedro de Córdoba Gutierre López de Padilla, and Don Diego de Acevedo; also the Count of Egmont, the Count of Horn, and the Marquis of Bergas. Presently after they had disembarked the Chamberlain arrived with his staff, and the Master of the Horse (who was one of those chosen to take part in the marriage to the Queen), also the Chief Steward, all Englishmen, and other noblemen, about thirty of them, and they received His Highness bare-headed and touched his hand. This done the Chamberlain placed around his neck a most beautiful chain of gold with the Order of St George, which is a rose; and at the same time on his left leg below the knee they bound a circlet of gold with a clasp like a garter, which they call the Order of the Garter; this is an order of chivalry which the Kings of England, who are supposed to belong to it, have to maintain and be members of.⁴ When this was over the Prince wished to go on foot to the palace, but they restrained him, telling His Highness that it was not customary. And the English Master of the Horse⁵ lifted him and placed him on a most elegant white horse, handsomely harnessed, which he had there; and so he walked by him at his stirrup, bareheaded, and at the other side his deputy, and all the rest of the knights walked on foot ahead of His Highness, exultant and displaying great joy at his coming.

When they arrived at the palace there were many English Yeomen of the Guard and gatekeepers and other officials dressed in the Prince's livery. The palace was richly embellished, especially two rooms, the hall and the chamber, with hangings of gold damask, which had been King Henry's, the Queen's father. His Highness dined and supped apart on Friday and Saturday: the fare was excellent with many courses after the manner of the English. No Spanish lord or knight or other Spanish officials of His Highness were employed in the service of the chamber or at table; only English officials and knights: this seemed good and was ordered and accepted in the stipulations to which His Highness agreed. When he went out on Saturday morning to Mass the English Master of the Horse helped him mount his horse, and all the other knights were with His Highness at the church where Mass was celebrated and said with much solemnity. All of them listened most attentively and before Mass was ended all the Spaniards who were in the church were well pleased. When Mass was over the Prince went out with the Englishmen accompanying him on foot. Then there came a shower of heavy rain so that the Prince was in need of a cloak and cap and not having them with him was obliged to take them from an English knight.

5. Sir Anthony Browns.

Calshot and Cowes.
 William, Baron Howard of Effingham.
 The Spanish is obscure. Text: una Orden de Caballeria que los Reyes de Inglaterra, que fueren d'ella, han de tenei y ser.

This port and town of Southampton has more than three hundred houses and in itself is rich and very fresh and fair. A great part of the place was given over for lodging more than four hundred of His Highness's servants, who went ashore on Saturday, and for every gentleman one or two servants. They rejoiced greatly at the coming of His Highness as all of them showed.

Of how His Majesty the King and our lord the Prince was received in the City of Winchester, and of the celebration of the marriage with the most fortunate Queen, the Lady Mary his wife.

Thus His Majesty was making merry in Southampton on Thursday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday, with many English gentlemen and knights—the most illustrious of the realm (who all this time continued to arrive). On the Monday following he left Southampton for Winchester at two o'clock in the afternoon and in a heavy rainfall, accompanied by a great guard of Archers, Crossbowmen and Halberdiers, which the Queen sent him, all with the device and colours of His Majesty the Prince—a fine company of picked men without counting the many other grandees and knights and gentlemen of the English Court who joined on. There were with His Majesty three thousand horses well caparisoned with a great many servants richly adorned. When His Majesty came within a mile of Winchester to what used to be an abbey and is now a hospital, he went in to dress for the entry into the city, and came forth in a tunic of black velvet with a border of gold braid, breeches and jacket of white velvet, and doublet of satin with the same border, and without a cloak. A little before he entered the city ten pages of gentle birth came out, without cloaks, wearing tunics of crimson velvet trimmed with cloth of gold sashes, with a border of gold braid along the edge of the sashes, mounted on fine steeds, their bridles richly embellished, and a nobleman behind in a tunic edged with gold on another fair horse caparisoned with the same border. This nobleman having reached His Majesty gave him a message from the Queen that she had sent him some horses. His Majesty received them and took it as a great honour that the Queen did him, and gave answer to this effect to the gentleman.

This done, near the gates of the city there were twenty men dressed in scarlet, with the keys of the city and of the castle, ready to deliver them up, and all together kneeling on the ground they made their obeisance and delivered them. This was a most pleasing ceremony, and from there His Majesty went straight on, to dismount at the Cathedral. At the door were three bishops in pontificals and many other clergy and canons with choir capes of cloth of gold waiting with their crosses borne before them. His Majesty having entered the church first, accompanied by all the chiefs of the realm and the Grandees of Castile, knights and country gentlemen, they went with the procession to the High Altar hung with curtains and a canopy of brocade, and there the prayers were sung with as much solemnity as in the cathedral of Toledo, which moved those present to no little devotion. The bishop having pronounced the Benediction, His Majesty with all the Grandees went round the church looking at every part and they pronounced it one of the most beautiful temples ever seen, and so it is. None of the Spaniards who saw and wrote about it could stop mentioning it because it was so remarkable. His Majesty reached his lodgings? which adjoined the cloister, from within the church, for the Queen did not wish him to reside within the palaces until they were married.

^{6.} St Cross, which was never an Abbey.

The Deanery.
 Wolvesey.

After alighting at the palace, which would be at ten o'clock at night, the English chief steward and the Queen's Chamberlain came to see His Majesty to tell him that the Queen was waiting in her withdrawing room, and that His Majesty should go with a few attendants, and secretly. Having heard this, His Majesty put on a suit of the French style edged with gold and silver and breeches of white skin and buff coat with the same border, and in truth looked quite gallant. Four or five English gentlemen went with him and so, crossing the road, he went to the palace. Arriving at the door of the garden, which was the entrance, his chief English steward said that His Majesty should bring with him those who were serving him. His Majesty went to the door and asked admission for the Duke of Alba, the Duke of Medinaceli, the Marquis of Pescara, the Count of Feria, the Marquis of Aguilar, the Count of Chinchón, the Counts of Horn and of Egmont, the gentlemen of the chamber, Gutierre López and Don Hernando Carrillo. His Majesty shut the door, and with all these gentlemen walked rapidly through the lawns of the garden which were very lovely, passing pleasant bridges over streams, and fountains, and certainly, to all appearances it seemed they had discovered something which they had read about in the books of knight errantry as there was revealed to them such beauty of fountains, marvellous flowing streams, and diversity of scented flowers and trees and other delights of verdure.

His Majesty, having arrived at the house, the greater part of which is surrounded by water, entered by a little postern opening onto a narrow stairway by which he reached the Queen's withdrawing room where His Majesty found her in a room long but not broad, which is her gallery, most sumptuously decorated, where she takes her recreation. With her was the Bishop of Winchester, who is the Lord Chancellor, and four or five other noble gentlemen, aged men who did not cut very fine figures, and five ladies, two of them of a great age, and all dressed in marvellously rich attire, and two gentlemen each holding a torch in his hands. The Queen was dressed in a skirt of deep black velvet, after the fashion over there, without any trimming, with a stomacher of silver embroidery, and a quoif of black velvet, with pieces of gold of great value set gracefully upon it; she wore a narrow girdle of most wondrous stones, and a collar of the same. She was walking when His Majesty entered and, knowing the Count of Egmont, spoke to him. His Majesty having entered she came directly towards him with a graceful step, and kissed her hand to touch His Majesty's; and then he did the same, and kissed her on the mouth which is the custom in those parts; then they took each other by the hands, she speaking in French and he in Spanish, and they seemed to understand each other well. The Lord High Admiral, who is a talker and very amusing, uttered witticisms, saying, among other things, that as they knew each other so well already they would know each other still better in four or five days' time. And in the midst of this they sat down on two chairs which were set beneath a canopy of brocade, where they spent a while in pleasant converse. Presently His Majesty, rising, took her hand and said, 'Your Majesty, give your hand to these Spanish knights, for they wish to kiss it '. And so telling her who each one was they all kissed her hand in order, and she gave it kindly to them all.

After this His Majesty, in order to see the ladies who had withdrawn to another apartment, said he wished to go and speak with them, and the Queen went with him; two by two they came to His Majesty curtseying graciously, and he, with cap in hand, received them kissing each one so as not to violate the custom of the land, where His Majesty conducted himself very well. When this was over he thought he would go to his lodgings as it was getting late; the Queen made him sit down again. As was understood she seemed very well pleased with him and could see how gallant he is. As it was now time to retire His Majesty asked her as he took leave of her how he should say goodnight in English; the Queen told him he must say 'God nihit', and when he came to the ladies he forgot it, and turned from the middle

of the room to ask the Queen who was delighted at his coming back: and so he saluted the ladies in English and went to his apartment.

The next day after finishing dinner His Majesty went to see the Queen publicly, and was finely dressed and adorned. She was waiting in the Great Hall which they say is called 'de Poncia', hung with brocade arras, having steps on both sides, where there were many knights and ladies of the land beautifully arrayed, and much music. When His Majesty arrived at the steps of the dais at the top of the room, where there was a goodly canopy and their chairs below, the Queen came out to the threshold of her apartment to receive His Majesty, with many gentlemen before and two Kings at Arms with tabards of brocade with the Order of St. George and their heavy maces of gold before them, and behind more than fifty of the Queen's ladies sumptuously dressed. The Queen came dressed in murray velvet with skirt lined with brocade, and foreskirt of gold embroidery with rich precious stones, oriental pearls and seed pearls, and the coif, belt and collar were of the same jewels. His Majesty bowed very low and she did as she had done on the previous night and he kissed her. Having entered the hall they were a great while in pleasant conversation, and the ladies and knights managing to converse, though they hardly understood one another. From there His Majesty went to Vespers which were said very solemnly, with all the music.

In the midst of all this the Regent Figueroa arrived with the privilege which he brought from the Emperor, in which he said how pleased he had been at the arrangement of this marriage, and sent him [His Highness] the investiture of the Kingdom of Naples, so that he might be better supported, and this he did secretly.

On that day also there came the ambassadors of the King of the Romans and the King of Bohemia, of whom one was Don Pedro Laso, on behalf of the King of the Romans, and the other Don Hernando de Gamboa, on behalf of the King of Bohemia. The ambassadors of Florence, Venice, Ferrara, Poland and the others came on other days, and His Majesty received them cordially.

On the next day, which was the Feast of St James, the King and Queen went to the church together, where there was a great multitude of people both of the city and of the country to see them married, so many that it was a marvellous sight. And in the midst of the centre nave was a fair and large platform with steps which descended to the High Altar, all of it covered with a rich carpet of silk and gold: their Majesties having taken their places upon it, the Bishop of Winchester came forth from the choir vested in pontificals with three bishops in front and the clergy all in order. The Bishop standing on the platform, addressed his usual questions to the people, and with that married them. The music which was within was a marvellous thing to behold [sic], playing its pieces for there was such a fine concert as might never be seen.

From there they went down to the High Altar His Majesty taking the Queen by the hand. They were dressed almost in the same fashion, marvellously decorated, in particular His Majesty wore a suit which the Queen had sent him, which was more like the dress of that country than of Spain, with a most comely collar of precious stones; the Queen wore in particular a gown of black velvet bordered with gold braid with much beautiful jewelry, so that to look at her bereft the eyes of sight by reason of the great brilliance and splendour which went forth from her. She wore a girdle, collar, and coif, set with the same jewels, and a flat diamond mounted like a rose with a great pearl which hung upon her breast. This diamond was the one which the Marquis de las Navas brought to the Queen on behalf of His Majesty, and was valued at 26,000 ducats. In front of the two sovereigns came the Kings

9. Can this mean a hall built by Bishop de Pontissara?

at Arms with their maces before, and two swords, one borne by the Earl of Pembroke on His Majesty's side, and the other by the Earl of Derby (the same who defeated the rebels when they wished to besiege the Queen), each with a flowing robe of gold thread, displaying great majesty in their persons. This Earl of Derby is a very great lord, who as often as he wishes can mobilise twenty thousand men and one thousand horses; moreover, he is the lord of an island, where he wears a crown of lead. In this matter of bearing swords there are no special or famous persons appointed to carry them, but they give them to the chief lords who wish to bear them. Behind came the ladies, a good fifty of them, mostly dressed in cloth of gold and silver and the others with an infinite variety of fine and very precious stones; looking upon them they seemed more like celestial angels than mortal creatures, considering their finery and beauty as they appeared one after another.

In this way the Princes, with that sovereign display, reached the High Altar, where they took their chairs cushioned with brocade and sat down, and the ladies sat down each according to her rank. Then the Bishop of Winchester said Mass with all solemnity; and the happy Queen kept her eyes all the while on a consecrated crucifix which was on the Altar, and thus they were married. At the end of the Nuptial Mass they went to the Great Hall where there was the dais and steps which we spoke of above. Below the rich canopy were two handsome chairs (although one was better than the other), with a table eight yards long. Meanwhile they brought in meat with great ceremony; in front were the Stewards of the King and Queen, bareheaded, displaying great reverence towards the dais, for so they are accustomed to do in that place, and baring their heads in the antechamber as if the monarch were present. Then the food being on the table Their Majesties sat down, the Queen in the chief place and the Bishop of Winchester at the end of the table. The Queen took precedence of His Majesty in all the service, even in the matter of plate, for while what was on his side was silver plate, that on the Queen's side was gilt, and in all much better pieces. This precedence must have been because he was not yet crowned.

Below there were tables set where the ladies and the ambassadors ate; only the French King's Ambassador was absent, because he thought he should take precedence of the Ambassador of the King of the Romans. On the other side were the nobles and knights, Spanish and English, and they sat down to eat. Among them hardly any nation was unrepresented, for there were Spaniards, Englishmen, Germans, Hungarians, Bohemians, Poles, Flemings, Italians and Irishmen, even an Indian gentleman, so that there should be one.

The banquet was presented with a great variety of dishes, and seemed to be very good and very well served, and it was certainly interesting to see the manner and ceremonies of serving, but to avoid being tedious I will not mention it. The musicians were placed in different parts of the Great Hall playing new pieces much of the time.

The tables having been carried away, Their Majesties retired to a rich apartment with the English and Spanish nobles and the ladies, where they spent a good while chatting and got on very well; the nobles and knights got on with the ladies only so so because many of them found great difficulty in understanding them except when they were Latin speaking, and they were all of one determination not to give them gloves until they understood them. Most of the lords and knights who were present and understood the language were amused at seeing that most of the Spaniards could not manage it.

Now as the music was playing within from time to time the ball was arranged where all the ladies danced most splendidly with the grandees and knights of Spain and England;

10. The Isle of Man.

although not so well after the Spanish manner as in their own. And when most of the ladies and nobles and knights had danced, the King and Queen came out and danced each an allemande most charmingly; and the ladies were very much delighted to see His Majesty dance. The ball lasted almost three hours and it was a lovely sight on account of the great and marvellous embroidered apparel which in general they all had; that is how it was with the ladies as well as with the knights.

As it was by now growing dark, the tables were set by many servants as befitted such mighty sovereigns. Supper was served with no less ceremony than dinner in regard to distributing themselves the one with the other as I said before. When supper was over the King and Queen remained for an hour, His Majesty paying the Queen many compliments which greatly delighted her. At this stage as it was already late, the Queen took leave of His Majesty, and the ladies brought her to her chamber. When His Highness understood that she had retired for the night, he left the Great Hall accompanied by the nobles and went to the room where the Queen was, and a little before reaching it the nobles took leave of His Majesty and he went in to bed.

Now the next day, which was Sunday, the King and Queen dined together publicly with sweet and harmonious music, the Bishop of Winchester dined with them, and the Earls of Derby and Pembroke. On this day there was another fine ball with a great variety of instruments.

While he was in England none of His Majesty's servants either in the foremost positions or in the lesser, had served him, nor serve him now, for the Queen had set up and arranged his household in the Burgundian manner, just as His Majesty [Charles V] had it, only even more finished in all its details, and it is so with the officers of the chamber, the stewards, equerries, and gentlemen of the table¹¹ as with everything else; all these are Englishmen of very high standing. The offices are held by men who pride themselves on performing their duties as is fitting, in as much as they do not abate their precedence a jot; you can imagine they do not allow the guard which His Majesty brought with him to perform its duties. Because of this many of the Spanish are confused for, after having been on the most exhausting journey that has been seen and the hurly burly of disembarking, they wish to some extent to subject us to their laws, because, as it is so new a thing for them to have Spaniards in their country, they want to make all safe.

The life which the Spaniards spend there is not very comfortable, nor are they so well off as they would be in Castile; some even say that they would rather be in the stubble fields of the Kingdom of Toledo than in the groves of Amadis.

That day as they were dining together the Queen sent a message to all the knights and nobles that she was drinking their health. Before clearing away the tables a King at Arms richly dressed publicly announced all His Majesty's titles which were King of England, France and Naples, Prince of Spain and Count of Flanders. At this all the nobles and Spanish and English knights, ambassadors of the whole Empire, and the others mentioned above were greatly delighted, and especially because the majesty of the Prince our lord was a vessel of such high valour and merit, and of such lucid understanding and wisdom, for which reason he was deserving of such titles and all the rest.

Before the royal pair were married the Regent Figueroa conferred the privilege which he brought from our lord the Emperor on the platform which was in the body of the church as I said above; which comprised giving to His Majesty Don Philip King of England, his son, the Kingdom of Naples, at which all the nobles of the kingdom and neighbouring ones

11. Lit: of the mouth, 'gentiles-hombres de la boca'.

who were present (and likewise those who were absent) hearing such outstanding news made a great show of joy and pleasure over it as over the other events connected with this glorious marriage according to a letter written from Winchester.

His Majesty remained there a few days and departed for London, but not with all his company English or Spanish, because on this road there were not enough lodgings for so great a multitude; but understanding that His Majesty was nearer London than Winchester they had to move off, and leave the city with all haste to enter London with His Majesty.

P. 85. THE FIRST LETTER CONCERNING EVENTS ON THE VOYAGE OF HIS HIGHNESS TO ENGLAND, 1554 (probably by don Pedro Enriquez)

[Printed by Pascual de Gayangos as appendix to the Muñoz account.12]

P. 87. Events on the journey of His Highness (later Philip II). In the Name of Jesus.

Our lord the Prince, Don Philip, embarked at Corunna, a port of Spain in the afternoon of Thursday 12 July 1554, and with him on the ship were the Count of Feria, Rui Gómez de Silva, Don Antonio de Toledo, Don Diego de Córdova, the Count of Olivares, Gutierre López de Padilla, Don Pedro de Córdova, Don Lupercio de Quiñones, chief almoner, Gonzalo Pérez, secretary; the Flemings were the Count of Egmont, the Marquis of Bergas, the Count of Horn, captain of the archers, and Pernestain, a great lord of Bohemia, the King's [Charles V] servant, and Don Álvaro de Bazán, who was in command of the ship and navigation.

The Admiral of Castile led the vanguard; His Highness the battle line; Don Luis de Carvajal the rear; making in all 125 ships. The Duke of Alba went with His Highness on board one ship with many knights, all the others in the same way. The Duke of Medinaceli in another, the Marquis of Pescara, the Marquis of Aguilar, the Count of Chinchón, César de Gonzaga, Count of Fuensalida, Marquis Del Valle, Count del Castellar, Count de Landriano, Bishop of Cuenca (Don Pedro Castro), Don Juan de Acuña, Don Juan de Benevides, the ambassadors of Don Francisco de Castillo and Menchaca each in his own ship, and the rest with His Highnesses household, horses, artillery and troops. On that day His Highness slept at sea.

Friday. After a meal at 4 o'clock His Highness with all his fleet made sail; and at night and the next day, Saturday, experienced some difficulty in heavy sea with wind until dinner, when it cleared somewhat. Sunday was fine and fair; Monday afternoon Ushant and the mainland of France were in sight five or six leagues away. On Wednesday England came into view, and it was calm and smooth. On Thursday they passed the Needles and entered the channel between Southampton and the Isle of Wight where a great salute was fired from the castles.¹³

From the same port sailed the Queen's fleet and that of Flanders¹⁴ which would be about forty ships all well found.

His Highness slept at sea where the Admiral of England, with an escort and those from Flanders, ¹⁵ and Bribiesca the Mayor, came. On the next day, Friday, in the morning the ambassadors of the Emperor came and the Marquis of las Navas and Figueroa, the Regent,

- 12. Bib. Mac., MS. X, 197 Fol., pp. 114-124.
- 13. ? Calshot and Cowes.
- 14. The Spanish Netherlands fleet.
- 15. The Flanders staff.

with certain English gentlemen. His Highness, having just finished his dinner, went on board the English Admiral's boat accompanied only by those who came on his ship and came some three leagues by sea to Southampton, 16 where there were many English gentlemen waiting and officers whom the Queen had sent after the manner of this realm. These were the chief Chamberlain, the Master of the Horse and the Chief Steward. Before he left the boat they went on board to invest him with the Order of the Garter, and His Highness came on shore wearing a doublet of black velvet and went to the church riding a horse which they had there for him with a harness of crimson velvet and trapper all fretted with gold. At the gateway the Mayor came out and handed him the keys. From the church he went to his lodgings, which were finely adorned, and supped in retirement. That evening the gentlemen, nobles and knights, began to arrive from the ships by themselves.

Next Saturday His Highness went to Mass in a little church opposite the palace, and many gentlemen of the realm came to kiss his hand. The Count of Egmont went to visit the Queen, who was two leagues away at a country house, and she sent him [i.e. His Highness] a diamond ring with the Bishop of Winchester her Lord Chancellor and Private Secretary.

On Sunday Rui Gomez went to visit the Queen, and he returned and many English gentlemen came with large retinues. All this time it rained continuously without stopping for an hour; and the fleet went on to 'Persala', 17 and some of the servants began to disembark with the gentlemen's clothing, but they did not permit the horses to be disembarked, thinking that His Highness would move on to Flanders soon after the marriage to get news of the arrival of the King of France, who had taken Marienburg¹⁸ which the mayor handed over to him by treachery, and surrounded 'Dala',19 and made two assaults on it; and more than two thousand men joined him from within, and in the end he took it and laid it waste, for it was so ruined by the artillery fire that it could not be put in a state of defence. Afterwards, with the arrival of the news that the French were retreating to their own territory, they put the horses ashore in order to disembark the fleet and send the infantry to Flanders some four thousand troops. That same day His Highness arose late, and they went to kiss the hands of the Queen's Council and Officials; she was at Mass in the main church and heard it said. His Highness was on horseback attended by the English Master of the Horse, who, removing His Highness's horses from the ships, had them taken and put in his own stable to have them cared for. It was no bad beginning to see if he could keep them all together in the long run.

His Highness dined in public, and Englishmen served him with ceremony, in the presence of his chief Chamberlain. Although the Duke of Alva handed him the table napkin, but the Steward did not serve him nor hold his wand of office. In the afternoon he sent the Oueen six ponies. He supped in public as he had dined. My Lady Doña María de Mendoza was quite right when she said we should be no more good; we are all quite vagabonds now and of no use; we might as well go and serve the Emperor in this war for they make us pay fifty here for what is worth two.

Rui Gómez when he went took a ring to the Queen; they say that it is the one which was made here. He was very well received.

Since the Admiral of Castile was in command of an armed fleet they did not wish him to enter the port until the Council gave orders for it. The Lady Duchess and all the rest disembarked and stayed at Southampton.

- 16. This is correct, about 9 or 10 sea miles from Calshot.
- Portsmouth.
- Hainault.
 Dorlans, Doullans, Picardy.

On Monday it rained very heavily all day. His Highness left for Winchester, accompanied by Englishmen and a guard of a hundred of them in their livery, which the guard here wears. None of his own guard, who came with him, disembarked as all were still to come ashore: except the Duke of Medinaceli, the Duke of Alva, Rui Gómez, the Count of Feria, Aguilar, who had disembarked, and I know not how many others, to the number of about ten or fifteen in all. His Highness went forth with embroidered harness, and the Queen's horse, and four of the Queen's pages behind. The English Master of the Horse took the horse by the reins. He went to the church which is very fine, where there was such a crowd that they were nearly suffocated, and he continued on foot to his lodgings and not to the Queen's, and after having supper privately with a few people went to the Queen's lodging.

The Queen was alone with three or four old Councillors and the ladies in waiting, and she went to the door of the chamber, and the Prince kissed her, which is the custom of this land, and they took each other's hands and sat down on two chairs, and were talking for a while pleasantly. The Prince then got up and went to kiss some of the ladies who were there; and those who came with the Prince kissed the Oueen's hand.

The Queen was dressed in a black velvet skirt with a great many stones and gems, and a brocade stomacher, and headdress after their fashion.

On that day almost all the knights and the Admiral remained in Southampton.

On Tuesday 24th the Prince arose late and the Queen sent her tailor up to him with two suits, one of rich brocade with a great deal of braid embroidery and pearls, with very beautiful diamonds for buttons (the other was of crimson brocade). He heard Mass and put on a purple tunic embroidered with trimmings of silver, and a cloak of heavy cloth with the same border, white breeches and doublet. He dined in private. In the afternoon he was to speak publicly with the Queen, who went to a great lower chamber with all her ladies, who were not beautiful but many in number, dressed in purple velvet, the sleeves lined with brocade, and before them the four maces and sword were borne by gentlemen. The Prince went towards the middle of the room and kissed her, and they turned and entered two or three rooms inside, and were standing there for some time. Then His Highness went to talk to the ladies as his custom was; and we all kissed the Queen's hand. I say all but we were not above a dozen for there were no more; and they held pleasant converse. Then His Highness went to Vespers in the Cathedral and the Queen to her own chapel.

The Ambassador of the King of the Romans, who is Don Pedro Lasso, and the Ambassador of the King of Bohemia, who is Don Hernando de Gamboa, came well attended to deliver their messages to His Highness. With them were Don Antonio de Toledo and Don Juan de Benavides, and they were very well received, the King doffing his cap and ordering them to be covered. Don Pedro brought two Counts and eight gentlemen of standing. They brought in a great table very well served.

That night His Highness had supper in retirement, and afterwards went to the Queen's place, and the Admiral and his son and son-in-law, and the Count of Olivares who had not seen the Queen went with him; and when the Prince and the Queen were seated, Figueroa presented them a privilege by which the Emperor gave the Prince the Kingdom of Naples; and then all those who were present kissed their hands as Sovereigns, and His Highness returned to his house.

On Wednesday the Feast of St James the King left his lodging with a great company of Grandees, lords and knights of his court adorned, themselves and their servants, in liveries which were such that never the Court of His Majesty nor His Highness had ever seen the like for a single day, so rich were they and so fine, and with such variety of chains, some of greater distinction than others, that in all it well made up for past sobriety. He entered the

church by a high dais and went to a chapel where he waited for the Queen. She came accompanied by all her grandees, who are called the Council, with her sword of state and mace-bearers before, and the King had the same; and they reached the chapel. On the same dais there were high steps, and a platform covered with coloured hangings, and there were five bishops in their rich copes and mitres, and also the Bishop of Winchester who is very Christian and very Catholic, the Lord Chancellor and Bishop of that place.

The King and Queen arrived and the Bishop told the people in English how the King had approved in Spain the articles of marriage, and displayed them without reading them, and that His Majesty had given him the Kingdom of Naples of which he was King, and then the Bishop spoke to the people at his own will. And then in Latin he performed the marriage ceremony, and so they were married. They went to the Sanctuary where there was a platform before the High Altar and there the Bishop spoke the words which in Spain it is customary to address to a bride and bridegroom. This being done the King returned to his canopy and the Queen to hers, and the sung Mass began, celebrated by the Bishop and two other Bishops for Deacon and Subdeacon, all wearing mitres, and the other two as assistants with rich ornaments. At the end of each canopy there were altars where spoken masses were said, and at the offertory the King and Queen returned to the platform and the Bishop came and they each made offering of a taper and a crown, and they returned to their canopies the King accompanying the Queen all the time until leaving her under her canopy. Afterwards at the time when it is usual for the celebrant to pronounce the Benediction they returned to the platform and having finished the ceremonies the Bishop of Winchester continued the Mass to its conclusion, and when he took the pax the King went to the Altar, and the Bishop gave him the kiss of peace on the cheek as is the custom, and the King turned and kissed the Queen and made a deep bow; while she during this time which lasted an hour, as on the other occasions, kept her eyes fixed on the Sacrament, for she is truly devout.

Having returned to their canopies and the Benediction being given the King at Arms proclaimed His Highness King of England, and with a great shout of recognition from the people and sound of trumpets and minstrelsy they returned beneath a canopy to the Queen's palace where there was a table set in a great hall, and other tables below a dais.

The King and Queen and the Bishop who married them ate with great ceremony and a great quantity of delicacies and music. At another table the ambassadors and nobles ate, and at another sixty Spanish and English knights, at another many others, and the ladies at another; all the tables were well served with great precision and in silence.

After dinner they went into a chamber where the ladies danced after their custom, and the King danced with the Queen after the German manner, and the ambassador Don Pedro Laso led the dance. When this was over the King went to his chamber and the Queen to hers, and they each supped in retirement in their own apartments.

Then the Bishop of Winchester blessed the marriage bed, and they remained there. Of what passed in the night they know. All the good expectations will be fulfilled if they give us a son.

The King wore the cloak which the Queen sent him, and she a gown, no more no less; and each had a great many precious stones. The house was well dressed with heavy brocades and rich tapestries of gold. At meals there were always two noble lords of this country, one by the Queen and the other by the King, with their scabbards holding their rapiers aloft. All the service was by Englishmen except Don Iñigo de Mendoza, son of the Duke of Infantazgo, who served the cup, and four of the gentlemen of the table²⁰ who helped to

20. Text: cuatro de la Boca.

serve. The Steward of the Prince's household had not the slightest chance of serving nor even of taking the staff of office in his hand; nor is it believed that he or the Comptroller or the rest will do so, so they might as well banish us all as vagabonds.

On Thursday nothing more happened but that the King got up at seven, and came to his chamber, and was there until eleven o'clock when he went to Mass in a chapel within the house and he dined alone in public. It is not customary to see the Queen on such a day, and thus she was in her apartment, with the married ladies and noblewomen, finely adorned after their fashion with some heavy embroideries and hoopskirts which have finally crossed the sea. The women here are very tall and very narrow waisted, and appear very fine as to their clothes; their hairdressing is in the French manner, but if they would adopt what is now worn by the young ladies in Spain, they would look much better. There are few beauties, although some are distinguished looking; there are the ladies of the chamber, and the others remain in the Hall or antechamber dancing or conversing with whoever wishes to amuse them; and one day is much as another.

There were some well dressed Englishmen, and also Spaniards. On that day Madam the Duchess of Alva came from Southampton and reached the Court and went to stay²¹ at her house late at night. The Bishop lodged the Friars in a college, where they are safe and, as I think, repent of having come. His Highness made his confession, and his Confessor and Fr. Alonso de Castro were in the church at Mass, and many were the glances cast at them, for gossip is a characteristic of this country.

On Friday His Highness disposed himself to deal with the business of his fleet, and about Flanders. The Queen did not go out and was not seen; the King heard Mass sung by the Chapel²² and the singers, as it were in retirement (from the Queen). Fray Bartolomé de Miranda said Mass in the Cathedral, which was a new thing for the people of this country, and many of them were glad to see what they wanted and others were sorry. It is hoped that the Christianity and goodwill of the Queen and her continual prayers will bear fruit so that this realm may be as she once was in Christian obedience to the Catholic (and Roman) Church.

We went to see the Round Table once King Arthur's which is in the castle, and they say he is bewitched in it, and the names of the twelve knights who ate with him were written round it in order as they sat.

Great rogues infest these roads and have robbed some of us, among others Don Juan Pacheco, son of the Marquis of Villena, from whom they took 400 escudos, and all his silver and some gold things; not a trace has been found of them nor of four or five boxes missing from the King's lodgings, though steps are being taken by the Council of the Realm to search in all directions. Owing to conditions here only the early comer gets good lodgings.²³

On Saturday the King heard Mass in the Chapel, and the Queen heard it from above. In the afternoon the Lady Duchess of Alba was at the palace with a great following, and all the nobles and knights of the Court. She was very well groomed and wore a skirt of black velvet with a bullion fringe of black silk. The Queen waited for her in her antechamber, dressed in black damask and a stomacher of black velvet embroidered in gold. She was standing and when the Duchess entered by the door she came down from her dais almost as far as the door itself, and there the Duchess knelt down and craved most earnestly for her hand, and the Queen stooped down almost as low as the Duchess and embraced her, and never wished to give her her hand but raising her up kissed her mouth according to the custom

^{21.} Lit: got off at: 'apear'.
22. I.e. the Chapel Royal.
23. Text: por aca es buena la posada temprano, segun lo que se usa.

which Queens use with noble ladies of their own blood there, but not with others. Then taking her by the hand she asked her how she came and how she had managed at sea, saying how pleased she was to see her. And the Queen conducted her to the dais where there was as usual one high chair, and the Queen reaching the chair sat herself on the carpet asking the Duchess if she would not like to be seated. The Duchess protested that she would never be willing to sit in the Queen's chair. They brought two footstools covered with embroidered leather. Then the Queen sat down on one and motioned the Duchess to sit on the other. She made a deep curtsey and sat down on the floor at the side, which is customary there, and the Queen left the footstool and sat down on the carpet with her, and would not get up. The Duchess was so insistent that the Queen returned to her stool, and asked her to take the one offered, and so the Duchess seated herself on the other.

They were there for a long while talking, with the Marquis of las Navas as interpreter: although the Queen understands Spanish she does not speak it. She [the Duchess] said in Spanish that it was very hot and other things, and she [the Queen] asked her if she would not like to enter into her chamber to rest, as she must give audience to some ambassadors. The Duchess said she would go and stay with her ladies but the Queen would not permit her and waited until the ambassadors should come, and seeing that they did not come she sat down again with the Duchess, and they stayed for another space of time. Then the Duchess took her leave and returned to her lodging, which was a good distance to go and come on foot. And the Queen had sent two Countesses to come with her and the old ambassador who was at Corunna. Certainly the Oueen seemed greatly pleased with her and each day will be more so, and so it will be with the other ladies who have come, for her kindness is such that one must give thanks to God for having given us such a Princess and Lady for Queen. May God preserve her! for He has kept her from so many and such continuous hardships until now that we can say that in her remained the Faith of this realm so that it might not be lost altogether, for the Faith is now returning and Divine Worship found as it was before, and increasing daily under such Catholic Sovereigns.

News came from Flanders how the French King took Bins²⁴ and burnt it without leaving one stone upon another in the house of Queen Mary, and if they had not put the wardrobe in safety it too would be in France. He was withdrawing towards his own lands, and the Emperor went in pursuit and he was three leagues off and wished to engage with him. The men and money will arrive in time.

On this day the Ambassador of the King of the Romans gave his letter and message to the Queen and a jewel of diamonds worth 32,000 escudos, with a very large pearl. The Ambassador of the King of Bohemia gave his letter also, and Luis Benegas who came from the Princess of Portugal.

On Saturday 29th Mass was in the palace as on the day before, and the King and Queen dined in public, and at their table were seated the Earl of Pembroke and the Earl of Derby, who are the most important men to be found here at present, though their income does not amount to 15,000 ducats; also the Bishop of Winchester and the Treasurer. The meal being over they lingered awhile, then each one went to his lodging.

News came from Flanders which said His Majesty (the Emperor) was three leagues from the French camp and that the French king was retreating to his own land, nobody knew why. The Marquis Alberto [of Brandenburg] was routed by the League and fled with only eight horsemen, so you may imagine what a comfort to Germany is this news.

The ladies are in the hall dancing all evening and night as is very necessary to entertain so many young English and Spanish knights.

24. In Hainault.

On Monday there was nothing out of the ordinary; the King went to Mass and dined publicly, but the Queen does not dine abroad except on special days. The English officials served as usual. The whole day was spent on business affairs; supper was taken in private.

On Tuesday 31 July, after dinner, the King and Queen left for a place about fifteen miles from here, the country house of the Treasurer. The King took no-one with him but his small body guard (a very slight one) and all the rest stayed in Winchester and Southampton, and all the guards until they were ordered to go to London. The Admiral stayed behind to return to Spain with part of the fleet, and the other part went to Flanders with the money and 5,000 Spaniards, and with them Don Luis de Carvajal with his fleet as Don Antonio Bazán²⁵ used to go with his galleasses and other ships to keep watch for anything from the Indies.

All the English knights had gone to their houses to return for the entry into London, that is those who are not usually at Court. The ambassadors took the road straight away to wait in London. What else may happen will be told later on.

'ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGE OF PHILIP II TO ENGLAND IN 1554' by JUAN DE VARAONA (BARAHONA)

[Printed in Colección de Documentos Ineditos para la Historia de España, I, Madrid, 1842.]

P. 564. Voyage of Philip II to England in 1554 when he married the Queen, Lady Mary. Juan de Varaona wrote it and it was found written in a hand of that time in a manuscript of miscellaneous items in the Library of the Escorial being ii, no. 4.

His Highness embarked at Corunna on Thursday 12 July, and at 11 o'clock in the morning set sail. There were about eighty ships with His Highness, and they left over thirty in the port with Don Luis de Carvajal waiting for the troops who had not arrived.

His Highness was at sea on Friday, Saturday and Sunday 15 July with a favourable wind, although the sailors tell those of us who are not sailors that it was so rough that one day was reckoned stormy.

On Monday 16 July in the morning they made a landfall which was Cape Ushant of the land of France. This day we lost sight of land, and on the following day, Tuesday, we had our first sight of England, which was a great joy.

On the following Wednesday 18 July in the afternoon we sighted the fleet of Flanders and England, which consisted of thirty-eight galleons well gunned which were on guard at the Channel, so that His Highness might pass through safely, and as they arrived they fired their salute, and His Highness gave order that all the ships of the Spanish fleet should reply each with four pieces: indeed it seemed very fine on both sides. The fleet passed ahead, and at the end of an island we saw a low castle, which the English call the Needles, very strong and very well built;²⁶ this made its salute and the flagship replied with two pieces. Continuing on their way and at 4 o'clock in the afternoon the whole fleet came to an island two leagues from Southampton, called the Isle of Wight, or to give it another name Amadis the strong isle. In that place there were two low castles well gunned called by the same name as the island: they gave their salute and the flagship replied with eight pieces.

^{25. ?} Alvaro Bazán.

^{26.} I.e. a fort.

That same night news came to His Highness from Flanders.... On Friday 20 July in the morning eight principal English noblemen of the realm came in a large boat well appointed from Southampton, and came up to the flagship. His Highness received them with joy, showing great affection for them, and they begged him to put ashore in their boat, and thus he manifested his confidence in them, which gave them great satisfaction. Of the Spaniards who disembarked with His Highness there were the Duke of Alba and other noblemen who came with him in the ship, some six or seven of them.

From there His Highness sent to all the nobles and knights who came with him to say they should disembark, and they did so and were in his wake behind the boat on board other little boats. As His Highness left his ship the rest of the fleet gave a great salute, and they did the same in Southampton as he disembarked from the boat.

As the boat came in the Chief Steward whom the Queen had appointed, called the Earl of Arundel, arrived and placed upon His Highness the Order of the Garter, which is like the Golden Fleece, and consists of two bands, one for special days and the other for ordinary days; the ordinary one is a band with a buckle at the end like a belt, and full of stones, which was worth a great sum of money. This is bound on the leg directly below the knee like a garter making a knot on the outside. The other is likewise very rich and is worn round the neck, with a gold cross of St George hanging from it. The Order of the Golden Fleece is not worn here.

On the quay there was a guard of English horse on foot which the Queen had dressed in the livery that the Prince gives, and there were many knights waiting for His Highness, and between them the English Master of the Horse, called Sir Anthony Browne,²⁷ whom the Queen appointed. He held ready a white horse with a harness and trappings of crimson velvet, all edged with gold and many gems. The Master of the Horse helped His Highness to mount, and accompanied him on foot in the position which the Spanish Master of the Horse is accustomed to take; and all the other noblemen and gentlemen who were there went ahead on foot and they arrived with His Highness at the great church, and there His Highness said his devotions and went to the palace, which was a house near the church. It was handsomely decorated with brocade, cloth of gold and bordered canopies. That same day His Highness gave to Sir John Williams,²⁸ who is one of the principal persons of the kingdom, the wand of Chamberlain.

On the next day, Saturday, the Duchess of Alba disembarked, and the whole Spanish court and a great number of the English were waiting for her on the quay. The Marquis of las Navas stood beside her introducing the English noblemen who came up to speak with her. Among them was the Earl of Derby, King of the Isle of Man, who is crowned with a leaden crown, and as he is King the respect in which he is held in the Kingdom of England is so great that neither this man nor any other stands covered before them²⁹. He, after the manner of that country, went up to kiss the Duchess of Alba and as she drew back His Lordship assured her that it would only be on the cheek. On this day also His Highness attended Mass and all the court with him on foot accompanied by an English guard.

On Monday 23 July His Highness left Southampton for Winchester which is three leagues from there, where the Queen was, accompanied by all the noble lords who were there both Spanish and English, which would be more than 3,000 horse, and a large guard of cavalry consisting of 300 archers with bows and arrows. Six principal knights of the realm went out to meet him on the road. Each one of them brought over 200 horse. From there

Text: Milor Buen.
 Text: Milor Ullense.

^{29. &#}x27;Them' refers, perhaps, to the line of Barls of Derby. Text: ni este ni otra no se cubre delante dellos.

they went with His Highness to his destination; and he dismounted at the Cathedral in which the Bishop of Winchester and five other bishops were waiting, all vested in pontifical robes, and many canons in brocade copes. They received His Highness with a Te Deum Laudamus, and so they brought him to the High Altar where he said his devotions, and this done he went accompanied in the same manner to the palace which is a house close to the church. 30

Then His Majesty went to kiss the hands of the Queen, accompanied by many knights, crossing a flower garden and orchard, he entered by a postern gate and ascended by a winding stairway to a hall where the Queen was, dressed in a gown of black velvet with an open border and brocade stomacher edged with pearls, a headdress of black velvet with a ruff mounted with gold, and precious stones on her hands, a bodice of diamonds and band of the same; she was attended by six old noblemen of her Council and a number of ladies. She approached the door to receive him, and welcomed him there with all possible delight. They made their courtesies according to the manner of the country, which is to kiss each other, and went hand in hand to their chairs and seated themselves beneath a rich canopy. His Highness behaved most graciously with the Queen, and they conversed for more than an hour he in Spanish and she in French, in this way they understood each other, and the Queen told him how to say Goodnight in English so that he might take leave of the peers of the realm; they received him with the greatest pleasure rising from their chairs, the Queen telling His Highness who each one was. Then all the nobles and knights of Spain came to kiss the Queen's hand, which she gave them graciously. After this they took leave of each other and His Highness went to his lodging.

The next day, 24 July, 1554, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon His Highness left his lodging escorted by all his court, both Spanish and English, to visit the Queen, who came out to receive him in a great hall, and there they made the usual courtesies of that land. Clasping each other's hand they went to the other chamber, where they stayed awhile, and afterwards His Highness took his leave and went to his lodging.

That same day in the afternoon His Highness sent to Don Antonio de Toledo and Don Juan de Benavides by Don Pedro Laso of Castile who came as Ambassador of the King of the Romans, and Don Hernando de Gamboa who came as Ambassador of the King of Bohemia. They arrived accompanied as far as the palace by the great lords who were in the court, and it was a fine sight to see the attire they wore. His Highness waited for the embassy in a great hall attended by all his court. As they came in at the door the ambassadors made their obeisance. His Majesty doffed his cap to them and received them with great affection and they tendered him their letters and credentials each one for himself. This done His Majesty requested them to be covered, and then all the nobles and gentlemen who were there came to kiss His Highness's hands, and he received them all courteously, and then he asked the ambassadors if they would go with him into his chamber, where he spent a great while with them.

That same day the embassy from Venice and Florence came and His Highness received it handsomely. At night His Highness went back to see the Queen and went the same way by which he had come the first time. He was with her some time, and when he wished to depart, he went to kiss the ladies who are many, among whom there are few Orianas and many Mabilias. ³¹ After this he went back to his lodging.

^{30.} I.e. the former Prior's Lodging, the Deanery.
31. The principal female characters in the famous Iberian romance Amadis de Gaula, princesses of England and Scotland respectively.

On the 25 July 1554, which was the Feast of St James, His Highness sent for the ambassadors who were accompanied by many lords and knights of the realm, and having reached where His Highness was escorted him to the place where he was to be married. Each of them went in his appointed place; the Emperor's ambassador on the right and then the ambassador of the King of the Romans. His Highness arrived at the church which was well hung with many sumptuous cloths of brocade and crimson and of dark colours, and was full of banners and standards, and he placed himself in the chair of state which was there, with the ambassadors and nobles who came, and there he waited until Her Majesty the Queen came. She arrived escorted by the chief lords of this realm. His Highness, being informed, left his chair to receive her and made his bow, and at the same time His Highness greeted all the noblewomen and ladies who came with her. The Queen then left His Highness with all the ladies, and went to the chair which was set for her on the left and sat down.

Then the Bishop of Winchester, who is Chancellor of the realm, came out with five other bishops robed in pontificals, and proceeded to a dais with five steps which had been erected in the middle of the church, on which the marriage was to take place; and the bishops having taken up their positions His Highness and the Queen came up from where they were, the ambassadors leading the way each in his place, and the grandees, lords, and knights. The Duke of Alba stationed himself at the entrance to the dais which was set as in a theatre, and there all the grandees, lords and knights were given their places which was at the back of this arena, and the ambassadors were inside. Then the Prince and the Oueen entered, and the Bishop was about to celebrate the marriage, but before he had begun the Regent Figueroa arrived with a charter in his hand, and informed His Majesty that the Emperor had received much joy from this marriage and for the love he bore the Queen did the Prince the honour of renouncing the Kingdom of Naples in his favour. His Majesty accepted it with great pleasure. The Regent then kissed the hands of the Queen, and this done, the Bishop, with charter in hand, in a loud voice proclaimed to the English people what the Regent had said and the honour which the Emperor bestowed upon Their Majesties. And this was received with great joy by all. Then the Bishop performed the marriage with the same questions and solemnity as in Spain, having read the [Papal] dispensation before two or three persons privately. When Her Majesty the Queen came to the church for her marriage two marriageable young men escorted her one on either side, which is a custom of this kingdom, and on the return when she was married two old married men led her. When the marriage was over, the lords, knights, nobles and ambassadors began to descend, and so led the way to the Sanctuary, and before the High Altar they knelt and prayed, and after this they rose and went to their curtained recesses, the King on the right hand and the Queen on the left, and whilst the main Mass was said a spoken Mass was said for each of them at the altars which were set before the recesses, and in the middle of the main Mass they gave them their Blessings, and when the time came for the Pax the Bishop kissed the Queen on the cheek which is how the Pax is given in this country, and His Majesty the King kissed the Queen. When the Mass was over they gave Their Majesties each a slice of bread and a taste of wine, and this was also given to the ambassadors and nobles who were there. This is the order in which the ambassadors were seated: the two Imperial ambassadors at the sides, then the Ambassador of the King of the Romans, and then the Bohemian, the Venetian and Florentine ambassadors, there were some who were saying it was because the Ambassador of the King of France was in London that he was not there. My answer to this is that it was because the Ambassador of the King of the Romans took precedence over him in the seating that he was not there, neither do I think he will be at the Coronation.

When the Mass was over the King and Queen went hand in hand to the palace covered with a canopy of crimson velvet edged with gold braid, and with silver poles, accompanied by all the nobles and knights who wore the most splendid finery and embroideries ever seen till this day. His Majesty the King went forth dressed in breeches and doublet and white buffcoat bordered with silver braid, with a French robe which the Queen sent him woven with a gold thread and most sumptuously set with many stones and pearls on it, and a rich sword of gold, a cap of black velvet decked with white plumes, a chain which the Emperor sent him which is that of the crown of Castile, worth 250,000 ducats. Her Majesty the Queen wore a topskirt of the same stuff as the King's robe with the same border; beneath the skirt she wore a ruff of brocade and lace ruffles at the neck which lay on the outside, edged with pearls and at the front with jewels; on her breast lay the diamond and ruby which the King had sent her by the Marquis of las Navas, when he came to bring the jewels which are two pieces of great value. Her hair was dressed after the manner of that place, with a headdress of black velvet, all covered with pearls which showed up very well, and her bodice too.

Their Majesties went to banquet in a hall, which was adorned with gorgeous tapestries and the finest hangings. At one side there was set a sideboard standing high covered with gold and silver plate of which there were more than 120 pieces of a great size. At the end of the hall there was a high dais which rose eight or ten steps, with a sumptuous canopy under which was the table where Their Majesties were to eat, and on the right below the dais was another table for the ambassadors, grandees, lords and knights, and on the left another for the ladies and gentlewomen. The victuals being set on the table with a great ceremony and music Their Majesties came in to eat, and the dishes were brought with further ceremony. After the serving they sat down to eat and the Bishop of Winchester sat with them, the ambassadors and grandees who were there sat down at their table, and were served by Englishmen with music, and the Kings at Arms with their tabards and six macebearers with their maces. The victuals were all carried by the gentlemen and knights of this realm.

When the feast was over they lingered awhile; then Their Majesties rose and accompanied by all the aforementioned went to another room which was well decked, with a rich dais. When they had sat down on the chairs the King asked Don Pedro Laso, the Ambassador of the King of the Romans, and Don Hernando de Gamboa, the Ambassador of the King of Bohemia, to dance an allemande, and so the Ambassador of the King of the Romans began, followed by the Bohemian Ambassador and other lords. This was done because the King did not know the English dances and the Queen did not know the Spanish ones, and also so that Her Majesty might dance the allemande with the King. And so when the ambassadors' dance was over Their Majesties rose and danced the same dance, which gave great pleasure to those who saw it. After this they danced many other kinds of dances until it was late and they retired to their apartments. As for the rest of that night those who have done the like may guess.

Next day, 26 July 1554, the Queen did not wish anyone to see her, for such is the custom of that land. They said it is 'propter honestitatem'.

On the following day, 27 July 1554, the Queen sent for two ladies of the bedchamber, one was the Countess of Kildare, and the other the Countess of Pembroke, to accompany the Duchess of Alba to the palace, for she wished to come and kiss Her Majesty's hands. The whole court came with the Duchess; Her Majesty the Queen waited for her in the Great Hall, and as the knights began to enter she rose, and when the Duchess came in she went to the middle of the room to receive her; the Duchess came to the spot and begged Her Majesty's hands. For a long while she would not give them, and the Duchess seized

them. Her Majesty kissed her on the cheek and then took her by the hand and led her to a dais and the Marquis of las Navas acted as interpreter because the Queen spoke French. Her Majesty asked the Duchess if she would sit on the dais or below, and the Duchess replied that Her Majesty should sit down and she would sit on the floor. Her Majesty tried to sit on the floor but could not, and then she ordered a stool covered with brocade to be brought and another for the Duchess. The Duchess did not want to take it and it was a long time before the Queen managed to make her take it. She asked her about many things, and then after a while the Duchess took her leave, and went to her lodgings with the same company who had brought her.

That same day the ambassadors came and gave Her Majesty the Queen their congratulations on the marriage, and Don Pedro Laso, the Ambassador of the King of the Romans gave Her Majesty a diamond worth more than 30,000 ducats.

Their Majesties left Winchester on the last Tuesday in July for Windsor Castle where they had to confirm the King's Order of the Garter, where his installation is to be held on the 5th August. Their Majesties left there and ordered Don Diego de Acevedo to remain to gather together all the knights and Spanish courtiers, because at the castles where the King and Queen went there was no lodging for all these courtiers. With the Queen went all the chief men of the realm who were there, and before she mounted her horse the Admiral of Castile and the Count of Soldana and the Count of Módica his son and son-in-law kissed Their Majesties' hands before returning to Spain where please God we may all see each other very soon