

THE MARRIAGE OF QUEEN MARY AND PHILIP OF SPAIN.

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THERE was, and is, in England no tradition which gives any particular city or church the right to harbour royal marriage ceremonies. Winchester was probably chosen in 1554 because it was the seat of the all-powerful Gardiner, and because Winchester was already acquiring its present quiet and sedate character, which made it a much safer place than turbulent London. It is, moreover, not far from Southampton, the journey whither from Spain was much less exposed to attacks from the French than that to London.

Preparations for the marriage began in Winchester long weeks before the ceremony on St. James' Day. On June 13th, the court being at Richmond, a letter was sent to John Norris, usher, signifying that the Lord Chamberlain had given orders concerning the hangings he, Norris, had written for; Gardiner likewise bade him have the necessary staging erected in Winchester Cathedral, "after such form as shall be declared unto him by Garter King of Arms, who is sent thither to instruct him therein."¹ A local tradition, which no Winchester Cathedral guide fails to relate to visitors, declares that the large square hooks to be seen on the nave-side of the pillars of the Cathedral a few feet below the capitals of the main arches were put there for the great ceremony of 1554. There is no written evidence of this, but, in view of the stress laid throughout on the richness of the hangings, it is quite probable that this legend is true. The absence of written proof is easily attributable to the poverty of Winchester local archives, which have suffered to such an extent that the only mention of perhaps the most brilliant ceremony in the City's history is a few money accounts in the College archives; not a word is to be found in the City, Cathedral, or St. Cross records.²

On the last day of June, the Court being now at Farnham, a letter was sent to Lawrence Bradshawe, surveyor of the works, signifying that the Queen's Highness minded to dine "abroad" (*i.e.*, in public) the day of her marriage, and ordering that the wall

1. *Extracts from Register of Privy Council* (p. 134).

2. Some careless writers have said that there is a description of the marriage in Winchester City archives. They refer to the one published by Charles Bailey in his *Transcripts from the Municipal Archives of Winchester* (1856). This narration, which is merely a not too exact copy of the English Herald's version, is covered by the sub-title: "and other documents elucidating the government, manners, and customs of the same city" (pp. 142 f.).

on the back-side of the table where Her Highness shall sit be broken, and a place devised for Her Highness to withdraw herself. The building in question is obviously Wolvesey Castle.³

The necessary money for these and the other heavy expenses created by the marriage was sent to Winchester a fortnight later, *i.e.*, ten days before the marriage. On Sunday, July 15th, twelve carts laden with "treasury" were sent from the Tower of London to Winchester.⁴

Queen Mary left Farnham on the 11th of July, and proceeded to Norton by Selborne. On the following day she continued her journey to Bishop's Waltham.⁵ She did not proceed to Winchester until Saturday, 21st of July.⁶ Philip of Spain did not actually land until Friday, the 20th of July. If, as John Gough Nichols says,⁷ basing his statement upon the Louvain narrative, Philip sent Gonzaga and Egmont the evening before to inform Queen Mary of his arrival, they must have gone not to Winchester, as Nichols says, but to Bishop's Waltham.

On Saturday, July the 21st, proclamation was made in London that all noblemen, gentlemen, ladies, and others, should repair to Winchester for the marriage ceremony.⁸

This was clearly too late for the mass of the nobility to be present at the official reception of Mary in Winchester which took place on the same day, Saturday, July 21st. We have no adequate description of this reception, the chroniclers being content to say that it was similar to that of Philip on the following Monday.⁹ Exactly what ecclesiastical authorities were present to receive her is not clear, as Gardiner seems to have gone off to Southampton, bearing a diamond, a present from Mary to Philip.¹⁰ Assuming that Mary and her escort travelled to Winchester *via* the old Portsmouth road, they would approach the city from behind St. Catherine's Hill, and be received by the civic authorities at the Eastgate. Her first visit was to the Cathedral,⁹ which she would approach from the High Street, thus allowing the populace to applaud her. At the West door, a group of bishops and ecclesiastics awaited her. This short visit to the Cathedral would give Mary an opportunity not only to do her devotions, but also to inspect the great preparations which had been going on for several weeks to make the great cathedral a fitting scene for the imposing ceremony.

3. *Extracts from Register of Privy Council*, p. 135.

4. *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, p. 78.

5. "Mr. Robert Howe's notes in his Almanach of the year of Our Lord 1554." MS. Harl. 4102, f. 29b.

6. John Elder's Letter, p. 141, also, English Herald's account, p. 167.

7. John Gough Nichols, *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, p. 171. He follows Louvain MS. (Tytler, II, p. 430).

8. Wriothesley, Vol. II, p. 118.

9. John Elder, p. 141.

10. Muller, *Stephen Gardiner*, p. 257, ref. 3.

She could scarcely complain ; the sense of pomp and splendour developed by the Renaissance found complete satisfaction in the rich decorations. It may be true, as Dean Selwyn suggests, that, as a result of the vandalism consequent upon the dissolution, which quite undid the embellishments just carried out by Bishop Fox, " the cathedral must have presented a sadly desolate appearance when in 1554 it was prepared for the marriage of Queen Mary to Philip of Spain."¹¹ Statues had been broken ; stained-glass shattered, although the great West window was not destroyed until a century later. St. Swithun's tomb had been desecrated. Whereas it had been the custom, as at the baptism of Prince Arthur in 1486, to make offerings at the shrine of St. Swithun, there is no mention of this cult in the narratives of the 1554 ceremony. Certainly Gardiner was intent upon restoring the ancient glamour of his cathedral, but it is not clear how much he had been able to do, and how noticeable was the contrast between the unfortunate building and the gaudy decorations. The whole of the nave, from the west door to the rood-screen,¹² was occupied by an immense stage, probably about the height of the choir-pavement, while, just in front of the rood-screen was erected a round " mount," covered all over with red say, for the actual marriage ceremony.¹³ The aisles, which thus remained on a lower level, were apparently reserved for the people, who saluted the climax of the wedding ceremony with a great shout (*ibid.*). Nearly all the narrators comment upon the richness of the red and brown tapestries and cloth of gold which decorated the nave and the choir. There was also a multitude of flags and banners. Six " traverses," or large chairs, —*i.e.*, three pairs—seem to have been placed in the church for the use of the royal couple ; two just inside the west door, one on either side ; two on the aforementioned " mount " ; and two in the choir, just in front of the high altar, where the nuptial mass was said. In each case the chair on the right was for the Queen, that on the left for Philip.¹⁴ In Gardiner's chapel at Winchester Cathedral is kept a chair which Queen Mary is supposed to have used at the wedding.¹⁵ No more precise claims are made, although of the six it is presumably the right-hand one on the " mount." There is naturally enough no proof of this tradition, but as far as the date of the chair goes, it is quite possible.

Such was the scene which met Mary's critical eye as she proceeded up the nave towards the choir, where, according to tradition, a " Te Deum " would be sung. After this, Mary proceeded

11. *The Story of Winchester Cathedral*, p. 57.

12. This rood-screen was replaced in the early 17th century by one designed by Inigo Jones.

13. English Herald's account, p. 167, and John Elder, p. 141.

14. John Elder, p. 141, and Barahona, p. 570.

15. Photograph in Philip Sargeant's *Winchester*, p. 91.

to Wolvesey Palace. The scholars of Winchester College had already affixed to the doors of Cathedral and Palace the Latin poems with which they sought to exalt the marriage and their own humanistic achievements. "And again to view and mark what elegant verses in Latin of all kind of sorts were affixed and set up on the Cathedral Church doors and the portes of My Lord Chancellor's Palace where the King and Queen lay, by the scholars of Winchester in praise and commendation of this most noble and rare marriage of Philip of Spain and Mary of England, it should quicken the spirit of all dull dolts to embrace good letters, and of the best learned to favour the good will of all painful students. I purpose to send a copy of some of them to your lordship (God willing) hereafter. And in the mean season, I will not omit two verses which were written in a white field, which heralds call silver, with fair Roman letters of black, which they call sable, above the inner of the place where the two princes lay, a month before they came thither ; which verses (as I am advertised) were made by my Lord the Bishop of Winchester, now Lord Chancellor of England, whose exact learning is well known everywhere, yea, and to be of most exact judgement in all kinds of good letters. These be the two verses :—

" O domus, es felix nimium, nimiumque beata,
Hospitio tales nunc habitura tuo." ¹⁶

Little can be deduced about the detailed plan of old Wolvesey Palace, and it is impossible to suggest where the marriage chamber was. It is, however, probable that it was the finest bedroom in the palace, and that Mary took up her residence there on the day of her arrival in Winchester.

On the morrow, Sunday, July 22nd, Philip sent Ruy Gómez de Silva to Winchester, probably to make final arrangements for the reception of Philip. ¹⁶ He bore to Mary as a present a valuable jewel, while she sent him the same evening six hacks (*cuartagos*). These were probably used by Philip and his closest followers in the ride from Southampton to Winchester next day.

At least, "Baoardo" tells us that the prince rode on a white hackney with white coverings, which the Queen herself had sent with her chief equerry, Sir Antony Brown. ¹⁹ According to Barahona, ²⁰ Philip was accompanied by all his knights, whereas "Baoardo" tells us that in order not to create mistrust he took with him only Ruy Gómez de Silva, the Duke of Alba, and ten more knights, together with their respective followings ; but both agree that the cavalcade comprised some three thousand horsemen, so that the Spaniards were only a small minority. Barahona adds that on the way six of the most famous knights of the land joined the procession, each

16. John Elder, pp. 143-4.

19. Muñoz, p. xxvi.

18. *Transcript of a letter sent from England* (pp. 90-91).

20. p. 568.

of them bringing with him more than two hundred horsemen. The weather was wretched ; it rained in torrents. Martin Hume rightly deprecates Froude's attempt to squeeze drama and pathos out of " Baoardo's " simple account of the arrival of a messenger, bidding Philip postpone his journey until the weather cleared ; admittedly Philip was rather perturbed by this apparently urgent message in English, a language which Philip did not understand, but the confusion was immediately cleared up by a translation of the message into French.²¹

By the time the cavalcade was near Winchester the rain had made Philip wet to the skin and quite unpresentable. So he stayed at a " hospital that had been a monastery one mile from the city," and there donned a black velvet surcoat covered with gold bugles and a suit of white velvet trimmed in the same way.²² Martin Hume, who alone has drawn attention to this passage of Muñoz, fails to make the easy identification ; the hospital visited by Philip was obviously the world-famous institution of Saint Cross.

The rain-washed and mud-bespattered horses must also have been quite unfit to take part in the ceremonious entry, so Mary sent to Philip ten good horses in fine trappings, and another worthy of a king.²³ The number of these horses suggests that " Baoardo " meant that Philip took with him only ten of his knights to Winchester, who would probably be the ten who were allowed to land at first with him at Southampton. Muñoz enumerates these thus :²⁴ The Duke of Alba, the Count of Feria, Ruy Gómez de Silva, the Count of Olivares, Petro de Córdoba, Gutierre López de Padilla, D. Diego de Acevedo, the Count of Egmont, the Count of Horn, and the Marquis of Bergues.

Philip and his company reached the South Gate at six o'clock in the evening.²⁵ A ceremony similar to that of St. Giles' Eve took place on Philip's arrival. Royalty was greeted with a racket of trumpets, bells, and cannon-shots.²⁶ The mayor and bailiffs, in their red robes, knelt down while the mayor presented the keys of the city and castle to Philip.²⁷ Philip accepted them, but, the act being merely symbolical, immediately handed them back.²⁸ The procession then rode in good order through the city, " every one placed according to his vocation and office, he riding a fair white horse, in a rich coat embroidered with gold, his doublet, hosen, and hat suit-like, with a white feather in his hat, very fair."²⁹

Philip alighted and was greeted at the West door of the Cathedral by Gardiner and five more bishops, dressed in their richest garments. Philip knelt, kissed the crucifix, and said a prayer. He then took

21. E.H.R., Vol. VII (1892), p. 254.

23. Muñoz, p. 68.

25. Wriothesley, pp. 118-19, and John Elder, p. 139.

26. Wriothesley, p. 118.

28. English Herald's account, p. 167.

22. *ibid.*, p. 269, and Muñoz, p. 68.

24. p. 65.

27. Muñoz, p. 68.

29. John Elder, p. 139.

his place under a velvet canopy and, having ascended the five steps of the "Scaffolding," he moved slowly up the nave, while the choir sang "Laus, Honor, et Virtus." On entering the choir, Philip perceived the Holy Sacrament; he immediately doffed his cap, and "bare-headed with great humility" he entered his seat in front of the altar and knelt down. Then the Lord Chancellor, accompanied by the choir and the organs, attacked the "Te Deum Laudamus."³⁰ The Spaniards were much impressed by the music, and Muñoz declares that the orations were sung as solemnly as in Toledo Cathedral.³¹ Gardiner gave his blessing, and then Philip and his followers walked slowly around the church, examining it at length. They were all very impressed, and said that it was one of the most magnificent cathedrals in the world.³²

Philip was to be lodged in the Deanery until the day of the marriage, Mary having maiden scruples about sleeping under the same roof as Philip until they were sacramentally united.³³ After admiring the interior of the cathedral, Philip and his company were brought by torchlight—it must therefore have been at least eight o'clock—through the cloisters to the Deanery, the whole way being lined with the brilliantly dressed Queen's Guards.³⁴ Philip must have been somewhat displeased at the humbleness of his lodgings in comparison with Wolvesey Castle close by, "not passing a pair of butt-lengths between," although the Deanery had been "very gorgeously prepared."³⁵ Philip was presumably the guest of the Dean, who was then Edmund Steward,³⁶ but none of the narrators makes any mention of him at all.

Philip had supper, and then, about ten o'clock at night, the Lord Chamberlain (Sir John Gage) and the Lord Steward (the Earl of Arundel) came to him bearing the message that Mary was waiting for Philip, and that she wished him to visit her secretly. Philip immediately put on another splendid suit, consisting of a French surcoat embroidered with silver and gold, and a doublet and trunks of white kid embroidered in gold; "he certainly looked very fine," says Muñoz.³⁷

The Deanery garden was, and still is, separated from Wolvesey gardens by a wall in which there is a door. Philip made his way through these gardens accompanied by a crowd of followers (the Lord Steward had told him he could take with him whatever courtiers he wished), Alba, Medinaceli, Pescara, Feria, Aguilar, Chirchón, Horn, Egmont, López, Acevedo, Mendoza, Carrillo, and others.

30. *ibid.*

31. Muñoz, p. 69. Martin Hume (p. 269) interprets "orations" as "mass"—at six o'clock in the evening!

32. Muñoz, p. 69.

33. *ibid.* "porque la Reina no quiso que S.M. posase en palacio hasta que fuesen *velados*," This last word must refer to the veil which was held over the bridal pair during the nuptial Mass (*vid. post.*), a custom still observed in Spain in more ceremonious marriages.

34. John Elder, p. 140.

35. Wriothesley, p. 119.

36. B. B. Woodward, *History of Winchester*, p. 130.

37. Muñoz, p. 69.

Although it is not clear which of the knights accompanied Philip on the journey from Southampton, they all seem to have joined him by now. These gardens are undoubtedly very beautiful, and must have seemed doubly so to eyes accustomed to the barren and parched Spanish meseta. The Spaniards, fed on books of chivalry, seriously thought they were in the blessed land of Amadis and Arthur, and that this was one of the enchanted gardens.³⁸ This presupposes that by now the rain had stopped—indeed it probably did before Philip's entry into Winchester—and that the darkness was relieved by a clear moonlight.

Throughout the whole of this part of the story there are such similarities of detail and of language between the narrations of John Elder and Wriothesley that it seems undeniable that the latter copied the former. If this is so, the narration of John Elder gains considerably in value, and that of Wriothesley loses. John Elder says (p. 140): "This night, after he had supped, at X of the clock, he was brought by the council a privy way to the Queen, where Her Grace very lovingly, yea, and most joyfully, received him." Wriothesley says (p. 119): "The same night, after he had supped, which was about X of the clock, certain of the council brought him to the Queen a secret way, where she received him right lovingly and kissed him."

Martin Hume gives us a very adequate description of the first meeting of Philip and Mary.³⁹ Two points are worth noting. Whereas Muñoz and the best-informed Spanish narrators tell us that Mary spoke French to Philip, who replied in Spanish, some of the English 16th century historians say that Mary spoke Spanish to her future husband; this is probably nothing more than an unfounded tribute to Mary's fame as a linguist. Secondly, whereas, according to Muñoz, Philip made the expression "Good Night," which Mary had taught him, an excuse for paying gallant visits to Mary's ladies, the English narrators such as John Elder (p. 140) relate that Philip tried out this newly-gained knowledge only on the English lords. In this slight difference, the reader perceives a kind of *esprit gaulois* in the Spanish writer as contrasted with the prudery and reverence of the English writer.

Tired by the journey and the excitement, Philip slept until late next morning (Tuesday, July 24th). The Queen's tailor brought him two valuable dresses. He put one on and went to Mass. On returning, he changed into the other.⁴⁰ He then had lunch in the Deanery.

About three o'clock in the afternoon,⁴¹ Philip proceeded on foot with all due pomp and circumstance to Wolvesey. The Lord

38. *ibid.* pp. 69-70.

39. E.H.R., Vol. VII, pp. 270-271. He uses almost exclusively the narrative of Muñoz, pp. 70-71.

40. *Transcript of a letter sent from England*, p. 92.

41. Wriothesley, pp. 119-20.

Steward, the Earl of Derby, the Earl of Pembroke, "and divers other lords and gentlemen, both English and Spanish," preceded him. The Queen was waiting for Philip "upon a scaffold richly hanged. All kinds of instruments played very melodiously."⁴² As Philip entered, Mary descended from the dais, and, to show that she considered the Spanish Prince her equal, she went to meet him halfway, and kissed him in the presence of all the people.⁴¹ Wriothesley and John Elder, respectful of conventions, merely tell us that Philip and Mary stood a quarter of an hour under the cloth of estate, talking pleasantly and "each of them merrily smiling on the other, to the great comfort and rejoicing of the beholders."⁴³ The Spanish narrator No. 3, however, impishly remarks that fickle Philip went, as usual, to talk to the ladies.⁴⁴

This was the first official meeting between Philip and Mary, so that several ambassadors presented themselves to pay their compliments. Don Pedro Laso, from the King of the Romans, and Don Hernando de Gamboa, from the King of Bohemia, came in great state. They were very well received by Philip, who had sent Don Antonio de Toledo and Don Juan de Benavides to meet them. Philip raised his cap to them, and bade them be covered.⁴⁵ The lesser ambassadors came in lesser state—those of Florence, Venice, Ferrara, Poland, etc. A notable absentee from this, as from all the other ceremonies, was the French Ambassador, de Noailles, who explains in a letter dated the 20th of July, 1554, that the Queen, probably in deference to Philip, had advised him not to go. The pretext publicly given was a quarrel with the Emperor's Ambassador over the question of precedence.⁴⁶ It must be noted that the wording of Barahona suggests that Philip received the ambassadors not with Mary at the Palace, but alone at the Deanery.⁴⁷ Certainly the reception did not take place at the private visit or Philip to Mary, late that night, as Martin Hume suggests.

As Philip left Mary, the path from the Palace door to the gate was lined with the gaily-dressed Pensioners and Guards of the Queen. The lords led Philip to the Cathedral, where he heard Vespers. He then returned to the Deanery for supper.

After this, as on the previous night, Philip paid a private visit to Mary. At about midnight, Figueroa arrived with a message from the Emperor, in which Charles V declared that he abdicated the throne of Naples in favour of Philip, so that Mary was to marry not a prince, but a king.⁴⁸ It is curious that John Elder, who is usually better informed than Wriothesley, makes no mention of this visit known to the latter, among others.

42. John Elder, p. 140.

43. *ibid.*, p. 141.

44. *Vide* Martin Hume, *Visit of Philip II*, p. 272. Martin Hume is copying narrator No. 3, p. 92, although, as usual, he fails to give the reference.

45. *Transcript of a letter sent from England*, p. 93.

46. *Ambassadors*, Vol. 3, pp. 276-279. Also Barahona, p. 571.

47. p. 568.

48. Wriothesley, p. 120.

The marriage ceremony took place on the morning of the following day, that of St. James, Patron of Spain. Wriothesley, whose description contains innumerable errors, at least seems to be right when he says that the Queen "would be married as maidens were in the old time, and so she was."⁴⁹ This probably means that the marriage ceremony took place according to the old English, and more specifically according to the Old Sarum, rite.⁵⁰ Even some old English customs not recognised by ritual were observed at the marriage of Philip and Mary; Barahona tells us that, according to the custom of the land, Mary walked to church with a young bachelor on either side, while after the ceremony she proceeded not on Philip's arm, but between two old married men.⁵¹

As will be pointed out in the course of the narrative, the details we have of the ceremony usually coincide with the old English ritual. Certainly, the marriage ceremony was very different from the Spanish (Toledan) rite, which consists of two distinct ceremonies. One important modification was made to the English rite; Philip was always on the left, Mary on the right, whereas the old English ritual says "vir a dextris mulieris, et mulier a sinistris viri." The intention was clearly to show Mary's superiority. Even during Mass, at the high altar, after the actual marriage ceremony which took place in front of the rood-screen, considered as the church door,⁵² Philip was still kept in a subordinate position on the left.⁵³

Barahona tells us that a dispensation had been previously read in private before two or three persons.⁵¹ This dispensation probably refers to the fact that the Pope did not absolve the Kingdom of England until later in the year (November 30th).

Philip left the Deanery about ten o'clock on St. James' morning, and made his entrance to the Cathedral by the West door.⁵³ What route he followed, instead of the short cut through the cloisters, is not clear; he must have gone up St. Swithun's Street. Certainly he went "all the way on foot."⁵⁴ He was preceded by his courtiers and, according to the Spanish narrators, in particular Barahona,⁵⁵ by all the ambassadors. This procedure certainly seems curious, as the ambassadors should have come with the English Council in Mary's procession. The same doubts are aroused by the conflicting reports as to whether Philip was preceded by a sword, the symbol of power. Except for Wriothesley, who is confused—one doubts the value of his narrative when, contradicting all other witnesses, he says that Philip and Mary came together to the

49. p. 120.

50. *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, edited by the Rev. William Maskell, London, 1846, pp. 41-64.

51. p. 571.

52. "In primis statuatur vir et mulier ante ostium ecclesiae coram Deo, sacerdote, et populo," *Monumenta*, p. 42. I do not know how a local legend arose that the marriage took place in the Lady Chapel.

53. Wriothesley, p. 120.

54. *English Herald*, p. 167.

55. p. 570.

Cathedral, each preceded by a sword⁵⁸—the English narrators say that, until the marriage, Mary alone was preceded by a sword; the English Herald even says pointedly: "and to the church he (Philip) had no sword borne before him."⁵⁴ The Spanish narrators however say that Philip was preceded by a sword.⁵⁶ Again, the English narrators say that the Queen sat on the right in the Cathedral, and Philip on the left. Barahona, on the contrary, definitely states that Philip sat on the right, and Mary on the left.⁵⁷ It is difficult for us to realise the immense importance attached to such minor questions of etiquette. In view of the English desire to avoid paying royal honours to Philip—he was, for example, refused a coronation—and the Spaniard's desire to obtain such honours—he manoeuvred very astutely but unsuccessfully to make the English crown him⁵⁸—it seems probable that the English narratives are more trustworthy, and that the Spanish writers modified these details in order to hide their mortification, and to avoid creating an unpleasant feeling among the public of Spain for whom their narratives were intended.

Let us assume, then, that Philip, on entering the Cathedral, occupied the left-hand chair near the Great West Door, which was "very straightly kept"⁵⁹—i.e., probably "wide open"—until Queen Mary arrived half-an-hour later. She had come all the way from Wolvesey on foot, her train being carried by the Marchioness of Winchester, assisted by Sir John Gage.⁶⁰ She was preceded by all her court, the kings and heralds of arms, and the symbolic sword. As she entered the West door, Philip arose and greeted her ceremoniously, and all the ladies who accompanied her. Mary returned the greeting with equal ceremony, and then sat down on the seat to the right of the West door.⁶¹ It seems that they were now both shriven, although John Elder says that the confessions took place on the "mount," at the beginning of the marriage service.⁶² These public confessions are curious, since, although confession was a necessary preparation for the nuptial Mass, it usually took place privately beforehand.

Gardiner now emerged from the choir and took his place on the "mount," assisted by the Bishops of London, Durham, Chichester, Lincoln, and Ely.⁶⁰ This was the signal for the now united royal processions to move up. Barahona tells us that the Duke of Alba stood at the entrance to the round mount, and ordered everyone to his place, putting the ambassadors inside the mount, and the rest of the nobles around it.⁶³ That a foreigner who spoke no English should undertake such a job is hardly credible,

56. *Transcript of a Letter sent from England*, p. 94.

57. p. 570.

58. *Vide* J. M. Stone, *History of Mary I*, p. 413.

59. John Elder, p. 141.

60. *English Herald*, p. 168.

61. Barahona, p. 570. The colour and brilliance of the assembly is well described by Martin Hume, pp. 272-273.

62. Wriothesley, p. 120, and John Elder, p. 141.

63. *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, Vol. I, pp. 43, 45, and 46.

and it is probable that Barahona is, as usual, flattering Spanish susceptibilities. Finally, Philip and Mary took their place on the "mount."

In their attempts to impress the English, the Spaniards had organised an effective *coup de théâtre*. Just as the espousals were about to begin, Figueroa came forward and presented to Philip the patent sent by the Emperor in which Charles announced his abdication of the throne of Naples in favour of Philip, so that Mary was to marry not a prince, but a king. Gardiner was evidently in the game, as he immediately came forward and made a "goodly oration to the people" on the subject.⁶⁰ He insisted upon the fact that a solemn contract had been made with Spain concerning the marriage, and that it had been ratified by Parliament. Hard upon this convincing speech, he proceeded to the espousals, and, as the ritual required, asked "in a loud voice" if there be any man who knoweth any lawful impediment between these two parties. There was no reply, which proves that Figueroa and Gardiner had by their acting successfully paved the way for this most awkward question, which might have been the occasion for an outburst of strong anti-Spanish feeling. John Elder, with a curious confusion, places Gardiner's speech after the espousals, and thus loses the whole point of the story.⁶¹

In the old English rite, three passages in the marriage ceremony were spoken in English. Obviously some arrangement had to be made for these Spaniards unversed in the English language, so Gardiner "spake it both in Latin and English."⁶² In what language Mary and Philip made their promises is not stated. Probably, in order to avoid hilarity similar to that provoked by Philip's earlier attempt to say "Good Night," these promises were made only in Latin; possibly Mary repeated her promise in English. These promises were apparently the climax of the ceremony. Philip and Mary clasped each other's hand ("et teneat eam per manum dextram in manu sua dextra"⁶³), while the Marquis of Winchester, and the Earls of Derby, Bedford, and Pembroke, stood behind, symbolically giving the Queen away in the name of the whole realm. "Then the whole people gave a great shout, praying God to send them joy."⁶⁴

Mary thought, possibly rightly, that by having as marriage ring a simple "round hoop of gold without any stone" she was being married as maidens were of old.⁶⁵ Philip placed the ring up on the service book, together with three handfuls of fine gold.⁶⁶ This is in accordance with the old English ritual.⁶⁷ The gold and silver (only gold is mentioned in our case) was a symbolical payment

60 and 61. See p. 55.

64. Wriothesley, p. 120. According to Raviglio Rosso (pp. 65-6), responses were in Latin. But Mary might have repeated hers in English.

65. Wriothesley, p. 121.

66. English Herald, p. 169.

67. *Monumenta Ritualia*, I, pp. 46-47.

of "arrrhae." It has always been very prominent in Spanish ritual; the ceremony was duly observed at the marriage of King Alfonso XIIIth in 1906.⁶⁸ The symbolism was indeed rather crude, as Lady Margaret Clifford opened the Queen's purse, and Mary "smilingly" pocketed Philip's gold.⁶⁹

Philip and Mary now clasped their hands and took their place under a canopy, and to the sound of trumpets the whole procession moved forward to the choir, where Mass was to be said. Philip now being Mary's husband, the Earl of Pembroke preceded him with a sword, while the Earl of Derby bore a sword in front of Queen Mary. The latter Earl possessed a romantic glamour for the Spanish visitors, who attributed to him great power as "King" of the distant Isle of Man, "where he wears a crown of lead."⁷¹

Mass was said at the high altar on a scale which seems without precedent. While Gardiner, assisted by five other bishops, and accompanied by the Cathedral choir, the Queen's chapel, and the organs, was going through sung Mass, Philip went to an altar on the left, and Mary to another on the right, at each of which low Mass was said.⁷²

While Gardiner led the psalm "Beati omnes qui timent dominum," Philip and Mary came and knelt down at the high altar, each of them holding a taper. Then Gardiner, with long ritual phraseology, gave them his blessing—"Ita digneris, Domine, mittere benedictionem tuam super istos adolescentes"—using the last word in its wide Latin sense, so that it was quite applicable to Mary, although she was thirty-eight years old.

After the Gospel, Philip and Mary came together before the High Altar again, and prostrated themselves, "the care-cloth being holden (over them), as the manner is."⁷³ Presumably, Gardiner then gave them the benedictio sacramentalis. Strictly, they had no right either to the care-cloth (pallium) or to the benedictio sacramentalis, as Philip had in 1543 married Mary of Portugal, who died in giving birth to the unfortunate Don Carlos (1545). But authorities recognised the blessing of the marriage between a virgin and a widower. "Si enim virgo contrahat cum illo qui habuit aliam uxorem nihilominus nuptiae benedicuntur." This was the case of Philip and Mary, and there being such confusion among the ritualists, one can allow Gardiner the benefit of the doubt.

At the Agnus, Gardiner kissed Philip, and Philip kissed Mary.⁷⁴ Barahona is surprised that it should be the custom in England to give the kiss of peace on the cheek. His surprise is probably due to his being accustomed to seeing the pax given with an

68. *Monumenta Ritualia*, L, p. 47, footnote 11.

69. *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. IX, article "marriage," p. 706, col. 2.

70. *Monumenta Ritualia*, I, p. 48.

71. Muñoz, p. 74.

72. *Transcript of a Letter sent from England*, pp. 94-5.

73. John Elder, p. 142.

74. *Monumenta Ritualia*, L, pp. 56-60.

76. Wriothesley, p. 121

osculatorium, or pax-board ; it is not probable that he expected the kiss to be given on the lips instead of on the cheek.

Barahona also points out, as though it were usual to him, that, after the Mass, Gardiner blessed some bread and some wine (*cf.*, "pain bénit" in France), and gave to Philip and Mary a slice of bread each and a taste of wine. This was then given to the ambassadors and to the "grandeess." Such a procedure is quite in accordance with the Sarum rite.⁷⁹

The religious ceremony now being ended, the King of Heralds proclaimed the new "style and title" of their majesties : Philippus et Maria, Dei gratia Rex et Regina Angliae, Franciae, Neapolis, Hierusalem, et Hibernie, Fidei defensores, Principes Hispaniarum et Secilie, Archiduces Austrie, Duces Mediolani, Burgundie, et Brabantie, Comites Haspurgi, Flandrie, et Tyrolis." The proclamation was then repeated in French—a curious survival of mediæval usage, and a witness to the claims made by both Philip and Mary to be the lawful rulers of France. It was finally repeated in English.⁸⁰ Then "the trumpets blew, and other noises played."⁸¹

In stately procession, the King and Queen, with all their nobles, returned to Wolvesey Palace. In the centre of the ruins one can still distinguish the outline of the old great hall, with its dais at the northern end.⁸² Here the impressive wedding banquet and ball took place, of which Martin Hume has given us a very adequate description.⁸³ He rightly draws attention to the irritation and mortification of the Spaniards at the preference given to the English, and at the slight differences of ceremonial which were used to make Philip appear inferior to Mary. Still, they could not help admiring the splendid feast. Although some historians tell us that English love of quiet and order is a transformation produced by puritanism, it is interesting to note that one Spaniard comments on the excellent service at dinner, which was very orderly and quiet. He also points out—a curious detail—that all the ladies were segregated at a special table.⁸⁴ Muñoz was impressed by the diversity of race of the guests. "Very few nations were not represented, as there were Spaniards, Englishmen, Germans, Hungarians, Bohemians, Poles, Flemings, Italians, and Irishmen ; there was even an Indian gentleman, just so that there should be one."⁸⁵

Martin Hume says that "supper was served with the same ceremony as dinner, and then more talk and gallant compliment, and so to bed." This is based merely upon vague phrases of Muñoz, whereas narrator No. 3 definitely says : "After the dance, the King went to his room, and the Queen to hers, and each had a quiet dinner in his room." It is very possible that in contrast with

77. *Monumenta Ritualia*, L, p. 61.

79. *Monumenta Ritualia*, I, p. 62.

78. Barahona, p. 571.

80. John Elder, p. 142.

81. *Winchester, its History, Buildings, and People*, W.C.A.S., 1921, p. 56.

82. *The Visit of Philip II*, pp. 273-4.

83. *Transcript of a Letter sent from England*, p. 97.

84. Muñoz, pp. 75-6.

the festive "marriage breakfast," it was the custom for bride and bridegroom to dine separately in quiet retirement on the wedding night.

The Queen was led by her ladies to the wedding-chamber, which was adorned with Gardiner's Latin verses. Then the King followed, accompanied by his grandees, who bade him farewell outside the door.⁸⁵ Following tradition, Gardiner alone entered the room and blessed the couple.⁸⁶ The Spanish narrators take this opportunity to make doubtful jokes.^{83 87} The English writers avoid such irreverence. The King was up at seven o'clock next morning, and heard Mass in Wolvesey Chapel (still extant). He dined in public, but the Queen followed the old English custom of keeping her room and seeing no one, "propter honestatem," says Barahona.

Meanwhile the monks who were accompanying Philip were decidedly unhappy. The people of Winchester seem to have handled them roughly. "The Bishop has lodged the friars in a college (*i.e.*, probably *the* College) where they are safe. (The College was outside the city.) I believe that they are sorry that they came. . . The King's confessor and Fr. Alonso went to Mass in the Church, and people stared at them, for there is no land like this one for grumblers."⁸⁸ The next day, Friday, Fray Bartolomé de Miranda said Mass in the Cathedral, "Which is something new for people in this country; some were glad and others were sorry." The Spanish nobles were equally dissatisfied at the treatment they were receiving; their complaints are well enumerated by Martin Hume.⁸⁹

On Friday the Queen still remained in retirement. The Spanish nobles visited Winchester Castle, which nearly a century later was to be partially destroyed by Cromwell. The object of their visit was the Great Hall (where Henry VIII had received Philip's father, Charles V), and more particularly the round table of King Arthur, which is still shown there. Contrary to what Martin Hume says, the Spaniards showed no enthusiasm and indeed seemed rather sceptical, probably because, for the visit of Charles V, the table had been given a new coat of paint, and had been plastered with the blazons and colours of the houses of Lancaster and York."⁹⁰ Muñoz, in his epilogue, which is a description of England, talks much of King Arthur, and mentions the round table which he founded at Canterbury;⁹¹ he makes nevertheless no mention of the round table in Winchester. Narrator No. 3 describes the table briefly and merely remarks that "They say that King Arthur is enchanted in it."⁹²

85. Muñoz, pp. 76-7.

86. *Monumenta Ritualia*, pp. 63-4, and *Transcript of a Letter sent from England*, p. 95.

87. Barahona, p. 572.

88. *Transcript of a Letter sent from England*, p. 97.

89. *The Visit of Philip II*, p. 275.

90. *Winchester, its History, Buildings, and People*, p. 96.

91. Muñoz, pp. 79-84.

92. *Transcript of a Letter sent from England*, p. 97.

This week of wedding festivities was marred for the Spaniards by bad news from the Continent. On Sunday, July 22nd, the report had come that the King of France had taken Dorlans, or Doullens, in Picardy.⁹³ It is therefore understandable that on Friday, while his courtiers went sight-seeing, Philip should devote himself to matters of State.⁹⁴ As a step towards the consolidation of his position, Philip obtained that Privy Council documents should henceforth be accompanied by a Spanish translation. The register of the Privy Council says: "At Winchester, 27th of July.— This day it was ordered by the board that a note of all such matters of state as should pass from hence should be put into Latin and Spanish from henceforth, and the same to be delivered to such as it should please the King's Highness to receive it. It was also ordered that all matters of state passing in the King and Queen's names should be signed with both their hands. It was further ordered that a stamp be made in both their names for the stamping of such matters as should be requisite."⁹⁵ Philip's anxiety must nevertheless have increased when, on Saturday, July 28th, the news came that the King of France had taken Bins in Hainault, although the Emperor was pursuing him. Fortunately, news came next day that the French army had been badly defeated.⁹⁶

It is not clear on what day Philip and Mary paid their solemn visit to Winchester College. The "Liber Albus," the oldest register of the College, contains an account of the alms given by the King, the Queen, the Bishop of Chichester (who must have been in charge of the royal couple), and distributed among the schoolmaster (a Thomas Hyde), the usher, the scholars (those who had written verses were given an extra 6d. each), and the College infirmary at Moundsmere. The entry is in the handwriting of the Warden, John White, who signs himself Jo. Lincoln, as he had in the spring of 1554 been appointed Bishop of Lincoln, although he did not resign the Wardenship until the autumn of that year. The date is given as the 25th of July, but it is probable that this refers merely to the wedding. Had the visit taken place on that day, it would certainly be recorded in the prolix accounts of the festivities which we possess. Unfortunately, even Spanish narrator No. 3 does not mention the visit, so that we are deprived of our best means of fixing the date. Probably the visit took place on Friday or Saturday. It seems to have been a relatively short one, as, according to the Bursar's Account Roll for 1553-4, only plentiful beer and spices were consumed.⁹⁷ Quite as acceptable, it is hoped, was the volume of Latin congratulatory verses which the College

93. *Transcript of a Letter sent from England*, p. 90.

94. *ibid.*, p. 97.

95. *Extracts from the Register of the Privy Council*, p. 135.

96. *Transcript of a Letter sent from England*, p. 100.

97. The necessary investigations in the College archives were kindly made by Mr. Herbert Chitty, College Keeper of Archives, to whom my sincere thanks are due; also to Canon A. W. Goodman, B.D., for help in the Cathedral archives.

scholars presented to Philip and Mary. The volume, which is still preserved in the British Museum,⁹⁸ bears the title "Ad Philippum et — Mariam — Reges — Semper Augustos — Puerorum — Collegii Wickamensis — Apud Illustrem Wintoniam — Carmen Nuptiale — 1554." On the first leaf is stuck a small piece of parchment, apparently cut out of the cover, on which is written in red ink "Mariae Reginae." It is not clear whether this means that the one copy was presented to Mary, or if another was also presented to Philip. The presentation was curiously enough made by one named "Shellye."⁹⁹

On Saturday, July 28th, the Queen received the Duchess of Alba. This strange meeting is well related by Martin Hume (pp. 274-5), who here copies Spanish narrator No. 3 (pp. 98-9).

Sunday brought not only good news from the Continent, but also more festivities. The King and Queen dined in public, and then a gay ball, in which a large orchestra accompanied the dancing, made merry the afternoon and evening.¹⁰⁰ One piece of business was transacted: two treaties concerning the marriage, and sealed with the seal of Spain, were delivered to the Lord Treasurer for him to keep in the Treasury.¹⁰¹

Philip spent the whole of Monday dealing with matters of State.¹⁰²

On Tuesday, July 31st, after lunch, the splendid party broke up. The greater part remained in Winchester and Southampton awaiting instructions. The Admiral prepared to return to Spain with a part of the fleet. The rest of the fleet set out for Flanders transporting money and five thousand Spanish soldiers under the command of Don Alonso Pajou of Valencia, and Don Luis de Carvajal. The King and Queen, accompanied only by the "petit body," set out for Basing House, the residence of the Lord Treasurer, some twenty miles from Winchester.¹⁰³ This disgregation was probably necessary because of the impossibility of accommodating a vast assembly at Basing.

According to John Elder,¹⁰⁴ the King and Queen before their departure gave Winchester "great privileges and lands for ever." John Milner¹⁰⁴ has developed this theme. But in point of fact, no trace of any such concession is to be found in Winchester archives. This is perhaps symbolic of the whole event; all the pomp and circumstance of this marriage heavy with possibilities was destined to leave no trace in English history, save a brilliant memory in men's minds.

98. Royal MS. 12A XX. It is described by John Gough Nichols in Appendix XII of his *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, pp. 172-4.

99. See entry in *Liber Albus*. Also T. F. Kirby, *Annals of Winchester College*, p. 277.

100. Muñoz, p. 77, and *Transcript of a Letter sent from England*, pp. 100-1.

101. *Extracts from the Register of the Privy Council*, p. 135.

102. *Transcript of a Letter sent from England*, p. 101.

103. p. 144.

104. pp. 271-2.

SOURCES.

ENGLISH.

The Chronicle of Queen Jane and Two Years of Queen Mary, edited by John Gough Nichols. (Camden Society, 1850.) pp. 77-8. (Harleian MS. 194.)

The following relevant documents are contained in the appendices :—
App. IX (pp. 134-6) : "Extracts from the Register of the Privy Council relative to the reception of King Philip and the Spaniards, and preparations for the Queen's marriage." (Harleian MS. 643, f. 26.)

App. X (pp. 136-166) : "John Elder's Letter describing the arrival and marriage of King Philip."

App. XI (pp. 167-172) : "The Marriage of Queen Mary and King Philip. Official Account recorded by the English Heralds" (pp. 167-170). "Narrative of Edward Underhill" (pp. 170-172). (Harleian MS. 425, f. 97.)

App. XII (pp. 172-174) : Verses by the Winchester scholars on the Queen's marriage. (Royal MS. 12A XX.)

Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England during the Reign of the Tudors*, edited by William Douglas Hamilton. Two Vols. Printed for the Camden Society, 1877. The passage which interests us is short ; it occupies only pp. 118-121 of Vol. II.

SPANISH.

These have been carefully enumerated and described by Martin A. S. Hume in his valuable article "The Visit of Philip II" (in *English Historical Review*, Vol. VII, 1892, pp. 253-280). Hume made a great step forward by putting these Spanish sources to use for the first time, but, unfortunately, the composite narrative which he evolves from them is not accurately made ; he does not give detailed references to his sources. But his description of the Spanish sources is very adequate (pp. 256).

ITALIAN.

There is a most valuable description in the little book printed at Venice in 1558, and attributed to Giulio Raviglio Rosso, *Historia delle cose occorse nel regno d'Inghilterra in materia del Duca di Notomberlana*. It contains 68 sheets, and the description of events in Winchester is to be found on pp. 62—end. James Anthony Froude has made good use of this book in his *Reign of Mary Tudor* (Ch. II), in which, however, he deliberately refrains from describing the marriage. ("Let the curtain fall over the meeting . . .," p. 143 of Everyman's Edition.) Froude, who is guilty of many inaccuracies, made one curious mistake. Rosso's book contains a preface by Luca Cortile, who in the first sentence mentions the founder of the Venetian Academy, Frederico Badoaro. This has been sufficient for Froude to attribute the book, not to Rosso, whom he never mentions, but to a certain "Baoardo." All succeeding writers have blindly followed Froude, and have talked about a mysterious Baoardo, whom obviously none of them has read. If these writers had realised that "Baoardo" is none other than Raviglio Rosso, they would have hastened to reject Froude's statement that the book is exceedingly rare. There are three copies of it in the Bodleian, and three in the British Museum. This is a most extraordinary case of scholars going astray like sheep.

FRENCH.

Manuscript Relation in the Louvain Archives. Reproduced in translation by Patrick Fraser Tytler, in his *England under the reigns of Edward VI and Mary*, London, 1839, two Vols., Vol. II, pp. 430-3.

Ambassades de M. de Noailles en Angleterre, Leyden, five Vols., 1763.

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Many writers have attempted to describe the events in Winchester, but all these descriptions are so inaccurate that it would be of little use to enumerate them.