

6 Anti-Spanish sentiment in early modern England or ‘English hostility toward the objectionable character of the individual Spaniard’?¹

as long as God shall preserve my master and misstress together, I am and shall be a Spaniard to the uttermost of my power²

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Anti-Spanish sentiment has been accorded a central explanatory role in the historiography of Marian England, a period traditionally read in terms of insuperable English hostility to Spain and the Spanish. This Hispanophobia meant, the argument goes, that the reign and marriage of Philip and Mary failed politically and culturally. Underlying this negative understanding of Philip and Mary’s co-monarchy is an assumption that Tudor England was inexorably xenophobic, making the acceptance of a foreign (Habsburg) prince as ruler impossible. Rather an unpopular, foreign marriage was foisted on a kingdom antipathetic to the religion and culture of early modern Spain. In this chapter, the evidence for this alleged Hispanophobia and virulent xenophobia is examined and the idea that it undermined the Anglo-Spanish alliance refuted. As long ago as 1940, it was pointed out that the Spanish marriage awaited its apologist: ‘Protestants and Catholics alike have condemned it, Spaniards and Frenchmen have deplored it, and Englishmen of all shades of opinion have looked back upon it as one of the more regrettable incidents of their national history’.³ This is that apology.

It is undeniable that the Spanish match was deeply unpopular in certain quarters, how else to explain Sir Thomas Wyatt’s revolt. However, the extent and nature of the opposition is debateable. The rebellion against Mary was a tenth of the size of the Pilgrimage of Grace and a third of the size of the Prayer Book revolt. Only one of its four strands came to anything. The anti-Catholicism refined and honed by Marian exiles became a crucial aspect of the teleological history of England’s rise as a nation and made synonymous with anti-Spanish sentiment. Much of this explosion of polemic and propaganda in print, however, echoed long-standing Dutch and Italian denunciations of Spanish encroachment on and threats to their sovereign independence. The evidence of the Marian exiles needs to be contextualised in relation to a group who were the architects of radical religious reform. Examples to

which historians turn of English Hispanophobia under Mary are easily confused with popular reflections on the wider sectarian struggle between Protestants and Catholics, and competing claims to define England and what it meant to be English. A number of anti-Spanish tracts from the time underlined their Catholic orthodoxy and loyalty to Mary, in order to cast the issue as exclusively one of obedience. Mary's reign was a crucial test for the first generations of English Protestants. The reversal of the palpable 'progress' made under Edward VI was a potentially serious blow to international reform and hopes of England spearheading religious reformation, something apparent from the triumphal tone of the international Catholic propaganda trumpeting news of England's reconciliation with Rome. With Elizabeth's accession the centrality accorded to England in reinvigorating reforming spirituality in the face of a corrupt and immoral papacy was reconfirmed. Under Mary, the disinheritance and exile of the central architects of the Reformation and the burning of others was made sense of by seeing persecution as a test, a paradoxical sign of divine favour and righteousness. The period between Henry VIII's creation of the Supreme Headship of the Church of England and Elizabeth's religious settlement not only saw a series of religious revolutions, but also fundamental developments in political thought and the public nature of debate. Religious polarisation under Mary was largely elite in character, embedded in a European-wide set of debates arising from Trent, which straddled the reign, led by intellectual luminaries. A literate and sophisticated political opposition deliberately exploiting understandable anxieties about a regnant queen and possible foreign succession made it appear that they spoke for true-hearted Englishmen. However, English fears about sovereign independence and dynastic continuity, when their aging queen married for the first time at thirty-seven were appreciated by commentators across the political and religious spectrum. Mary's reign stimulated the production of works of political philosophy on issues from female sovereignty, dynastic succession to the origins of property rights in legitimate descent and inheritance patterns, remarkable for their radicalism and constitutionalism.

The notion of an implacably hostile English 'people', bitterly resentful of the new 'Anglo-Spanish' co-monarchy is remarkably persistent. However, it glosses over the complexity of English reactions to Spain, the Spanish and their sovereign's marriage, which varied across different segments and sectors of the population, as well as across different parts of the kingdom. David Loades finds anti-Spanish prejudice puzzling: 'it is not very easy to understand why Englishmen should have conceived

a particular dislike for Spaniards by 1553, but such was the case'.⁴ English experience of Spain derived from, on the one hand, long-standing and important trade and economic relations incarnated in the series of commercial treaties between the two kingdoms that had culminated in the Treaty of Medina del Campo. This was the harbinger of the second main source of cultural contact in the first half of the sixteenth century, dynastic links forged through Catherine of Aragón's marriage to Arthur and then Henry VIII. According to one critic 'until Mary Tudor married Philip II of Spain in 1554 Anglo-Spanish cultural relations were negligible'.⁵ While it is true that there were only perhaps thirteen Spanish translated texts available in English before this date, Catherine of Aragón had been a popular figure and her servants included a number of Spanish noblemen and women, who had remained in England, figures like María de Salinas who became the Countess of Willoughby. María's daughter Katherine married the Duke of Suffolk, Charles Brandon. John Skelton in *Speke Parott* (1521) asserted that 'with Spaynyshe, my tonge can agree... With Katheryne incomporabyll, owur royall quene also, / That pereles pomegarnat, Cryste save hyr nobyll grace! / Parott saves habeler Castylyano, / With *fidasso de cosso* in Turke and in Thrace' (ll. 32 – 9).⁶ The last line refers to the Turkish seizure of Thrace, and by extension the growing expansionist threat from the Ottomans in the Eastern Mediterranean, which Catherine's family were in the vanguard of containing. Her treatment by Henry VIII was understandably a major source of Spanish distrust of the English.⁷ The second Anglo-Spanish marriage of the century was welcomed, amongst London's mercantile elite, guilds and the city authorities, if the lavish nature of their Royal Entry is a guide. Even after the allegedly unfortunate marriage, Richard Clough had written to England's royal financier Sir Thomas Gresham on 2nd January 1559 suggesting that a third Anglo-Spanish alliance would be for Elizabeth and the kingdom's benefit, a typically mercantile perspective.⁸ Philip made the offer even before Mary was dead.

The anti-Spanish incidents on which the assertion of insuperable opposition to the match is founded were confined to London and concentrated in the precincts of Westminster at court itself. A letter from Reginald Pole to his fellow Cardinal Innocenzo del Monte recorded how Stephen Gardiner in a sermon preached in September blamed Londoners, not the English in general for opprobrious language and insults directed at the Spanish.⁹ From the snow ball tossing apprentices, who pelted the Imperial ambassadors on 2nd January 1554 to the blackamoor involved in a fray at Charing Cross on 4th

November, tension and opposition were always close to home. These two examples saw hostility directed at Dutchmen and a black man: 'on was a blake-mor, and was brought a-for the hed offesers by the knyght-marshall's servandes'.¹⁰ In the West Country during the Wyatt revolt, Sir Peter Carew's strand of the conspiracy had met a lukewarm response in its attempts to spread rumours about armed Spaniards appearing in the county amongst mercantile communities heavily invested in Anglo-Spanish trade such as Totnes.¹¹

Xenophobia and Nationalism

Before considering Hispanophobia, it is necessary to examine the underlying assumption that the English were particularly hostile towards foreigners in general. On one side of this debate, some argue: 'At one level national identity is little more than xenophobia,'¹² and that 'Tudor England was a thoroughly and unapologetically xenophobic society'.¹³ It is too easy to associate jingoistic elements of our own society with the past and assume it to be a national characteristic. Others counter this by pointing out the multi-layered and localised nature of identity in the period with religion, guild, family, clientage, parish, precinct, county, trade and faction all important factors in defining a subject.¹⁴ Any assumption of cultural homogeneity in England at this time fails to account for the 'very real diversity and the complex attitudes Tudor subjects had about that diversity'.¹⁵ It could even be argued that 'England has been multicultural and wrestled with the central questions of multiculturalism for centuries'.¹⁶ The issue of whether it makes any sense even to speak of national identity at all in relation to the sixteenth century remains controversial.¹⁷ The views of visitors like the oft-quoted Venetian envoy Andrea Trevisano, in London briefly in 1496–7, that the English have 'an antipathy to foreigners, and imagine that they never come to their island, but to make themselves masters of it, and to usurp their goods',¹⁸ can be easily countered by citing other commentators like Fynes Moryson, who while accepting that Europeans often complained about English 'inhumanity to strangers, because they had been ill used at Gravesend... some obscure Hosts in London, who use to entertaine and wrong stangers, having otherwise never visited the Citizens of London, the Schollers of the Universities, Gentlemen, or learned men', and therefore they did not see that the English were 'not onely Courteous, but too much given to admire strangers'.¹⁹ Even the emblematic instance of anti-foreign rioting in the period, Evil

May Day 1517, provoked by an inflammatory sermon, is, according to Andrew Pettegree, 'hardly indicative of a general climate of hostility'.²⁰ At the heart of the resentment of foreign immigrants in early modern London almost always lay economic jealousy; rivalry and competition towards a group which posed a perceived threat to native jobs and hard-won privileges. Legislation in 1523 had forced foreign masters to only engage English apprentices and limited them to two alien journeymen. All aliens in the city itself were under the purview of company wardens, with each craft appointing a substantial member of the stranger community to represent them before the civic authorities. Of course, this did not apply to the liberties beyond the city walls or outside London, although the companies did increasingly exert their influence there too. Foreigners were often highly-skilled workers (brewers, dyers, lace makers, cloth workers of various kinds, printers), specifically encouraged to settle by the city authorities with a view to enriching the capital.

Defining who was foreign was also complex. The term foreigner referred to Englishmen who did not possess the freedom of the city, while the word stranger or alien was generally used to refer to immigrants from abroad. Steve Rappaport has argued that: 'After decades of minimal tension between the city's free and unfree populations, protests against the illegal activities of foreigners and strangers were heard once again in the late 1560s'.²¹ This suggests that problems with strangers under Mary were not a major issue, at least in an economic sense. The problems in the early Elizabethan period arose from the waves of refugees fleeing religious persecution in France and the Low Countries and settling in London. Under Edward VI, foreign communities had acquired unprecedented concentration and visibility through the Dutch and French churches; religious refugees who were permitted to practice their own forms of reformed religion. Following two bad harvests, the city authorities had to nip a plot to attack them in the bud, in 1551, after they were scapegoated for high prices and food shortages. While certain quarters did display hostility to their presence, many Londoners appreciated the economic advantages of 'offering hospitality to skilled foreigners, and others felt a genuine sympathy towards suffering co-religionists'.²² Solidarity with brethren in Christ and support for the international Protestant movement were important factors in mitigating more insular tendencies.

Although in one proclamation Mary had attacked the Edwardian refugees as felons and heretics, fleeing the jurisdiction of their rightful rulers and ordered their expulsion, there was no rise 'in the

number of prosecutions in retailing cases, suggesting that native tradesmen who hoped... to settle old scores with alien competitors received no encouragement from the City authorities.’²³ While there is no evidence of round ups, mass expulsions or significant numbers leaving voluntarily, there is evidence that strangers were protected and Londoners only cooperated with Mary’s proclamation after they were interrogated by the authorities.²⁴ John Foxe records the martyrdom of only one stranger, a twenty-eight year-old Flemish merchant and broker, Lyon Cawch, on 27th June 1556.²⁵ Similarly, although the leaders of a conventicle in the St Katherine’s docks area, John Rough and Cuthbert Simson, were arrested and martyred in 1557, their host a Dutch shoemaker known as Frog was not even arrested.²⁶ Another alien, Christopher Vittels, a joiner who had settled in the parish of St Olaf’s in Southwark in 1551, moved to Colchester during Mary’s reign to spread the message of the Family of Love, a sect that continued to crop up into the 1620s in English heresy trials.²⁷ In 1556 an act forbidding freemen from employing foreigners led to petitions for exemptions to flow in.²⁸ Following the war with France a bill to expel denizens and other non-naturalised Francophones was defeated on 18th February 1558 by one hundred and eleven votes to one hundred and six.²⁹ There are many types of evidence that might be used to demonstrate how representative hostility to foreigners was amongst the English in the period. However, whatever arguments we seek to make, two issues complicate judgement. Firstly, there is a question of interpretation, what precise mental attitude does the evidence allow us to ascribe. Secondly, the issue is always seen from the comparative perspective of the present, coloured by contemporary mores and historical events in the last century that saw an apotheosis of nationalisms and their most iniquitous consequences.

The Dutch acrobat, Peter, the only performer other than John Heywood named in accounts of Mary’s London entry as queen, bore the arms of the City of London. Perhaps rumours of Mary’s intentions to deport aliens had prompted the aldermen and city to ‘showcase London’s immigrants... sending the message that Londoners were inextricably linked with the strangers living among them’.³⁰ Cloth exports from London appear to have peaked during the 1550s with 115,200 per year, a 7% increase on the previous decade. This trade had grown by 116% between 1500 and 1540.³¹ In 1555, an abortive attempt to muscle in on the slave trade took place with the merchant John Lok bringing five black slaves back to England. Under pressure from the Spanish that year Mary banned further English

involvement in the Guinean or West African trade.³² The first three pageants of Philip and Mary's royal entry into the city had been mounted by stranger communities; the Genoese, German Hanse and Florentine merchants. One of the interludes performed for the queen later in her reign, *Wealth and Health*, which contained passages in French, Spanish, Latin and Dutch, featured a Flemish immigrant character, Hance Beerpot, who inhabits the St Katherine's docks, an area with a dense immigrant population.³³ The name Hance and its spelling is a pun on the Hanse merchants of the Steelyard and indicates that traditional jibes were more likely to target the Dutch than the Spanish. The trading privileges of the Hanse merchants had been revoked by Edward VI in 1552, after a sustained campaign by the Merchant Adventurers. Mary reinstated them a few months after her accession on 1st November.

Despite her proclamation, John Christopherson, the queen's chaplain, in his *An exhortation to all menne to take hede and beware of rebellion*, debunked the myth of seditious aliens:

As for straungers we nede not to feare. For yf they do any injury to any subjecte of hers, they shalbe punyshed by the lawes of thys realme, as we be. And yf they behaue them selfe gentlye, as it is very lyke that they will, we shall haue cause to love them to ioyne frendship with them, and to make mucche of them. For so shall we deserue thankes both of them & at goddes hand to, who wylleth us that we offende not, or hurte anye straunger.³⁴

Sir Robert Southwell, sheriff of Kent, reassured a crowd during Sir Thomas Wyatt's uprising that 'we know most certnly that there is ment no maner of evil to us by those strangers'.³⁵ With an immigrant population of merchants, religious refugees and strangers in London at the outset of Mary's reign that some have put as high as 12.5%, 'the English more often seem to have valued and protected their immigrant neighbours... solidarity between the English and immigrants often trumped concerns about the "otherness" of strangers'.³⁶ One estimate suggests there were 10,000 strangers living in London at the outset of Mary's reign and around 6,000 still there at the accession of Elizabeth. By 1571 this figure had returned to 10,000 and remained constant until 1593, during a period when the city's population rose from 80,000 to around 200,000 (by 1600). As a proportion of the city's population then aliens declined from a peak of around 12.5% in 1553 to 10% in 1571 and 5% in 1593.³⁷ Rates of naturalisation

and denization were relatively low throughout the century: 'Excluding 1544, when 2965 aliens were naturalised or became denizens, an average of only forty-two letters of denization and acts of naturalisation were granted each year from 1509 to 1602.'³⁸ Immigrants from outside the realm resident in London were mostly French, Walloon, Dutch, and Flemish, with some Italians and only a handful of Spanish householders. Of the alien heads of households in London in 1571, only seventeen were Spanish. Five had arrived in the city between 1541 and 1559, nine between 1560 and 1571, three others at a point unknown. This compares with 367 from French-speaking areas and 1,102 from Dutch, Flemish or German-speaking lands, of whom 876 came from the Spanish Netherlands. By 1593, the numbers of Francophone householders had fallen by two to 365, while Dutch, Flemish or German-speakers had halved to 594. Those of Spanish origin towards the end of the century numbered only three. The Spanish were a practically invisible presence in London in the sixteenth century as a whole.³⁹

Despite the importance of trading links with Spain stretching back centuries, the relative unimportance of Spanish merchants, factors and artisans may be reflected in the rather vague and empty nature of their characterisation before the later sixteenth century. The physician Andrew Boorde's *The fyrst boke of the introduction of knowledge. The whych dothe teache a man to speake parte of all maner of languages, and to know the usage and fashion of all maner of countreys*, dedicated to Mary on 3rd May 1542 from Montpellier, although it was not published until perhaps 1549, delineated the Englishman as fashion-obsessed ('aboue al thinges, new fashions I loue well') and the Spaniard as poverty-stricken – 'In dyuers countreys I do wander and peke... To get a poore lyuyng'.⁴⁰ Unlike the lively and insulting characterisation of the Dutch as drunks 'I am cupshoten, on my feet I cannot stand / Dyuers tymes I do pysse vnderneath the borde... in my felowes shoes and hose', the description of the Spaniard does not address their 'natural disposition', but focusses exclusively on the country's poverty and poor food.⁴¹ Vicente Alvarez's account of Philip's journey through Italy and Germany to the Low Countries in 1548–51 for his sister Maria of Austria, echoes the imputation of drunken excess made of the Dutch 'some get into such a state with the strong beer that they can not get up and so they piss on the spot... Among the common people getting drunk is not considered an affront'.⁴² The commonplace about poor Spanish food littered English literary sources later in the century from the 1586 translation of *Lazarillo de Tormes* to the plays of John Fletcher.⁴³ Interestingly, Boorde divided up coverage of the

Iberian peninsula into chapters on Catalonia ‘The countres next vs al be very bare’, Andalusia and Portugal ‘the comon corse of marchaunte straungers’, Spain ‘baryn of wine and corne, and skarse of vitels’, Castile and Vizcaya ‘ful of pouerte... euill fare, [and] lodgyng’, and Navarre ‘rude and poore, and many theues’.⁴⁴ Boorde had had an opportunity to observe the subject of his study first hand, when he witnessed the sixty-two galley Imperial fleet sail from Barcelona to besiege Tunis on 29th March 1535. John Ponet in *An Apologie fully answeringe by Scriptures and aunceant Doctors a blasphemose Book gatherid by D. Steph. Gardiner* (1555?) described:

a holy man named maister Doctour boorde a Phisicion that thryse in the week would drink nothing but water such proctour for the Papists then as Martyn the lawier is now? Who vnder color of uirginitie and of wearinge a shirte of heare and hanginge his shroud and socking or buriall sheete at his beds feet and mortifyeng his body and stratynes of lyfe kept thre whores at once in his chambre at Winchester to serue not onely him self but also to help the virgin preests.⁴⁵

Ponet probably had Boorde charged with this offence shortly after becoming Proctor in Winchester diocese in 1546, leading to the physician’s committal to the Fleet in 1547. Two years later Ponet had displaced Gardiner as Bishop of Winchester. The treatise published from continental exile was his rejoinder to Stephen Gardiner’s *A traictise declaringe and plainly prouying, that the pretended marriage of prestes, and professed persons, is no marriage*, which had contained a refutation of Ponet’s earlier treatise against clerical celibacy by Thomas Martin, by then an administrator for the Lord Chancellor.⁴⁶ Martin’s ‘whorishe and ethnicall talke’ was for Ponet unfit for the ears of our first ‘virgin Queen’.⁴⁷ The allusion to the queen’s virginity puts the moment of composition between the publication of Gardiner’s treatise in May and the day of the queen’s marriage, the 25th July 1554. This gives a sense of the speed with which publication kept pace with political developments and the alacrity of responses by Reformers to what was happening, even when they were not in the country.

Thomas Wilson's *The Arte of Rhetoric* anatomised national types in highly similar terms to Boorde. These images remained unchanged by the experience of the Marian period, a period the author spent in Italian exile, with the description identical in editions of 1553 and 1560:

and not onelie are matters set out by descripcion, but men are painted out in their colours... The Englishman for feding, and changing of apparel: The Ducheman for drinking: The Frencheman for pride and inconstance: The Spaniard for nimblenes of body, and moche disdain: the Italian for great witte and pollicie: The Scottes for boldnesse, and the Boerne for stubbornesse.⁴⁸

It has been argued that this demonstrates an immediate reversion to a pre-Marian view of the Spanish as known only for their 'nimblenes of body, and moche disdain'. This vision almost certainly derived from the legion of Italian sources praising Spanish soldiery. Francesco Gucciardini, for example, described them typically as 'ágiles', agile.⁴⁹ While the reign was soon written about by Protestant chroniclers as a providential punishment for sin, despite her major policies – the Habsburg marriage, the Restoration of Roman obedience and the burnings – being viewed largely negatively, attitudes towards Spain did not notably harden. The marriage did not cause a violent an upsurge of anti-Spanish prejudice that built through the century towards the bonfires celebrating the Prince of Wales's return in 1623 without the Spanish Infanta. Contemporary chronicles provide little evidence of negative traits being associated with the foreign interlopers: 'the demonstrable lack of hispanophobic sentiment in the latter [chroniclers Cooper, Grafton and Stow] proves that Marian anti-Spanish feeling was not more than a deliberate and opportunistic political fabrication on the part of the Protestant exiles.'⁵⁰ *Cooper's Chronicle* reported following the king's short visit in 1557 that the 'common people began to mutter and saye that kynge Phillippe esteemed not the Queene but sought occasions to be abroad and absent from hir', then towards the end of 1558 it recorded again that 'the common people whiche for the Queenes sake, faouored kyng Phillip and the Spaniardes, at this time spake mucche againste them thinkinge those paimentes to comme especially by his occasion and charges of warre.'⁵¹ Being dragged into the war with France was something explicitly prohibited by the treaty. It underlines the economic sensitivity of the lower echelons particularly in cities like London. Many amongst the nobility, however,

embraced the opportunities to prove themselves in England's first European war since the Boulogne campaign 1544 – 6, twenty years earlier.

In discussions of Elizabeth's marriage, many Protestants construed the Marian period as a negative *exemplum*, a warning of the dangers of foreign marriage and emphasised its negative consequences. Discussions of the succession under Elizabeth, however, although they often referred back to the experience under Mary, drew the opposite conclusion. Towards 'the end of the sixteenth century... interpretations of Mary's rule were becoming less negative, even her religious policy being occasionally judged no more harshly than that of her father and siblings'.⁵² Some like the earl of Sussex, who had served them, were unconvinced Philip had ever really posed a threat to England's sovereign independence.⁵³ England's involvement in the war with France and the loss of Calais, similarly often blamed on the Spanish marriage, had in fact been provoked by Henry II's continual conspiracies against the queen's life, culminating in Stafford's raid on Scarborough Castle in 1557. It was not the marriage but politics that had eventually drawn England into this war. Mary's devotion to Philip and affection for Spain were neither here nor there.⁵⁴ Foreign laws had not been introduced under Philip and Mary and the Spanish king had not sought to interfere in Elizabeth's succession, if anything he had worked to assure it, despite complaints from some of his closest advisors to the contrary.⁵⁵ He had broached the issue with Mary as early as 1557, but it was only when parliament requested her to clarify the succession that the queen had finally relented (another piece of evidence showing that she was not overawed by her husband.) Initially, despite the conscious attempts of the Habsburgs to exploit the impact of reunification with Rome for propaganda by identifying it with the marriage, Spain was not seen as behind the religious policies pursued in England. Thomas Brice's *A compendious register in Metre* (1559), a versified history of the Marian martyrs does not even refer to the Spanish, referring to 'tyrannical tragedies of the unmerciful Ministers of Satan', the 'unmerciful Ministers [who] had charge of the poor sheep; who wolfishly, at their wills, devoured the same', the 'raging reign of tyrants stout', the 'tyrant's raging ire'.⁵⁶ Careful not to even mention Mary by name, the poem largely lays the blame with the Catholic clergy. Protestants under Elizabeth did come to accuse them of being behind it. These were 'straungers moste cruell, most blodie, most insufferable', but that was not until 1586.

The issue of Spain's involvement in the forging of religious policy in England is a cause célèbre in the new historiography. Traditionally, Alfonso de Castro's sermon on 10th February 1555 was taken as evidence that Philip opposed the English government's policy of burning heretics. To explain the delay in executing the condemned, Foxe recorded that Philip's confessor Castro 'did earnestly inuey against the bishops for burning of men'.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, Castro was the author of two treatises about heresy and its punishment; one on its varieties and causes, *Adversus omnes haereses* (Salamanca: Michel Vascosanus, 1541) and the other on the licitude of its punishment *De justa haereticorum punitione* (Salamanca: Joannis de Giunta, 1547). The former was reprinted at Antwerp in 1556 and dedicated to Philip, while the latter was republished in Lyons that year with a new dedication to Charles V.⁵⁸ The sermon then was probably no more than a gesture to deflect popular hostility from the Spanish.⁵⁹ The queen's confessor, Bartolomé Carranza, was intimately involved in pushing forward the persecuting agenda, alongside Pole and Mary herself; a fact not without irony in the light of his subsequent denunciation for heresy following the publication of a key pedagogical guide for Catholic restoration in England, *Comentarios... sobre el Catechismo* (Antwerp, 1558), a year after his appointment to the archbishopric of Toledo.⁶⁰ Charles V had been strongly supported in his own war against Lutheran heretics by his confessor, Pedro de Soto, another Dominican sent to England with Philip, who took up a chair in theology at Oxford, where he was intimately involved in the trials of Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley. There were undoubtedly differences of opinion about policy in England, from the perspective of Spanish political interests, those of the English church and those of the indigenous religious community itself, but fundamentally recalcitrant heretics had to face the death penalty. Castro had written: 'There is another penalty, about which the Church has established absolutely nothing, since it was not appropriate that it should establish it through ecclesiastical decrees. Such is death'.⁶¹ Instinctively, the Franciscan Castro seems to have been averse to Dominican inquisitorial practices, penning in 1543 a treatise in favour of teaching Latin to the indigenous peoples of the Americas.⁶² There are intriguing links between Alfonso de Castro, a leading figure in the English mission and the extant Spanish manuscript sources for the marriage, the most important of which are found in a miscellany, *Noticias de varios sucesos acaecidos, 1521 – 1558*,⁶³ a later copy of which belonging to Ambrosio de Morales is in the library of San Lorenzo, El Escorial. The volume was

compiled by the Habsburgs' royal chronicler from 1539, Florián de Ocampo. Castro and Ocampo were both natives of Zamora born around 1495, attending and teaching at the university of Alcalá, Castro perhaps from 1507 and Ocampo from 1509. Castro had become professor of theology there by 1515, while Ocampo was *racionero* from 1519.⁶⁴ Ocampo's chronicle of Spain was first published in Zamora in 1543 and 1545, apparently without his permission, the latter a pirated reissue of the first edition. He was a canon of the Cathedral there.⁶⁵

Although John Foxe has been seen as having done much to blacken the reputation of Mary, the 1563 edition of *Acts and Monuments* is not redolent with Hispanophobia and notably lacks any reference to the Spanish Inquisition. The Holy Office only featured after a second edition of 1570, in response to the English translation of Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus' *A Discovery and playne Declaration of the sundry subtill practices of the Holy Inquisition of Spayne* (1568).⁶⁶ Montanus was perhaps the pseudonym of Casiodoro de Reina, an exile in England from shortly after Elizabeth's accession, who had fled San Isidro del Campo in Seville in 1557 with a group of fellow Spanish Protestants initially to Geneva.⁶⁷ The text was explicitly framed as a supplement to Foxe: 'thou mightest vse this booke as a taste in the meane space, whiles the booke of Martires be finished', an allusion to the second edition.⁶⁸ It warned that the Inquisitorial threat extended not only to Protestants but also Catholics: 'Papist or Protestant, if thou be riche and hast any fleerce, it will be all one'.⁶⁹ The Spanish Inquisition 'now brought with fire and sword into the low Countries' threatened 'sodaine imprisonment of honest men without processe of lawe, the pitifull wandring in exile and pouertie of personages sometime riche and welthy... the monstrous racking of men without order of law, the villanous and shamleles tormenting of naked women'.⁷⁰ At the end of the preface, the Dutch Revolt is described as a consequence of the coming of the Inquisition to the Netherlands: those 'most duetifully obedient to their magistrates, to driue so horrible a pestilence from their countrey, haue betaken themselues to their weapons and defence of armes'.⁷¹ The example in their neighbours' house was a warning that the tribunal did not seek reformation of religion, rather 'a straunge, vnworthie, and intollerable slauerie... outragious tyranny'.⁷² The foundation of the Inquisition in Spain addressed the problem of converted Moors and Jews 'only Christians by name and for fashion sake, submitting themselues for feare and awe', a godly purpose soon perverted when rather than by 'persuasion of learning, or by charitable dealing' they sought 'to

compel them by force & might... by Rackes and Torments, Chaines, Halters, Barnacles Sambenites by Fire and by Fagots'.⁷³ Montanus throughout the paratext invoked the concept of 'libertie' against an Inquisition seen above all to threaten with its secrecy, secular authority and open public representation.

The marginal glosses and 'declaration' that Foxe added to editions of the *Acts and Monuments* after 1570 underlined Mary's responsibility for the burnings. She

continued more and more to reuenge her Catholicke zeale vpon the Lordes faithfull people, setting fire to theyr poore bodyes by dosens and halfedosens together. Where vpon Gods wrathfull indignation increasing more and more agaynst her, ceased not to touche her more neare with priuate misfortunes and calamities. For after that he had taken from her the fruit of children (whiche chiefly and aboue all thinges she desired) then he bereft her of that, which of all earthly thinges should haue bene her chiefe stay of honor, and staffe of comfort, that is, withdrew from her the affectiō and company euen of her owne husband⁷⁴

The image of Mary's desolation for she 'semed neither to haue the fauour of God, nor the harts of her subiectes, nor yet the loue of her husband' is fundamental to how she has been read ever since.⁷⁵ Even the green shoots of revisionist reinterpretations of her are overshadowed by characteristics attributed to her here; a sense of her as 'tragic', unhappily married and ultimately unpopular with her people. Although at times, she was presented by some Protestants as deceived by priests, in Foxe she was a Jezebel, as the martyr Alice Driver foolhardily dubbed her before Sir Clement Higham after her arrest, leading him to cut her ears off.⁷⁶ The most striking visual symbol of this tendency is the banner on the frontispiece of Christopher Lever's seventeenth-century *The Historie of the Defendors of the Catholique Faith* with the motto 'not cruel by nature, but through the machinations of priests'.⁷⁷ Protestants after Mary's reign often sought to minimise the damage of the martyrs to her reputation by denouncing her adherence to the old faith and the burnings, while emphasizing her feminine qualities of mildness, mercy and compassion and arguing she had been deluded or misled by her bishops.⁷⁸ As extremists amongst the Marian exiles had discovered, anti-monarchist attacks regardless of on whom they were made, were displeasing to all monarchs, including Mary's successor. The massive influence of Foxe over the

centuries has almost completely obscured alternative Catholic views of the persecution, like those found in Nicholas Harpsfield, Thomas Stapleton and Robert Persons, for whom Protestants were rightly prosecuted pseudo-martyrs, largely incapable of learned disputation on the complex theological issues over which they believed themselves capable of dissent.⁷⁹

The picture is different again if we go back to the period itself. In the final act of the apocalyptic Latin comedy the martyrologist Foxe wrote during Philip and Mary's reign, *Christus Triumphans* (Basle, 1556), the character representing the Antichrist or pope, Pseudamnus (false lamb), asks the whore of Babylon, Pornapolis (whore city): 'I wonder what course to follow. – Zenodore, go and soften up Dynastes with this golden rose. – You take this sword in a golden sheath to Dynamicus. – Dromo, your job is to take this linsey-woolsey pallium to Nesophilus'.⁸⁰ These topical allusions allow us to uncover something of Foxe's thinking at this point. Precisely these gifts, the golden rose and sword in a golden sheath, had been sent by pope Julius III to Mary and Philip on 27th January 1555. Dynastes (ruler) represented Mary, Dynamicus (powerful) Philip, and Nesophilus (island-lover), an ironic reference to Pole, who had spent much of his life in exile from the British Isles. The 'linsey-woolsey' pallium was a pun alluding to Cardinal Wolsey, originally found in Skelton's 'Why come ye not to court?'⁸¹ The pope is represented here attempting to manipulate the English monarchs, while Pole is condemned through association with the corrupt and worldly Wolsey. What happened shortly after this undermined the rhetorical strategy of Reformers blaming the Pope for the persecution in England, through a subtle manipulation of earthly powers, i.e. Philip and Mary. The election of the rabidly Hispanophobic Giovanni Pietro Carafa as Paul IV on 23rd May 1555 precipitated a complete breakdown of diplomatic relations between the papacy and the Habsburgs, who launched a military campaign from Naples against the papal states and their French allies. Carafa excommunicated Philip and the Duke of Alba in retaliation and recalled Cardinal Pole to Rome, rescinding his legatine mission to England on 9th April 1557 before arresting the legate's close associate, Cardinal Giovanni Morone on 31st May. This caused considerable problems for the Catholic reformation under Mary, but it also took away any sense in which the Habsburgs or English clergy were merely puppets of the papacy and the newly established Catholic church not being a 'national' church. According to the Venetian ambassador, Bernardo Navagero, Carafa described the Spanish at this time as: 'heretics, schismatics and accursed of

God, seed of Jews and *marranos*, scum of the earth; deploring Italy's misfortune that it was forced to serve people so vile and despicable'.⁸² His hatred of the Habsburgs came from Charles V blocking his appointment to the archdiocese of Naples, held by his family for a century. This is a clue as to where the Marian exiles derived much of the raw material out of which their intemperate polemics and vilification of the Spanish was constructed. If the English had little idea of the Spanish before 1554, the anti-Marian propaganda depicting Spaniards as sexually rapacious, cruel, proud and deceitful oppressors, drew heavily on a series of well-established images from Italy.

As Protestants began to leave England in 1554, many would have passed through Antwerp on their way to exile in cities like Strasbourg at precisely the moment when the first edition of that infamous anti-clerical satire and Spanish Erasmian text, *Lazarillo de Tormes* was published,⁸³ as well as one of the most important New World chronicles; Francisco López de Gómara's *Historia general de las Indias*, which refused to ignore the empire's worst excesses in its quest for historical authority. Hernán Cortés' chaplain after 1540 recorded at the end of his text that:

all those who have killed Indians in that way {in the mines, pearl fisheries or burdens}, and there have been many, in fact almost all, have ended badly: in which way it seems to be that God has punished their most grave sins. I merely write, briefly the conquest of the Indies: if anyone wishes to see the justification for it, let them read Doctor Sepúlveda, chronicler of the Emperor⁸⁴

The Valladolid disputation of 1551 between Bartolomé de las Casas, the so-called apostle of the Indies, and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, former Latin tutor to Philip, that had followed the colonists' resistance to the imposition of the New Laws in 1542 in an attempt by the crown to bring under control the exploitation and enslavement of the indigenous peoples by conquistadors under the *encomienda* system, had centred on arguments put forward in Sepúlveda's *Democrates segundo*, a neo-Aristotelian argument that the natives were natural slaves and therefore their 'reduction' was justified.

Imperial Spain, the New World and Naples

Central to the Black Legend as it developed in the sixteenth century was a notion of Spanish tyranny, an idea powerfully crystallised in the context of the Dutch revolt.⁸⁵ This was reinforced by British historians writing in the 18th century, who sought to justify empire, by contrasting their enlightened colonialism with evil Spanish depredation and oppression in Latin America. The seeds of this image, however, were rooted in the Marian period and before. The eulogistic preface of Richard Eden's 1555 translation of Pietro Martire d'Anghiera's *The Decades of the newe worlde or west India, conteynyng the navigations and conquestes of the Spanyards*, which was dedicated to Philip and Mary, sought to stimulate English colonial endeavours through the emulation of Spain. This 'positive' view of Spanish colonialism contrasted sharply with the infamous denunciation of Spanish tyranny and cruelty in the New World in Bartolomé de las Casas's *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (1552). The first English translation of Las Casas in 1583 as *The Spanish Colonie or Briefe Chronicle of the actes and Gestes of the Spaniards in the west Indies, called the Newe Worlde* had appeared precisely at a moment when England was slipping into war with Spain through its increasingly open support of the Dutch revolt against Spanish rule in the Low Countries. The polemical force of this account of the Indies' destruction was made ever more explicit in subsequent editions: by 1646 it was subtitled 'their unparallel'd Cruelties on the Indians, in the destruction of above Forty Millions of People'. While a fresh translation that appeared in 1656 by John Phillips, a nephew of Oliver Cromwell, seeking to promote a plan to establish a British colony in Jamaica, presented itself in straightforwardly emotive terms as *The Teares of the Indians Being An Historical and true Account of the Cruel Massacres and Slaughters of above of Twenty Millions of innocent people*. Nevertheless, even at the moment when Richard Eden appeared to praise the Spanish and their demi-godlike status, his text subverted this image alluding to the violence necessary to win and sustain an empire:

It is therefore apparent that the heroical factes of the Spaniardes of these days, deserue so greate prayse that thautour of this booke (beinge no Spanyarde) doth woorthely extolle theyr doynge aboute the famous actes of Hercules and Saturnus and such other which for theyr glorious and vertuous enterpryses were accounted as goddes amonge men. And surely if great Alexander and the Romans which haue rather obteyned then deserued immortall fame amonge men for

theyr bluddye victories onely for theyr owne glory and amplifyinge theyr empire obteyned by slawghter of innocentes and kepte by violence, haue byn magnified for theyr doinges, howe much more then shal we thynke these men woorthy iust commendations which in theyr mercyfull warres ageynst these naked people haue so used them selues towarde them in exchaungynge of benefites for victorie, that greater commodities hath therof ensewed to the vanquished then the victourers.⁸⁶

The contradiction implicit in the notion of a ‘merciful war’ is compounded by its being against ‘naked’ people. Eden’s translation of Pietro Martire along with his previous translation from two years earlier, dedicated to the Duke of Northumberland, of sections of Sebastian Münster’s *Cosmographia universalis* dealing with Columbus and the earliest voyages to the New World, contained passages that delineated this darker side of imperial violence, bloody victories merely for personal glory and to amplify territorial domination. Münster’s vision of Spain in the *Cosmographia universalis* reiterated descriptions from his edition of Ptolemy that had been borrowed in turn from the Spanish cosmographer, Michael Servetus (Miguel Villanueva Conesa) about their deceitfulness, lack of hospitality and excessive use of make-up.⁸⁷ In *The Decades of the newe worlde*, readers learned that:

that kynde of men (the Spanyardes I meane which folowed the Admirall in that nauigation,) was for the most parte unruly, regardynge nothings but Idlenes, playe, and libertie: And wolde by no meanes absteyne from iniuries: Rauyshynge the women of the Ilandes before the faces of their husbandes fathers, and bretherne: By which theyr abhomynable mysdemaynour, they disquieted the myndes of all thinhabitantes.⁸⁸

The trope of ravishing women before the faces of their husbands and fathers was a commonplace of anti-Spanish and other religious polemic. The defector Captain Alexander Brett’s speech to his company of London White Coats sent to crush Wyatt’s revolt, warned that the Spaniards would ‘ravishe our wyfes before our faces, and deflowre our daughters in our prescence’.⁸⁹ John Bale’s translation, *A Faithful Admonition* from May 1554, of a text by Martin Luther, warned that strangers (Italians in this

case) in the German lands would ‘most shamefully defyle and abuse honest wyues, widdowes and virgyns euen before the faces of theyr husbands, parentes and frindes’.⁹⁰ John Bradford’s *Coppye of a letter* (1556) went even further, literalising this trope:

the worst of all the companie muste haue my wife priuelie, when I am present bi: this is more vilanie, that one muste kepe the dore, will not that greue you sore, and dare not speake for your life when another hath youre wife. Perhaps the king, yet that were a noble thing. Naie perchaunce some other slaue or vile pockie knaue, this thing in dede shal make your hartes blede, when your wife bereath the marke of that nightes warke...ye perhaps with such mocks you mai both come to pockes. For fewe of them be cleane, thoughe they make lustie cheare, as Surgentes doe me tell.⁹¹

The obvious incorporation of a piece of doggerel verse in the letter suggests that the claim is specious. Münster, in Eden’s translation, focussed on slightly different features of colonial violence, underlining the desire for gold and the violence, torture and other techniques the Spanish used to extract it:

And whereas they yet perceaued, that the Christien men entended to continue there, thei sent an ambassadour to the admiral to desyre him to restrayne the outragiousnes and crueltie of his men, at whose handes they sustained such iniuries and violence as they scarcely loked for at the handes of mortal enemies. Declaringe further, that under the pretence of seking for gold they committed innumerable wronges and mischieuous actes, spoyling in maner all the hole region: and that for the auoyding of such enormities and oppressions, they hadde rather paye tribute, then to be thus dayly vexed with incursions, & neuer to be at quiete.⁹²

The tortuous logic of the passage, the natives desire to render tribute in order to attenuate the violence being used to secure the material resources necessary to justify their presence and ensure their continuance in that inhospitable environment, underlines the fundamental doubts underlying the justice and legality of the whole enterprise. The translation of Pietro Martire was immediately interpreted in

this anti-heroic mode by the political writer John Ponet in his *A Shorte Treatise of politike pouuer, and of the true Obedience which subiectes owe to kynges and other ciuile Governours, with an Exhortacion to all true naturall Englishe men* (1556), which connected anxieties about the precise nature of Mary's rights within her own kingdom with arguments over the legality of property rights and ownership acquired through conquest. He conjectured, 'let vs ymagine an vntruthe, that all the subiectes goodes were the princes, and that he might take them at his pleasure', and that there were garrisons everywhere:

so that they had not wherwith to redresse their iniuries, as nature wolde counsail them: were this a waie to make the people labour, whan others should take the bread out of their mouthe? Wolde they desire to increace the world with children, whan they knewe that they should be lefte in worse case, than vnreasonable beastes? No surely, and that ye maie see by the worke of nature in the people of the West Indies, now called newe Spaine: who knewe of Christ nothing at all, and of God no more than nature taught them. The people of that countreie whan the catholike Spaniardes came thider, were simple and plaine men, and liued without great labour, the lande was naturally so pleintiful of all thinges and continually the trees hade ripe frute on them. whan the Spaniardes hade by flatterie put in their foote, and by litel and litel made them selues strong, building fortes in diuerse places, they to get the golde that was ther, forced the people (that wer not vsed to labour) to stande all the daie in the hotte sunne gathering gold in the sande of the riuers. By this meanes a great nombre of them (not vsed to such paines) died, and a great nombre of them (seing them selues brought from so quiet a life to suche miserie and slauerie) of desperacion killed them selues. And many wolde not mary, bicause they wolde not haue their children slaues to the Spaniardes. The women whan they felte them self with childe, wolde eat a certain herbe to destroie the childe in the wombe. So that where at the comming thider of the Spaniardes, ther were accompted to be in that countrey nine hundred thousaunt persones, ther were in short time by this meanes so fewe lefte, as Petre martir (who was one of themprour Charles the fifthes counsail there, and wrote this historie to themperour) saieth, it was a shame for him to name.

This is the frute, wher Princes take all their subiectes thinges as their owne. And wherunto at leingth will it come, but that either they must be no kinges, or elles kinges without people, which is all one.⁹³

Political debates about the nature of a prince's title to a kingdom and the nature of royal dominion, whether they were analogous to rights in heritable property, had come sharply into focus in the context of England's first regnant queen and the issues this raised for laws of succession. Was it possible to will a crown or to establish a title in a kingdom by statute as Henry VIII had done? Ponet used the example of the New World to warn of the dangers that such ideas presupposed. The political authority of the Habsburgs in their Spanish kingdoms was never the same as that they exercised by proxy across the Atlantic: its legality and certain control were never so assured. The example of the New World could be used to underscore the greatness and solidity of imperial Spain, but also to undermine its very legitimacy. The Marian period provided opportunities for Englishmen to rejoin the commercial endeavours of exploiting the New World. By 1555, the Englishman Robert Thomson was in Mexico City admiring that 'the streets [are] made very broad, and right, that a man being in the high place, at the one ende of the street, may see at the least a good mile forward'.⁹⁴ A little over ten years later in *A true declaration of the toublesome voyadge* (1569), John Hawkins reported how with a cargo of captured and enslaved West Africans he 'coasted from place to place makyng our traffique with the Spanyardes as wee myght, somewhat hardelye, because the kinge had straightly commaunded all his gouernours in those partes by no meanes to suffer any trade to be made with vs: notwithstanding we had reasonable trade and courteous intertainment from the Ile of Margarita unto Cartagena'.⁹⁵ His troubles only began of course after he was forced to put in on the coast of New Spain and seek permission to refit his ships from the centre of Spanish authority in the New World in Mexico City. The franchised nature of political rights and uncertain legal status of land ownership in Spanish America reveal the negotiated, contingent and flexible nature of Habsburg political thought. From the outside such elisions and improvisations could easily be read as ultimately threatening.

Hispanophobia

A remarkable feature of the exiles' propaganda was how swiftly and directly they responded to political events. One of the earliest examples of Hispanophobia in Mary's reign can be found in John Bale's *A declaration of Edmonde Bonners articles* (1554); a lengthy and intemperate attack on the architects of the Catholic restoration – 'gagling Gardiner, bocherly Bonner, and trifeling Tunstall, with other bloody biteshepes and franticke papistes of England' like Thomas Martin and Hugh Weston.⁹⁶ It rebutted point by point the remit of the bishop of London's visitation of his diocese, which began on 3rd September 1554 and ended on 8th October 1555.⁹⁷ He refuted the notion of there being close dynastic bonds between England and Spain, suggesting that 'certen Genealogies of theyr lineall dissent from Jhon a Gaunt, sometime duke of Lancaster, Gardiner, White, and Harpesfeld maintaynyng the same with their flattering verses' were in fact 'the craftye conueyaunce of a Fryer that was once solde for puddynges'.⁹⁸ In relation to Bonner's 9th article that they should enquire into whether there are any foreign priests ministering the sacraments, Bale rejoins:

And as for Jack Spaniard, being as good a Christian, as is eyther Turke, Jewe, or pagane, sine lux, sine crux, sine deus, after the chast rules of Rome & Florence, he must be a dweller here, ye know causes whye. Than remaine there none other foreners and straungers to be loked vpon, but Duchmen, Danes, Italians, and french menne. And they for the more parte, as muche regarde the Popes priesthode, as the deuel doth holy water... the Englyshe nacyon... in thys miserable age, must come last of al and within theyr owne soyl, must be reckened inferiours to all foreners and strangers⁹⁹

Although clearly for Bale anxiety about property rights flowed from the Spanish marriage, 'Our inheritaunce is tourned to the straungers, and oure houses to the aleauntes',¹⁰⁰ as he wrote, the focus of his text was a polemical assault on religious conservatives and in particular the 'scismatical buggerer and biteshepe' Bonner.¹⁰¹ The populace in early modern London may have demonstrated similar xenophobic tendencies to the publics in other major sixteenth century metropolises. In the context of the Spanish marriage, this xenophobia, was exacerbated by anxieties about Mary's gender and status as a regnant queen. These concerns crystallised around the political language of Marian queenship. If she

was the mother of her people, as Mary had claimed to be in her great Guildhall oration, her marriage to Philip potentially turned her subjects into the unwanted sons of a first marriage (*alnados* in Spanish); marginalised, discarded or disinherited in the context of a second union. The propaganda that was employed during Wyatt's rebellion to weaken Mary's position played on fears of foreign occupation, despoliation and rape. This language was picked up on by Marian exiles on the continent to warn their fellow countrymen of the entrance of foreigners and an alien Roman religion. The corollary of this language was the sexualisation of the Spaniard. The feminisation of England in the polemics reflected apprehensions about inheritance and property, and were incarnated in the image of the lustful, tyrannous and cruel Spaniard, familiar from later incarnations of the Black Legend.

The tropes of cruelty, tyranny, unbridled lust and sexual despoliation along with racial hybridity that transformed 'the "Spaniard"... into a kind of 'Europeanised' African or Moor',¹⁰² were already fully present in Thomas Stafford's proclamation issued at Scarborough castle in 1557, where he asserted that he aimed to deliver England: 'from the possessyon of prowde, spytefull Spanyardes, whose Morysh maners, and spytefull condytions, no nation in the worlde is able to suffer... banyshinge and expellinge all straungers, marchauntes onlye excepted': he exhorted his fellow countrymen to resist being 'sorrowfull slaves, and carefull captives to suche a naughtye natyon as Spanyardes, who affirme openlye, that they will rather lyve with Mores, Turkes, and Jues, than with Inglyshmen'.¹⁰³ Amongst the names of those taken with Stafford was a certain John Bradford, author of one of the most colourful examples of anti-Spanish sentiment, *The Copie of a Letter*, discussed below.

John Knox's infamous 1558 polemic *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstruous regiment of women* accused the Spanish of being responsible for the cruxifixion 'for Jewes they are, as histories do witnesse, and they them selues confesse'.¹⁰⁴ In a marginal note he continued: 'The spaniardes are Iewes and they bragge that Marie of England is of the roote of Iesse.'¹⁰⁵ This notion probably derived ultimately from neo-Ptolomaic thought tracing Spanish descent from Japhet's son Tubal, a mythology that surfaced in Alfonso de Catagena's *Anacephaleosis o genealogía de los reyes de España* in the 15th century and had been reiterated by Florián de Ocampo's chronicle of 1553.¹⁰⁶ These histories are one potential source of ethnic jibes. The other was *estatutos de limpieza de sangre* (statutes of racial purity), which excluded descendants of Moors or Jews from church or municipal

office, the most notorious of which, had been introduced by Philip's tutor Juan Martínez Siliceo in 1548, sparking off a controversy that was still rumbling on when he was raised to the cardinalate in 1556.¹⁰⁷ Tracts written against the *estatutos*, paradoxically sought to show that the entire Spanish nobility, including the royal family, descended from Jews and Moors. One of the most famous, the *Tizón de la nobleza de España* was published in 1560. The appearance of Moorish cultural practices such as the *juego de cañas* in England with Philip's entourage underlined this multicultural past.¹⁰⁸

One of the most revealing incidents of mutual cultural illegibility occurred when Mary gave audience to the Duchess of Alba, María Enríquez de Guzmán. After being presented, the Duchess attempted to sit on a cushion on the floor in Moorish-fashion, as Spanish aristocratic women were accustomed to, where Mary, perhaps believing it to be a gesture of deference attempted to join her, but unused to the *estrado*, the queen soon needed to get up and they both ended seated on low stools.¹⁰⁹ There are warrants for Turkish costumes in the revels accounts, however, it is not possible to read too much into this apparent vogue for the exotic. At the jousts to celebrate Arthur and Catherine's wedding in 1501, Charles Brandon had performed in 'an oriental costume such as Sir Palomides might have worn in Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*: "the guise of a Turk or a Saracen, with a white roll of fine linen cloth about his head, the ends hanging pendant wise".¹¹⁰ The unusual headdress would presumably also have been worn by Philip's courtiers when they took part in the *juego de cañas* in Turkish style costumes.

Picking up on these features of Spain may have been an unintended consequence of intercultural exchange in the context of the marriage, but it is more likely that the polemicists many of whom were not in England but rather visited or lived in Italy picked up on early versions of the Black Legend prevalent there.¹¹¹ Perhaps they were familiar with them anyway and this was one of the factors that motivated resistance to the match, despite the many reasons in its favour. Due to the geographical proximity of Spain and Italy and the similarity of their climate, Italian commentators had been at pains to underline their national differences. The conquistador of Colombia, Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada, wrote in 1567: 'Above all the number of nations that are spread throughout the world, this hate of Spain is most powerful amongst the Italians'.¹¹² Their particular hate had originated in Aragonese mercantilism in the kingdom of Naples in the 15th century and intensified over the 16th century following the sack and massacre at Prato in 1512 and of course the notorious sack of Rome in 1527. While

commentators at the time were divided as to whether the Spanish had acted more barbarously than the Lutheran mercenaries or Neapolitan forces involved, in the end the sense that Italians were no longer masters of their own lands but rather their ancient civilisation, heir to Rome, was dominated by a people inferior in culture, religion and race, fostered profoundly negative stereotypes and resentment.

Unfavourable judgements about Spanish government in Italy have rested on the assumption that all foreign sovereignty is *eo ipso* an unbearable imposition, inevitably exploitative, unjust and carried out in the interests of the occupying power. It was certainly true that the chancelleries in the south of Italy and Lombardy conducted their business in Spanish and in addition to large numbers of officials involved in tax collecting, numerous grants of lands and titles to members of the Spanish aristocracy were made, in addition to viceroys and other governors and officers often being Iberians. However, despite historians' tendency to accept such judgements uncritically, Spanish governance in Italy was in fact in many respects fruitful. It generally respected local laws and customs, privileges and local autonomy was preserved as were representative institutions. There are numerous testaments to the rectitude and impartiality of Spanish justice. In Naples and Sicily, the middling sort were protected from the depredations of the upper nobility and at the start of the 17th century the Neapolitan philosopher Campanella in his *De Monarchia Hispanica* even proposed replacing Italian with Spanish barons in Sicily and Sardinia:

In such islands the barons are to be subdued more than elsewhere; since the location of the regions provides them with greater opportunity to rise up, and they are by nature more inclined to tyranny. Therefore it is better to send across barons from other nations; indeed for this purpose the Spanish are more suitable than the others, since they are placed beneath the same climate; and to them both the services and the business should be entrusted; to these transalpines are to be added, partly to do military service, partly to bear offspring.¹¹³

Similarly, the notion of taxation becoming unjustifiably heavy, raised disproportionately in the interest of Spanish military expansionism, is also questionable. Continuous inflation throughout the 16th century put pressure on the income of all Western European states. Factoring in inflation, the tax burden did not

increase in Sicily in the period and a similar picture seems to be the case in Naples and Milan. In Sicily taxation was agreed in a general assembly, not imposed by government, and was often considered necessary to defend against the Turk, something which was not solely in the interest of Spain, but also critical for Naples and Italy as a whole, following the Turkish incursion and temporary establishment of a bridgehead at Otranto in 1480. This is not to suggest naively that Spanish imperial authority was exercised altruistically. Demographic comparisons underline the similarity between free and Spanish-dominated parts of the peninsula. The number of households in the kingdom of Naples, for example, according to some figures, doubled across the century. By comparison, in the second half of the sixteenth century, the populations of the regions of Florence (excluding the city) and Siena barely grew at all, no doubt as theatres of Franco-Spanish rivalry.¹¹⁴

The form taken by the Black Legend in Italy focussed on Spanish pride, excessive dignity and ceremoniousness, the introduction of corrupt social practices, affected and courtly language, from which Italians coined the notions of ‘spagnolaggine, spagnolata, spagnolimso, spagnoleggiare’. Pietro Aretino ridiculed the Spanish *hidalgo* in his plays *L’Amor Costante* (1536) and *Gl’Ingannati* (1537). In the latter, in reply to the comment that ‘although I seem ill-favoured, I am one of best, well-born hidalgos in all Spain’, the Spanish gentleman’s Italian lover replies ‘A miracle he hasn’t said Señor or knight! Because all the Spanish who come say they are lords’.¹¹⁵ While historians have lauded Fernando de Aragón for instituting the first system of resident ambassadors in Italy, he was accused by those with whom he conducted this diplomacy of disloyalty. From this the Spanish became known as masters of deceit, astuteness and perfidiousness. Alongside pride were racial jibes about their mixed Jewish and Moorish heritage. Francesco Guicciardini asserted ‘that all the kingdom was full of Jews and heretics and most of the people were tainted by this depravity. By them were held all the greatest offices and revenues of the realm and so powerful and numerous were they that it was evident, if no remedy were taken, that in a few years all Spain would have left the Catholic faith’: Spain also gave him the impression of something African or Oriental, they are ‘black in colour and small in stature, they have an innately Punic nature’.¹¹⁶ These ideas about their ethnic origins arose partly from the notion of their being descendants of the Carthaginians, following Hannibal’s lengthy military campaigns in the peninsula and occupation of Hispania. Most importantly, however, following the expulsion in 1492, a

large proportion of the Jews, who had fled Spain, settled in Italy. The accusation of their being *marranos* or of Jewish or Moorish blood was reinforced by Spanish dress which recalled the Moorish *chilaba* for Italians, as well as Moorish games and dances introduced into Italy by the Spanish ruling elite: 'Growing familiarity with Spanish customs and habits in the 16th century led to a burgeoning awareness of their Oriental and African heritage, reinforcing the idea that they had the same origins as Moors and Jews'.¹¹⁷ The final aspect of the Italian version of the Black Legend was the association of the Spanish with sexual rapacity and prostitution in particular. This derived in part from the association of the city of Valencia with sexual license and immorality; an impression strengthened by the region's giving Italy two popes, Alonso de Borja, Calixto XIII (1455–8), and the notorious Rodrigo Borja, Alexander VI (1492–1503). A vividly salacious fictional version of this image of the Spanish was put in print by the syphilitic priest, Francisco Delicado, in his *La lozana andaluza*, published in Venice in 1528. Set in Rome leading up to the sack, the 'heroine' Lozana arrives in there in 1513 and is welcomed into a community of *converso* and Jewish prostitutes and courtesans, whose ranks she joins. Shortly after her arrival, having serviced a steward and a mace bearer, her third client (a courier for the Pope) informs her

in all Rome I doubt you could find a man who knows more about the tricks whores use in their trade be they naked or fully clad. There are some whores who are more gracious than beautiful, and others who join the trade while little girls. There are passionate whores and polished whores, painted whores and illustrious whores, whores of reputation and those who have been condemned. There are Moorish whores from Zocodover Square in Toledo who ply the public squares, and whores who work the outskirts of the city.¹¹⁸

The name of her Neapolitan boyfriend Rampín echoes the Italian 'rampino', which means 'ardid, sutileza' [trick, ruse], linking him back to one aspect of the negative vision of the Spanish. The Roman census of 1526–7 confirms the impression given by the text. Of 55,035 registered inhabitants (no doubt an underestimate) there were 1,550 prostitutes. The greatest number of foreigners in this group were Spanish (104), followed by French (59) and Germans (52). In addition 7 were Moorish and 30 Jewish,

probably most of whom were also from Spain.¹¹⁹ In 1549, three Spanish women were amongst the most heavily taxed courtesans in Rome. One, Isabella de la Luna, from Granada, was one of the most famous and successful in the period and alluded to several times in stories by Bandello. Juan del Encina's *Placida y Vitoriano*, with its Celestinesque Eritea who boasts 'if I had a ducat for every virgin I had remade there wouldn't be enough room to squeeze them under this roof' (ll. 697 – 9), was performed at the house of the Valencian Cardinal Arborea, Jacopo Serra, before the Spanish ambassador and Federico Gonzaga in Rome in 1513.¹²⁰ Thomas Dandeleet has underlined how the case of Spanish Rome exemplifies the power and success of 'informal imperialism', arguing that '[i]f Italians described themselves as "hispanized" it was not from force but through choice'.¹²¹ The Spanish conquered Rome through patronage and left a lasting mark on the Eternal City during this period, through their contributions to painting, music, architecture, business and above all theology and religion.

One of the most curious aspects (for us) of Spain's image in Italy was its association with heresy and Lutheranism. This strange notion makes more sense though if we consider Alfonso de Valdés' *Dialogo de las cosas acaecidas en Roma* (1529), a commissioned justification of the Emperor Charles V's actions leading up to the sack. This work of propaganda contained clearly Protestant ideas, and read the sack of Rome as a providential punishment for the failure of the papacy to embrace Erasmian reform.¹²² Its ties with Protestant thought are underlined by its publication in England for the first time in 1586, accompanying the Spanish Protestant Antonio de Corro's Spanish language learning textbook *Reglas gramaticales*.¹²³ Alfonso's twin brother, Juan de Valdés, worked in Spanish Naples until his death in 1541 as a spiritual leader of a congregation of priests and socially eminent Italian intellectuals, critical of the church and influenced by Reformist ideas.¹²⁴ His activities had attracted the attention of Gian Pietro Carafa at the time, but it was a year after his death before Carafa's appointment as head of the Roman Inquisition and only in 1549 had he become Cardinal Archbishop of Naples, although he was blocked from taking the post up by Charles V, an insult whose magnitude can be gauged from the fact that the diocese was held by his family from 1484–1544 and then 1549–1576.¹²⁵ Valdés' *Comentarios de la Epístola a los Romanos* and *Comentarios de la Epístola a los Corintios* were published in Geneva by the Spanish Calvinist Juan Pérez de Pineda in 1556 and 1557. Another notorious case, once again pressed for by Paul IV, was that of Bartolomé Carranza, a critical figure of course in

the Catholic reformation in England, whose arrest on his return to Spain and transportation to Rome, where he languished in prison until his release in 1576, again suggested a connection between Spain and Lutheran heresy. There is a certain irony that as Spain fought heresy and Protestantism in the Low Countries, England and Germany, in Italy they were seen as heretics and proto-Lutherans.

There was also a version of the Legend in the German lands connected to the war against the Schmalkaldic League, 1546–52, which the Emperor had been powerfully encouraged to undertake by his confessor Pedro de Soto, who was sent to England in 1555 to take part in the high-profile heresy cases against Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley at Oxford and where he took up a Chair in Theology. By 1550, there were outposts manned with Spanish soldiers throughout Habsburg lands in the Holy Roman Empire. The German garrison at Augsburg was replaced with a Spanish one in 1551 and Granvelle declared that without Spanish troops there, German loyalty could not be relied upon. The family compact of the same year which meant Philip would succeed Charles as Holy Roman Emperor was one of the main reasons why Maurice of Saxony returned to open rebellion in 1552. Contact between the German lands and Spain had taken place under the auspices of their shared ruler since 1519 and although there were shared enemies, personal contact through trade or culture was less significant than in the case of Italy. There was nevertheless a German infiltration into trade within the Empire, largely through the importance of their bankers. A hundred and fifty Germans and Dutch participated in the expedition of Pedro de Mendoza to the Río de la Plata in 1535–6. The Fuggers and Welser banking dynasties took over monopolies in Spain and the New World, notably the mercury mines at Almadén and the colonisation of Venezuela. Welser involvement in the New World was brought to an end by Philip II in 1556, when he took back control of the region.¹²⁶ The negative images of the Spanish in Germany originated in protectionism and military occupation. For the Protestant faction, rapacity, falsity, cruelty and immorality all became associated with Spain, by extension from their contempt for the papacy. Luther frequently compared the Spanish with Turks ‘I prefer a Turkish enemy to a Spanish protector, who exercises extreme cruelty’.¹²⁷ Luther’s anti-Semitism may also have influenced his hostility to the Spanish. The Hanseatic League gained partisans in the context of sectarian struggles, as merchants from different areas sought protection under their banner. This strengthening was inimical to English interests. The publication of Luis de Avila y Zuñiga’s *Comentario de la guerra de Alemania* in 1550 in

Antwerp caused a violent reaction even amongst partisans of Charles, for enhancing Spain's part in the suppression of the heretical revolt and seemingly confirming their military superiority and domination. Roger Ascham recorded that Albert, Marquis of Brandenburg, had been so 'chafed' by the book 'wherein the honour of Germany and the princes thereof, and by name Marquis Albert, who was in the first wars on the emperor's side, was so defamed to all the world... [that] he offered the combat with Luis de Avila, which the emperor, for good will and wise respects, would in no case admit'.¹²⁸ It can be no accident that this text was published in English translation five years later in 1555 in London, the only significant translation of any Spanish text undertaken in connection with Philip and his entourage's visit.

Roger Ascham was a potentially important conduit for the Germanic version of the Black Legend. Most famous for his treatises on archery, *Toxophilus* (1545), and teaching Latin, *The Scholemaster* (1570), he had left England in September 1550 as secretary to Sir Richard Morison, ambassador to Charles V, and did not return until August 1553. While at the imperial court he befriended the Emperor's physician, Vesalius, studied the histories of Herodotus, Polybius, Machiavelli, and Paolo Giovio with Morison and learnt Italian from him and some German. He corresponded with Johannes Sleiden, historian of the Reformation, as well as delegates at Trent, including Johann Sturm.¹²⁹ He began his *A Report and Discourse of the Affairs and State of Germany* in mid-May 1552; a pragmatic political history based on his observations of day to day events following Charles' flight from Innsbruck, portraying the emperor as 'blinded with the over-good opinion of his own wisdom, liking only what himself listed, and contemning easily all advice of others'.¹³⁰ No doubt it was intended as a piece of intelligencing for Edward's privy council. After his return to England in August 1553, despite having been Elizabeth's Latin tutor and being associated with prominent reformers like John Cheke, alongside the vociferous objections of Mary's strongly Catholic intimate Sir Francis Englefield, he was eventually appointed the queen's Latin secretary on 7th May 1554; no doubt in part through the good offices of former patrons, like Gardiner or Paget, and others like Sir William Petre, to whom he initially offered his services as tutor to his children or Mary Clarke, a lady-in-waiting of Queen Mary.¹³¹ He dined with Pole and inspected his *Pro ecclesiasticae unitatis defensione*, which was republished at Strasbourg in 1555. Ascham offered in his manuscript report an

especially unflattering picture of Pedro de Toledo, the duke of Alba's uncle, and viceroy of Naples, who

used himself with much cruelty over the people of Naples, by exactions of money without measure, by inquisition of men's doings without order, and not only of men's doings, but also of men's outward lookings and inward thinkings, using the least suspicion for a sufficient witness to spoil and to kill whomsoever he listed... men's suits were pulled from common law to private will, and were heard not in places open to justice, but in private parlours, shut up to all that came not in by favour or money.¹³²

This individual study in tyranny, drawn from the experience of Italy, might be seen as personal and particular to a corrupt nobleman, however, he went on to cite Albert of Brandenburg's book for 'sore envying against the pride of the Spaniards, and the authority of strangers, which had now in their hands the seal of the empire... compelling the Germans in their own country to use strange tongues for their private suits' and concludes that Maurice of Saxony tried to obtain help from 'as many as hated the Spaniards, that is to say, almost all protestants and papists too in Germany'.¹³³ There is an early, indirect allusion to the Spanish Inquisition in his reference to 'inward thinkings'. Ascham's purpose in his history, though, to analyse the partialities, family ties, factional interests, and financial motives behind the political struggles that had led the empire back into crisis by 1552, turns on the concept of *unkindness*; personal relationships betrayed, slights and dishonours, that compelled subjects to fall away from Charles. The topos of Turkish cruelty imitated by Christians invoked in an anecdote at the outset, underlies his critique of those uncommitted to God's word, both those he refers as papists, as well as those uninterested in religion, like the king of France.¹³⁴ In his story, a gentleman of the king of the Romans captured in battle is sliced up in front of the delegation sent to ransom him and fed to dogs. In symmetrical revenge, three Turkish captives have 'collops' of their flesh cut off and are fed to pigs by the 'Christian men' rather than being ransomed. Ascham was 'not so angry with the Turks... as I am sorry for the Christian men that follow them'.¹³⁵ This incident becomes for him a synecdoche for Christianity's barbarous degradation. It underlines the urgent need for reform in Christendom and is at

the heart of his providential understanding of history. By 1570, looking back on the time when ‘Papistrie, as a standyng poole, couered and ouerflowed all England’, he inveighed against ‘bookes of Cheualrie’, written by ‘idle Monkes, or wanton Channons’, whose pleasure lay in ‘open mans slaughter, and bold bawdrye’, vices that threatened the youth; with the most dangerous books of all being those ‘made in Italie, and translated in England’.¹³⁶ Here where one might expect him to look to Spain, instead it is the Italianate that stands for the contaminating, morally suspect, and culturally toxic.

7 Spanish Tudor / English Habsburg

Notes

¹ So expressed in Joan Thomas, 'Before the Black Legend: Sources of Anti-Spanish Sentiment in England, 1553 – 1558', Unpublished PhD, University of Illinois, Urbana, 1972, p. 1.

² *Cal. Scot.*, Vol. 1, no. 416. The 5th Earl of Westmoreland, Henry Neville, was responsible for crushing the Stafford revolt in April 1557 and by May had been named general of the horse in northern England. His wooden effigy, along with ones of two of his wives, can still be seen in Staindrop church in county Durham.

³ E. H. Harbison, *Rival Ambassadors at the Court of Queen Mary* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940), p. 330.

⁴ David Loades, *The Reign of Mary Tudor: Politics, Government and Religion, 1553–1558* (London: Longman, 2nd ed. 1991), pp. 69–70.

⁵ A. M. Kinghorn, *The Chorus of History: Literary-Historical Relations in Renaissance Britain 1485 – 1558* (London: Blandford Press, 1971), p. 77.

⁶ John Skelton, *The Complete English Poems*, ed. John Scattergood (Penguin: Harmondsworth, 1983), pp. 231 – 2. On these lines see Greg Walker, *John Skelton and the Politics of the 1520s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 78 – 9.

⁷ David Loades, *Mary Tudor: The Tragical History of the First Queen of England* (The National Archives, 2006), p. 126.

⁸ Susan Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony: The Courtships of Elizabeth I* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 23.

⁹ Alluded to by John Edwards, *Mary I: England's Catholic Queen* (London: Yale University Press, 2011), p. 217.

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- ¹⁰ John Gough Nichols, ed, *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant Taylor of London 1550–1563* (London: Camden Society, 1848), p. 74 and see Miranda Kaufman, ‘Africans in Britain, 1500 – 1640’, PhD Thesis, Oxford, 2011, pp. 125 – 6.
- ¹¹ Edwards, *Mary I*, pp. 165 – 6.
- ¹² David Loades, ‘Literature and National Identity’ in David Loewenstein and Janel Mueller, eds, *The Cambridge History of Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 201 – 28, p. 201.
- ¹³ Philip Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism, and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 1.
- ¹⁴ On the complexity of loyalties within the guilds in this period see Joseph Ward, *Metropolitan Communities: Trade Guilds, Identity, and Change in Early Modern London* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), pp. 3 ff and 144 – 6.
- ¹⁵ Scott Oldenburg, ‘Toward a Multicultural mid-Tudor England: The Queen’s Royal Entry circa 1553, *The Interlude of Weath and Health*, and the Question of Strangers in the Reign of Mary I’, *English Literary History* 76 (2009), 99 – 129, p. 100
- ¹⁶ Oldenburg, ‘Toward a Multicultural mid-Tudor England’, p. 122.
- ¹⁷ See Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: the Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).
- ¹⁸ *English Historical Documents, Vol. V:1485–1558*, ed. C. H. Williams, p. 196. See Nigel Goose, ‘“Xenophobia” in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England: An Epithet Too Far’ in *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, ed. Nigel Goose and Lien Luu (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2005), 110 – 35, p. 112. This kind of attitude frequently finds expressions in the cautious correspondence of the imperial ambassador Simon Renard.
- ¹⁹ Goose, ‘“Xenophobia” in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England’, p. 113. From *Itinerary* Part 3 pp. 35 and 151.
- ²⁰ Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), p. 14. On the riot see Martin Holmes, ‘Evil May Day, 1517: the Story of a Riot’, *History Today* 15 (1965), 642 – 50.

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- ²¹ Steve Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds: Structures of Life in sixteenth-century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 45 and 104.
- ²² Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds*, pp. p. 83 and 276.
- ²³ Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds*, p. 277.
- ²⁴ Oldenburg, 'Toward a Multicultural mid-Tudor England', p. 112.
- ²⁵ John Foxe, *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online or TAMO* (1570 edition) (HRI Online Publications, Sheffield, 2011), Book 11, p. 2134. Available from: <http://www.johnfoxe.org/>. [Accessed: 30th August 2015]
- ²⁶ Foxe, *TAMO*, Book 12, p. 2265. Available from: <http://www.johnfoxe.org/>. [Accessed: 30th August 2015] and Oldenburg, *ibid*, p. 111 and note 57.
- ²⁷ Alastair Hamilton, *The Family of Love* (Cambridge: James Clarke, 1981), pp. 115 – 41.
- ²⁸ Ian Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 133. See LMA Repertory of the Court of Aldermen 13, fos. 427, 432, 444, 445, 451.
- ²⁹ See William Page, ed, *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England, 1509 – 1603*, 59 vols. (Lymington: Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, 1893), vol. viii, p. xxxi.
- ³⁰ Oldenburg, 'Toward a Multicultural mid-Tudor England', p. 107.
- ³¹ Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds*, p. 89.
- ³² James Walvin, *The Black Presence: A Documentary History of the Negro in England, 1555 – 1860* (London: Orbach and Chambers, 1971). On the repercussions of these ideas for evolving contemporary ideas about Englishness and British national identity, see Yasmin Alibhai-Brown, *Who do we think we are? Imagining the New Britain* (London: Penguin, 2000), 47 – 50 and Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (London: Pluto Press, 1984). The bibliography on this topic has recently been added to by Miranda Kaufmann's definitive consideration of *Black Tudors: The Untold Story* (London: Oneworld, 2017).

³³ On the play's topical allusions to Mary and Pole see T. W. Craik, 'The Political Interpretation of Two Tudor Interludes: Temperance and Humility and Wealth and Health', *Review of English Studies* ns. 14 (1953), 98 – 108.

³⁴ John Christopherson, *An exhortation to all menne to take hede and beware of rebellion* (London: John Cawood, 24th July 1554), sig. Ni v – Nii r.

³⁵ John Proctor, *The historie of wyates rebellion* (London: Robert Caly, 10th Jaunary 1555), sig. Civ v. Both examples are discussed by Oldenburg, pp. 107 and 121.

³⁶ Oldenburg, 'Toward a Multicultural mid-Tudor England', p. 100.

³⁷ Figures from Lien Bich Luu, *Immigrants and Industries of London, 1500 – 1700* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 36 and 92.

³⁸ Steve Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds*, Chapter 2 – The Nature and Extent of Citizenship, 23 – 60, p. 42.

³⁹ Luu, *Immigrants and Industries*, p. 102.

⁴⁰ Andrew Borde, *The fyrst boke of the introduction of knowledge. The whych dothe teache a man to speake parte of all maner of languages, and to know the usage and fashion of all maner of countreys. And for to know the moste parte of all maner of coynes of money, the whych is currant in euery region* (London: William Copeland, 1549; repr. 1555?), sig. A3v and L1r. The reprinting at the outset of Mary's reign of a work originally dedicated to her is significant, although it is not exactly flattering about many kingdoms that fell within the purview of Philip and Mary's empire. See Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez, *The Dutch Revolt through Spanish Eyes: Self and Other in historical and literary texts of Golden Age Spain (c. 1548 – 1673)* (Bern: Peter Lang, trans. and rev. 2008), pp. 48 – 9.

⁴¹ Borde, *The fyrst boke*, sig. F2v.

⁴² Vicente Alvarez, 'Relación del camino y buen viaje que hizo el príncipe de España...1551', in Juan Christóbal Calvete de Estrella, *El felicissimo viaje del muy alto y muy poderoso Príncipe don Phelippe*, ed. José María de Francisco Olmos and Paloma Cuenca (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2001), p. 666: 'algunos se paran tales con la cervesa doble que no se pueden levantar y allí se mean... Entre la gente commún no tienen por afrenta emborracharse'.

⁴³ See my “‘Last thought upon a windmill’?: Cervantes and Fletcher’ in John Ardila, ed, *The Cervantean Heritage: Reception and Influence of Cervantes in Britain* (London: Legenda, 2009), pp. 223 – 33 and ‘Lazarillo de Tormes and the Picaresque in Early Modern England’ in Andrew Hadfield, ed, *Oxford Handbook of English Prose 1500–1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2013), 121–36.

⁴⁴ Borde, *The fyrst boke*, sig. K3v–L3r.

⁴⁵ John Ponet, *An Apologie fully answeringe by Scriptures and aunceant Doctors a blasphemose Book gatherid by D. Steph. Gardiner of late Lord Chancelar, D. Smyth of Oxford, Pighius, and other Papists* ([Stragbourg: heirs of W. Köpfel?], 1555), sig. C8v–D1r, pp. 48–9.

⁴⁶ Stephen Gardiner, *A traictise declaringe and plainly prouying, that the pretended marriage of prestes, and professed persons, is no marriage... Herewith is comprised in the later chapitres, a full confutation of Doctour Poynettes boke entitled a defence for the marriage of prestes. By Thomas Martin* (London: Roberty Caley, May 1554).

⁴⁷ Ponet, *An Apologie*, sig. Avi v and Avii v.

⁴⁸ Thomas Wilson’s *The Arte of Rhetorique for the vse of all suche as are studious of eloquence* (London: Richard Grafton, January 1553; London: John Kingston, 1560), sig. Aaiii r and sig. M3r–v. See Mark Sanchez, ‘Anti-Spanish Sentiment in English Literary and Political Writing, 1553–1603’, University of Leeds, unpublished PhD, 2004, p. 71.

⁴⁹ See Sverker Arnoldsson, *La leyenda negra: estudios sobre sus orígenes* (Gothenburg: Gothenburg University Press, 1960), p. 67.

⁵⁰ Mark Sanchez, ‘Anti-Spanish Sentiment’, p. 20.

⁵¹ Thomas Cooper and Thomas Lanquet, *Coopers Chronicle, conteininge the whole discourse of the histories as well of this realme, as all other countreis* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1560), sigs. Bii v and Biii v. The same text is repeated verbatim in Richard Grafton, *An abridgement of the Chronicles of England* (London: Richard Totell, 1562), sig. X iv r, fol. 164.

⁵² Paulina Kewes, ‘The Exclusion Crisis of 1553 and the Elizabethan Succession’, in Susan Doran and Thomas Freeman, eds, *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 49.

⁵³ Doran, ‘A “Sharp Rod” of Chastisement: Mary I through Protestant Eyes during the Reign of Elizabeth I’, in *ibid*, p. 26.

⁵⁴ See John Edwards, *Mary I: England’s Catholic Queen* (London: Yale University Press, 2011), pp. 295 – 304.

⁵⁵ M. J. Rodríguez Salgado and Simon Adams, eds and trans, ‘The Count of Feria’s Dispatch to Philip II of 14 November 1558’, *Camden Miscellany*, 29, 4th series (London: Royal Historical Society: 1984), 302 – 44, esp. p. 313.

⁵⁶ Thomas Brice, *A compendious Register in metre, containing the names and patient sufferings of the members of Jesus Christ, and the tormented, and cruelly burned within England* (London: John Kingston for Richard Adams, 1559) repr. in Edward Arber, *An English Garner: Tudor Tracts, 1532 – 1588*, intro. by A. F. Pollard (Westminster: Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd., repr. 1903), pp. 264 and 267. See also Sanchez, p. 86.

⁵⁷ John Foxe, *TAMO* (1583), Book 11, p. 1553. Available from: <http://www.johnfoxe.org/>. [Accessed 14th October 2012.]

⁵⁸ ‘Hanc tamen vexationem haeretici formidantes, ut se ab illa eripere valerent astutia serpentina docuerunt illicitam esse haeticorum punitionem, tyrannosque potius quam Reges esse dixerunt eos, qui haeticos puniunt, aut poenis, & cruciatibus illos ad fidem tenendam cogunt. Hac enim via putarunt Christianorum Principum animos ab ipsorum punitione deterrere, & prorsus revocare: ut vel sic impetrata, aut potius extorta impunitate liberius quotquot vellent, possent verbis, & scripturis haereses docere,’ Alfonso de Castro, *De justa haeticorum punitione* (Antwerp: John Stelsius, 1568), sig. a4 r.

⁵⁹ Eamon Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (London: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 113.

⁶⁰ *Comentarios... sobre el Catechismo Christiano* (Antwerp: Martin Nucio, 1558) [BL 476.e.5]. On the trial see José Ignacio Tellechea Idígoras, *El arzobispo Carranza y su tiempo*, 2 vols (Madrid: Ediciones Guadarrame, 1968) and *El proceso romano del arzobispo Carranza (1567 – 1576)* (Rome: Iglesia Nacional Española, 1988). His time in England is dealt with in *Fray Bartolomé Carranza y el Cardenal Pole: Un navarro en la restauración católica de Inglaterra (1554 – 1558)* (Pamplona:

Editorial Aranzadi, 1977), esp. p. 51 and more recently in John Edwards and Ron Truman, ed, *Reforming Catholicism in the England of Mary Tudor: the Achievement of Friar Bartolomé Carranza* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).

⁶¹ See Teodoro Olarte, *Alfonso de Castro (1495 – 1558): Su vida, tiempo y sus ideas –filológico-jurídicas* (San Jose: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, 1946), p. 252: ‘Est alia poena de qua nihil prorsus hucusque Ecclesia statuit, quia per ecclesiasticas sanctiones illam statuit non conveniebat. Talis est mors’. I would like to recognise the indispensable help of my brilliant colleague Professor Gesine Manuwald with this and the Latin translations below.

⁶² AGS Indiferente 858. A translation with a useful introduction and other material was printed in Martin Austin Nesvig, ed, *Forgotten Franciscans: Works from an Inquisitorial Theorist, a Heretic and an Inquisitorial Deputy*, Latin American Originals (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011).

⁶³ BNE, MSS 9936 (covering the period 1521– 1549) and 9937 (1550 – 1558).

⁶⁴ Nesvig, ed, *Forgotten Franciscans*, pp. 7–8.

⁶⁵ On Ocampo see Introduction.

⁶⁶ Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus, *A Discovery and playne Declaration of the sundry subtill practices of the Holy Inquitision of Spayne* (London: John Day, 1568).

⁶⁷ Gordon Kinder, *Casiodoro de Reina: Spanish Reformer of the Sixteenth Century* (London: Tamesis, 1975), p. 47, footnote 40.

⁶⁸ Montanus, *A Discovery and playne Declaration*, sig. Aiv v.

⁶⁹ Montanus, *A Discovery and playne Declaration*, sig. Aiii r.

⁷⁰ Montanus, *A Discovery and playne Declaration*, sig. Aii r.

⁷¹ Montanus, *A Discovery and playne Declaration*, sig. *Biiii r.

⁷² Montanus, *A Discovery and playne Declaration*, sig. *Bi r and *Bii r.

⁷³ Montanus, *A Discovery and playne Declaration*, sig. *Biiii r.

⁷⁴ Foxe, *TAMO* (1570), Book 12, p. 2338. Available from: <http://www.johnfoxe.org/>. [Accessed 5th April 2012.]

⁷⁵ Foxe, *TAMO* (1570), Book 12, p. 2338. Available from: <http://www.johnfoxe.org/>. [Accessed 14th October 2012.]

⁷⁶ Foxe, *TAMO* (1583), Book 12, p. 2072. Available from: <http://www.johnfoxe.org/>. [Accessed 31st August 2012.]

⁷⁷ Christopher Lever, *The Historie of the Defendors of the Catholique Faith; discoursing the State of Religion in England, and the care of the politiqe state for Religion during the reignes of King Henry 8, Edward 6, Queene Marie, Elizabeth, and ... King James* (London: G. M. for N. Fussell and H. Moseley, 1627), titlepage: ‘non natura sed pontificorum arte ferox’.

⁷⁸ See the excellent discussion in Susan Doran, ‘A “Sharp Rod” of Chastisement’, pp. 28 – 31 and 35 on which this paragraph is based.

⁷⁹ Victor Houlston, ‘Mary Tudor and the Elizabethan Catholics’, in Doran and Freeman, eds, *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives*, pp. 43 – 4.

⁸⁰ John Foxe, *Two Latin Comedies*, ed. J.H. Smith (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1973), p. 349 and footnotes 2 – 4. Linen and wool were not supposed to be mixed together according to the Old Testament. On the play see Andreas Höfele, ‘John Foxe, *Christus Triumphans*’ in Thomas Betteridge and Greg Walker, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Drama* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 123 – 43.

⁸¹ Found at lines ll. 125 – 8.

⁸² Sverker Arnoldsson, *La leyenda negra: estudios sobre sus orígenes* (Gothenburg: Gothenburg University Press, 1960), p. 59: ‘li chiamasse eretici, scismatici et maledetti da Dio, seme di giudei e di marrani, feccia del mondo; deplorando la miseria d’Italia, che fosse astretta a servire gente cosi abietta e cosi vile’. See *Cal. Ven.* VI, I, 520 – 2, n. 546 and 514 – 5, n. 541.

⁸³ Anon., *La Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes, y sus fortunas y aduersidades* (Antwerp: Martin Nucio, 1554). The exact date of this edition is not known but the earliest extant from Alcalá had been published on 26th February.

⁸⁴ Francisco López de Gómara, *La historia general de las Indias* (Antwerp: Juan Steelsio, 1554), sig Nn7 r, fol. 287: ‘todos quantos han hecho morir Indios assi [en las minas, en la pesqueria de perlas, y en las cargas], que han sido muchos, y casi todos, han acabado mal: en lo cual pareceme, que Dios ha

castigado sus grauiſsimos peccados por aquella via. Yo escriuo sola, y breuemente, la conquista de Indias: quien quisiere ver la justificacion della, lea al doctor Sepulueda Coronista del Emperador'. On the status of López de Gómara's account in debates about the justice and licitude of Spanish imperialism, see Cristián Roa de la Carrera, *Histories of Infamy: Francisco López de Gómara and the Ethics of Spanish Imperialism*, trans. Scott Sessions (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2005), Chapter 4 – 'Gómara and the Destruction of the Indies'.

⁸⁵ J. N. Hillgarth, *The Mirror for Spain, 1500–1700: The Formation of a Myth* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), Chapter 8 – The Low Countries: The Origins of the Black Legend, pp. 309–27.

⁸⁶ Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, *The Decades of the newe worlde or west India, conteynyng the navigations and conquestes of the Spanyards*, trans. Richard Eden (London: William Powell, 1555), sig. aii r–v.

⁸⁷ Arnoldsson, *La leyenda negra*, p. 115

⁸⁸ Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, *The Decades of the newe worlde*, sig. Eii v.

⁸⁹ *Tower Chronicle*, pp. 38 – 9.

⁹⁰ *A Faithful Admonition of a certeyne true Pastor and Prophete... translated with a Preface by M. Philip Melancthon*, trans. John Bale[?] (Greenwich: Conrad Freeman, May 1554), sig. Giii. See footnote 322 below.

⁹¹ *The Copye of a letter*, sig. Bii.

⁹² Sebastian Münster, *A treatyse of the newe India, with other new founde landes and Ilandes*, trans. Richard Eden (London: Stephen Mierdman for Edward Sutton, 1553), sig. Hv v.

⁹³ *A Shorte Treatise of politike pouer, and of the true Obedience which subiectes owe to kynges and other ciuile Governours, with an Exhortacion to all true naturall Englishe men* (Strasburg: heirs of W. Köpfel, 1556), sig. Fvii.r-v. This passage has been taken from Ponet's reading of Richard Eden's translation of the Italian historian Peter Martyr Anglerius' *Decades of the New World* (1555).

⁹⁴ See George Kubler, *Mexican Architecture of the Sixteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948), 2 vols, vol. 1, p. 78.

⁹⁵ John Hawkins's *A true declaration of the toublesome voyage of M. John Haukins to the parties of Guynea and the west Indies, in the yeares of our Lord 1567 and 1568* (London: Thomas Purfoote for Lucas Harrison, 1569), sig. A4.

⁹⁶ John Bale, *A declaration of Edmonde Bonners articles, concerning the cleargye of London dyocese whereby that execrable Antychriste, is in his righte colours reueled in the yeare of our Lord a. 1554 Newlye set fourth & allowed according to the order appointed in the Quenes Maiesties Iniunctions. Woo to them whiche builde in bloude & iniquity. Mich. iii. All thinges, whan they are rebuked of the lyght are manyfest. Ephe v.* (London: John Tysdall for Frauncis Coldocke, 1561), sig. *iiiiv. [STC 1289]

⁹⁷ Walter Howard Frere and William Kennedy, eds, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Reformation Period* (London: Longmans, 1910), vol. II: 1536–1558, pp. 330–72.

⁹⁸ Bale, *A declaration of Edmonde Bonners articles*, sig. Ci r.

⁹⁹ *A declaration of Edmonde Bonners articles*, sig. Fiii r – v.

¹⁰⁰ *A declaration of Edmonde Bonners articles*, sig. Hviii r.

¹⁰¹ *A declaration of Edmonde Bonners articles*, sig. Q7 r.

¹⁰² Sanchez, 'Anti-Spanish Sentiment', p. 59. This notion reached fulsome expression later in the century in *The Coppie of the Anti-Spaniard* (London: John Wolf, 1590), which described Philip II as a 'demie Moore, demie Jew, yea demie Saracine', a 'Saracin Castilian', and the Spanish as a 'Mauritanian race', and that the rest of Europe should 'with one breath to goe and abate the pride and insolencie of these Negroes', sigs. B2r, D2v, E1r and F1r. See discussion of this in Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 116 ff., esp. p. 123. Further examples of this trope in later writing are cited in Christopher Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), Chapter 6: Anglo-Spanish Relations and the Hispaniolized English Catholic, 151 – 187, pp. 162 – 3.

¹⁰³ John Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, 7 vols (London: Samuel Bagster, 1816), vol. 7, 'Number LXXI. A proclamation set forth by Thomas Stafford; from Scarborough Castle; exciting the English to deliver themselves fro the Spanyards', p. 376 – 7.

¹⁰⁴ John Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstruous regiment of women* Veritas temporis filia* (Geneva: Pierre-Jacques Poullain & Antoine Reboul, 1558), sig. G1r.

¹⁰⁵ Knox, *The First Blast*, sig. G1r.

¹⁰⁶ Discussed in my 'A Fine Romance: Anglo-Spanish Relations in the Sixteenth Century', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 39 (2009), pp. 68–9.

¹⁰⁷ On this, see my article 'The *adelantamiento* of Cazorla, *converso* Culture and Toledo's Cathedral Chapter's 1547 *estatuto de limpieza de sangre*', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 84 (2007), 819–36.

¹⁰⁸ An excellent discussion of the *juego de cañas* celebrated in London in 1554 is found in Babara Fuchs, *Maurophilia*, p. 98.

¹⁰⁹ See the delightfully drawn scene in Fuchs, *Maurophilia*, pp. 120–1.

¹¹⁰ See Erin Sadlack, *The French Queen's Letters: Mary Tudor Brandon and the Politics of Marriage in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011), p. 8.

¹¹¹ See Kenneth Bartlett, 'The English Exile Community in Italy and the Political Opposition to Queen Mary I', *Albion* 13 (1981), 223–241, p. 224 and especially notes 2 and 3.

¹¹² Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada, *El antijovio*, ed. Guillermo Hernández Peñalosa, 2 vols (Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1991), vol. 1, chapter 2, p. 29: 'Sobre todas las naciones contadas y sobre todas las demás que hay derramadas por el mundo, tiene este odio particular que hemos dicho contra España los italianos'.

¹¹³ Tommaso Campanella, *De Monarchia Hispanica* (Amsterdam: Ludovicus Elzevirius, 1653), sig. M2 v, p. 180: 'In talibus insulis barones magis quam alibi supprimendi sunt; cum situs locorum illis majorem quam alibi ansam novandarum rerum praebeat, & ingenio ad tyrannidem proclives sint. Quare praestat barones ex aliis nationibus huc transmittere; ad id vero convenientiores reliquis sunt Hispani, cum sint sub eodem climate positi; illisque tam officia, quam negotiationes committendae; quibus & Transalpini adjungendi sunt, partim militaturi, partim suscipiendae proli'. My thanks again to Gesine Manuwald for her help with the translation of these lines.

¹¹⁴ Arnoldsson, *La leyenda negra*, pp. 27 – 38.

¹¹⁵ Nerida Newbiggin, ed, *Gl'Ingannati (1537)* (Bologna: Arnaldo Forni, fac. ed. 1984), sig. Civ v, p. 95: 'GIGLIO. Guadagno? Giuro a Dios que piú guadagnarite con á mi que con el primo gentil ombre

de esta tierra; y, aunque vos paresque cosí male aventurade, io son de los buenos y bien nascidos ydalgos de toda Spagna. PASQUELLA. Un miracolo non ha detto signore o cavaliere! poi che tutti gli spagnuoli che vengon qua si fan signori. E poi mirate che gente!'.

¹¹⁶ Francesco Guicciardini, *Opera Omnia*, 'Relazione di Spagna' (1514) reproduced at http://digilander.libero.it/il_guicciardini/guicciardini_relazione_di_spagna.html (Accessed 22/10/12): 'che tutto el regno era pieno di giudei ed eretici, e la maggiore parte de' populi erano maculati di questa pravità; e si trovava in loro tutti li ufici e arrendamenti principali del regno, e con tanta potenza e numero, che si vedeva, non vi riparando, che in pochi anni Ispagna tutta arebbe lasciata la fede cattolica' / 'neri di colore e di statura piccola', 'sono ingegni punici'. I would like to thank Dilwyn Knox for his help with these translations and bibliography on Guicciardini.

¹¹⁷ Arnoldsson, *La leyenda negra*, p. 98: 'La familiaridad creciente con los usos y costumbres de los españoles durante el siglo XVI, facilitó el mejor conocimiento de la herencia oriental y africana de los mimosos, fortaleciendo así el concepto de que eran del mismo origen que los moros y los judíos'.

¹¹⁸ Francisco Delicado, *La lozana andaluza*, ed. Bruno Damiani (Madrid: Castalia, 1969), p. 101: 'en Roma no podrídes encontrar con hombre que mejor sepa el modo de cuántas putas hay, con manta o sin manta. Mirá, hay putas graciosas más que hermosas, y putas que son putas antes que mochachas. Hay putas apasionadas, putas estregadas, afeitadas, putas esclarecidas, putas reputadas, reprobadas. Hay putas mozárabes de Zocodover, putas carcaveras...'. Translation by Bruno Damiani, *Portrait of Lozana: the Lusty Andalusian Lady* (Potomac: Scripta Humanistica, 1987), pp. 90 – 1.

¹¹⁹ Arnoldsson, *La leyenda negra*, p. 100.

¹²⁰ Juan del Encina, *Teatro completo*, ed. Miguel Angel Pérez Priego (Madrid: Cátedra, 1991), p. 16: 'Si quantos virgos he fecho / tantos tuviesse ducados, / no cabrían hasta el techo'.

¹²¹ Thomas Dandeleet, *Spanish Rome: 1500 – 1700* (London: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 218.

¹²² On Alfonso de Valdés and his family see Dorothy Donald and Elena Lázaro, *Alfonso de Valdés y su época* (Cuenca: Diputación Provincial, 1983).

¹²³ Antonio de Corro *Reglas gramaticales para aprender la lengua Espanola y Francesa, confiriendo la vna con la otra, segun el orden de las partes de la oration Latinas* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1586).

¹²⁴ A superb account of Juan de Valdés, his culture context and courtly career is Daniel Crews, *Twilight of the Renaissance: The Life of Juan de Valdés* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), see p. 153 on justification and Carafa. See also Angel Castellán, ‘Juan de Valdés y el círculo de Nápoles’, *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 36 (1962), 199–291.

¹²⁵ See Miles Pattenden, *Pius IV and the Fall of the Carafa: Nepotism and Papal Authority in Counter-Reformation Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 8.

¹²⁶ Hugh Thomas, *The Golden Age: The Spanish Empire of Charles V* (London: Allen Lane, 2010), Chapter 12: The Germans at the Banquet: The Welsers, pp. 150 – 58.

¹²⁷ Arnoldsson, *La leyenda negra*, p. 120: ‘Malo Turcam hostem quam Hispanum protectorem, qui extremam exercet crudelitatem’. My thanks to Gesine Manuwald for her help with the translation.

¹²⁸ Roger Ascham, *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham*, 3 vols, ed. J. Giles (London: John Russell Smith, 1865), p. 29.

¹²⁹ ODNB.

¹³⁰ Ascham, *The Whole Works*, p. 19.

¹³¹ His letter book as Mary’s Latin secretary is preserved as BL Add MS 35840.

¹³² Ascham, *The Whole Works*, pp. 23 – 24.

¹³³ Ascham, *The Whole Works*, p. 28 and 53.

¹³⁴ See Linda Bradley Salamon, ‘Blackening “The Turk” in Roger Ashcam’s *A Report of Germany*’ in Margaret Greer, Walter Mignolo and Maureen Quilligan, eds, *Rereading the Black Legend, The Discourses of Racial and Religious Difference in the Renaissance Empires* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 270 – 92, which argues that the text is precursor of England’s version of the Black Legend. I am suggesting its legacy is even more direct, influencing the anti-Marian propaganda below, not a reflection of the ‘English anti-Hispanism aroused by Philip II’, but one of the things that produced it.

¹³⁵ Ascham, *The Whole Works*, p. 13.

¹³⁶ Ascham, *The Scholemaster: Or plaine and perfite way of teachyng children... the Latin tong* (London: John Day, 1570), sig Iii r – v.