

# Queen Mary I and a Court Form of Bidding Prayer in Medieval England

J. Frank Henderson

Frank Henderson's Page on Liturgy and Medieval Women  
<http://www.compumart.ab.ca/fhenders>

© 2003

## *Outline*

Introduction  
The Intercessions of Queen Mary  
    Internal Evidence of Dating  
    Methodology  
Form and Structure  
Pope, Cardinals, Bishops, Clergy, Religious, Nobility  
Queen and King  
Omissions  
The Dead  
Discussion

*Appendix:* Liturgies and prayers  
in expectation of a child

## **Introduction**

Medieval general intercessions -- or bidding prayers as they were called in England -- were used regularly at Sunday mass. They were wide-ranging in scope: church and society at large were prayed for as were all ranks of clergy from pope to local vicar; members of religious orders; royalty and various ranks of nobility, cities and their officials.

In the context of the Sunday parish mass, a large part of the prayer was directed to naming members of the local parish community: those present and those absent, travelers and pilgrims, farmers and merchants, the sick and the poor, pregnant women and nuns, those that lived good lives and those that did not, and others. Deceased relatives, friends, parishioners and others were prayed for at some length as well.

The general intercessions were intended to be relevant to each time and place, hence they were composed locally and varied in content, wording and order; each surviving text is distinct, though they all followed the same general pattern. They were never written or printed in place in

the missal, but are found on end pages, in margins, at the end of sermons, and simply on separate pages.

When bidding prayers were used by local church communities other than the parish, the content of the bidding prayer reflected their origin. In monasteries, certain cathedrals, hospitals, universities, pilgrimage sites and certain other places, bidding prayers could name their own leaders, members and benefactors, while continuing to pray for pope and clergy and for civil rulers.

Here I suggest that the royal court of England, with its chapel royal, constituted a particular form of local church community. This proposal is based on the identification of a novel and unique bidding prayer that names members of the royal court and its needs; its content is appreciably different than the intercessions used in parishes.

Medieval general intercessions from across Europe is identified in my *Medieval General Intercessions: Bibliography of Texts and Sources*. Ways that each type of local church community adapted the contents of the intercessions are considered in my *Women and Medieval General Intercessions: Introduction*.

Though dealing with a text from the 1550s, I refer to it as “medieval” because I believe that it is in continuity with those of the properly medieval period; it is at the end of a trajectory that began centuries before. It is not an “early Anglican” bidding prayer such as those in use from 1534 to the end of Henry VIII’s reign and through that of Edward VI, and as in use again during the reign of Elizabeth I.

### ***Basic sources and references***

H. O. Coxe, *Forms of Bidding Prayer*. Oxford: John Henry Parker 1840

*The Chronicle of Queen Jane, and of Two Years of Queen Mary...* ed. John Gough Nichols. London: Camden Society, new series 1850.

*The Acts and Monuments* of John Foxe, ed. Stephen Reed Cattley. London: R. R. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1837 [here vol 3]

Charles Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England During the Reigns of the Tudors*, from A.D. 1485 to 1559. London: Camden Society, new series, 1875

*The Diary of Henry Machyn*, from A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1563. London: Camden Society 1848

David Loades, *Mary Tudor A Life*. London: Oxford: Blackwells 1989

Agnes Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, 8 vol. London: Longmans Green 1875

[here vol 3]

J. M. Stone, *The History of Mary I. Queen of England*. New York: Dutton 1901

### **The Intercessions of Queen Mary I**

The intercessions under consideration here come from the court of Queen Mary I and King Philip of Aragon. They were embedded in "Bishop Bonner's Injunctions, 1554" and published by H. O. Coxe in his *Forms of Bidding Prayer*, pp 87-92 here 89-90. Coxe's excerpt begins with the following lengthy introduction and rationale by Bishop Bonner {bishop of London}.

Concerynge an uniforme order in Byddyng of the Bedes.  
Forasmuche as praier is a thynge muche commended, yea and commanded in Scripture, and Almyghty God greatly deliteth in it, eyther privately made, eyther elles publicly, but chiefly publicly made with good devotion, and charitie, tendynge to the honoure of God or the wealthe and profite of our even Christen; and finally for that we be all bounde by Scripture, and by reason also, one of us, being membres of the Churche, to pray in a due order, for the other, beyng membres of the same (whiche indede they and we are, not onely so longe as we are here livynge in this worlde but also after that we in the faithe of Christe be departed hens) meete and convenient it shall bee, that Christen people, assembling in the Churche, doo uniformly agree in prayer, and the pubyke minyster to use his peculiar office, agreeably to the principles and groundes of oure Christen relygion. For whyche purpose beyng desirous that all parsons, vicars, and curates within my dioces of London should kepe a decent uniforme fashion or trade in praiyng and bidding of the Beades within their severall cures, I have caused for my sayd diocesse an order and maner to be sette foorth therin, that the sayd parsons vicars and curates dooyng their duties in that behalf within their said cures, may praie and exhort other to pray, orderly for all estates, as they be bounde; and the order is this, as here nowe dooth folowe:

The prayer itself follows; divisions are mine.:

Ye shall pray for the Catholike Church of Christ, dispersed throughoute the whole worlde,  
and for the three estates of the same,  
that is for the spiritualtie, the temporaltie, and the soules departed this world,  
in the faythe of Christ, abydinge the mercy of God, in the paynes of purgatory.

And in the first parte I dooe commend unto youre good devotion, the good estate of oure most holye father the Pope, Paul the fowerth of that name,  
with the whole colledge of cardinalles,  
and especially the moste vertuous, learned, and godlye man, the lorde Cardinal Poole,  
Legate de Latere here in this realme;

also all archbyschoppes and byschoppes, especially your ordinarie and diocesan, the byshoppe of London, and all other that have anye cure or charge of soules.

And in the seconde part I doo commend unto your good devotion, to pray for the prosperous and happy estate of all Christen realmes, and especially for this realme of Englande, and all the dominions of the same; and herein, according to oure most bounden duetie, for the Kynge and Queenes most excellent Majesties, it is to witte, Kynge Philyp, and Queene Mary, by the grace of God, Kyng and Queene of England, Fraunce, Naples, Hierusalem, and Ireland, defendours of the fayth, princes of Spayne and Sicilie, archedukes of Austria, dukes of Mylan, Burgundie, and Brabant, countes of Haspurge, Flaunders, and Tryrrolles,

beseechynge Almyghtye God contyuallye to assiste and ayde them in all theyr affayres, and godly doynge, gyvyng theym their noble and good heartes desyre therein,

and to sende unto us of theyr bodyes most joyfull and comfortable fruite and issue, to the great glorye of God, their woorthy honoure, and the quietnesse, tranquillitie, and prosperitie of this whole realm and domynions of the same, with all the faithfull subjectes thereof,

grauntyng unto us the prosperous and safe retourne of the Kynges moste excellent Majestie, both nowe, and at all tyme els, when his sayd Majestie shall be absente from us.

And in this parte also ye shall pray hartly, and devoutely for the moste honourable councill of theyr Majesties, and all the Nobilitie, and the whole commons of this realme and domynions thereof.

Thirdly and lastely, ye shall praye for all the soules departed in the faith of our Saviour Jesus Christe, especially for the kynges and queenes moste noble progenitours and auncesters, beyng departed in the Catholike faith of Christ;

for this and for all Christen soules, and for grace necessary, I desyre you hartly to say a Pater noster, and an Ave Maria

No other bidding prayer from the reign of Mary I is known.

### ***Internal Evidence of Dating***

The text of the intercessions of Queen Mary includes internal evidence of its date of composition.

- (a) Obviously it was written during the reign of Queen Mary I. She was proclaimed in July 1553 and crowned in September 1553. She died 17 November 1558.
- (b) It was also written following the marriage of Queen Mary and King Philip on 25 July 1554.
- (c) The pope in office at the time was Pius IV; he was elected pope 23 May 1555. He died on 18 August 1559.
- (d) Cardinal Pole was in England; he arrived in London 24 November 1554.
- (e) King Philip was abroad at the time; he made several trips abroad and I have not attempted to keep track of these.
- (f) There may be a reference here to one of Mary's supposed pregnancies, though it may also simply be a general reference to hopes of having an heir. Twice during her reign, Mary is supposed to have a false or hysterical pregnancy, or an ovarian cyst, or ill-defined symptoms of menopause. One occurred in the winter-spring of 1554-1555; the other not long before her death.

The prayer would therefore appear to have been composed after the installation of Pope Pius IV in May 1555.

### ***Methodology***

The relatively large number of general intercessions that come from English parishes provide a basis for reference and comparison; I shall consider ways in which the intercessions of Queen Mary resemble parochial intercessions, ways in which its text was brought up to date to reflect contemporary needs, ways in which the text has been expanded beyond the typical parish prayers, and finally, ways that it omitted intentions normally found in parochial intercessions.

Excerpts from parochial intercessions will be quoted to illustrate these points. The source of each excerpt is identified and linked to the *Bibliography* through the use of a unique designator; full bibliographic information is therefore given only in the *Bibliography*. These designators have four elements. (1) a code for the country of origin or equivalent, in this always EN = England. (2) Within each of these groups the general intercessions are numbered consecutively, in approximate chronological order. (3) The name of a place or person with whom each text is associated is given next. (4) Finally, the approximate date of composition is provided.

### **Form and Structure**

The intercessions of Queen Mary I first of all recall the ordinary parish intercessions in form – a series of intentions followed by prayers of all present. They also resemble parochial intercessions in their general structure and order – the church in general, pope and cardinals, bishops and other clergy, king and queen, nobility, the dead -- but with some significant omissions.

### **Pope, Cardinals, Bishops, Clergy, Religious, Nobility**

Clergy are prayed for at the international level (pope, cardinals), national level (archbishops), diocesan level (bishop), local level (parsons, vicars); in addition, members of religious orders are usually also included. The intercessions of Queen Mary name the various ranks of the church, but in most cases the specific intentions are worded differently than in parish bidding prayers.

#### ***Pope***

Typical parish intercessions refer to pope and cardinals in relatively simple ways. For example:

For our holy father the Pope, with all hys Cardinells  
EN-38. Becon 1483

The intercessions of Queen Mary I are more elaborate in identifying the Pope by name: “Pope Paul, the fourth of that name.” This is most unusual.

#### ***Cardinal Pole***

Cardinals are commonly included in the intention for the pope; see above. Their names are never given in parish bidding prayers, however. The intercessions of Queen Mary are unique in naming the presence in England of the pope’s delagate or legate, Cardinal Reginald Pole: “and especially the moste vertuous, learned, and godlye man, the lorde Cardinal Poole, Legate de Latere here in this realme”. His arrival in London was described in contemporary accounts, as shown below.

The same day (24 Nov) cardinal Pole came from Gravesend by water, with the earl of Shrewsbury, the Lord Montagu, the bishops of Durham and Ely, the lord Paget, sir Edward Hastings, the lord Cobham, and diverse knyghts and gentyllmen, in barges, and thay all did shoot the bryge be-twyn xij and on of the clocke, and a-against the steleard of Temes my lord chanseler mett them in his barge, and my lord of Shrousbury had his barge with the talbot, all ys men in bluw cotes, red-hosse, skarlett capes, and white fethers; and so to the cort gatt, and ther the Kyng’s grace met him and inbrasyd hym, and

so lad ym thurgh the kynyng's hall; and he had borne a-for hym a sylver crosse, and he was arrayed in a skarlet gowne and a swqaure skarlette cape; and my lord North bare the swarde a-for the Kyng; and so they whent up unto the Quen's echambur, and ther her grace salutyd hym; and after he toke ys leyffe, and toke ys barge to ys plase at Lambeth, that was the bysshope of Cantorbuerys, Crenmer, and so to dener.

*Diary of Henry Machyn, pp 75-76*

The ij day of Desember dyd com to Powlles all prestes and clarkes with ther copes and crosses, and all the craftes in ther levere, and my lorde mayre and the althermen, agaynst my lord cardenall's commyng; and at the bysshopes of London plase mylord chansseler and alle the bysshopes tarchyning for my lord cardenall commyng, that was at ix of the cloke, for he landyd at Beynard Castell; and ther my lord mayre reseyyvyd hym, and browgth ym to the Powllse, and so my lord chanseler and my lord cardenall and all the byshopes whent up i-to the quer with their meyturs; and at x of the cloke the Kyng's grace cam to Powlles to her mase with iiim C of gaard, on C Englys, on C He-almen, on C Spaneards, on C of Swechenars, and mony lords and knyghtes, and hard masse. Boyth the quen's chapell and the kynges and Powless squer song.

*Diary of Henry Machyn, p 77*

See also Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, vol 3, p 567, 1554.

The status of a papal legate, and the type of reception he might expect to receive, is also illustrated by the following account of the arrival of a previous legate, Cardinal Campeggio in 1518.

This yeare, on a Thursday, the 29<sup>th</sup> day of Julie, a legat came from the Pope, and was received into London at after-noone. And there received him at the Black Heath the Bishop of Durrham, the Bishop of Ely, the Duke of Northfolke, with divers other great lordes and knyghtes, and all the orders of friers, channons, moncks of Stratforde and Tower Hill, with all parsons and priests of all the parishe churches in London, stode all in coopes with crosse, candlestickes, and sensors, from St Georges barre in Southwark to Leadn Hall corner. And ever as the legatt passed by them they sensed him; and so was he received thorowe the Cittie; he havinge borne before him 2 pillers of syler and gylt, and he himselfe ridinge in redd chamlett, with his cardinalls hatt on his heade, and the Major and Aldermen, with all the crafts of the Cittie, standinge in Cheepe-syde in their best liveries. And when he came before the Major and Aldermen yonge Mr More made there to him a proposition for the Cittie, and so he rode thorowe Paules Churches yeard. And when he came at the west dore of Powles the Bishop of London with all Powles quier, received him with procession in copes of cloth of golde, and a riche canopie of cloth of golde borne over his heade, and so brought him to the highe alter, where he saide his devotions and offered; and that done, he rode to the Bishopp of Bathes place at Temple barre, which was prepared for him, and so there remayned  
Writhesley, *Chronicle*, p 12

## ***Bishops***

Parish bidding prayers typically prayed for the archbishops (of Canterbury and of York), and the local bishop. Several examples are shown here.

Ye shulle bydde for the erchebyssop of Canturbury, for the byssop of Worssetre our ghostly fader and oder bissopis

EN-5. Winchester 1349

Yee shall praie also ... for owr lorde and fader the erchebyshop of Canterbury and for owr fader and lorde the bisshope of London and all other erchebisshop and bisshop, speciali of this londe

EN-13. London 15<sup>th</sup> c

The intercessions of Queen Mary are unexceptional here, but indicate that they were written within the diocese of London. As the court was itinerant to a considerable degree, this point cannot simply be assumed. Parochial intercessions might be specific or indefinite in this regard:

## ***Local Clergy***

Parish intercessions regularly prayed for local clergy at some length as the excerpts below illustrate.

For the parson of this kirk. For the prestis and the clerkis that reden and syngen in this kirke that God give hem grace so to do here service that iesus Crist beo praised here offe.

EN-17 York 1400-1413

and for the person of this kirke that has your saules to kepe and for all the prestes and clerkes that has serued or serues in this kirk or in any other.

EN-23 York 1405

Also ye shall praye for all them that haue charge and cure of chrysten mennes soules, as curates & parsones vycares, preestes & clerkes. And in especyal for the parson and curate of this chyrche, and for all the preestes and mynystres that serue therin, or haue serued therin. And for all them that haue taken ony ordre, that almyghty god gyue them grace to contynuaunce well for to kepe and obserue it, to the honour & helth of theyr soules.

EN-36. Wynchen de Worde 1483

In contrast, the intercessions of Queen Mary simply say: “and all other that have anye cure or charge of soules.”

## ***Religious Orders***

In contrast to parish bidding prayers, the intercessions of Queen Mary include no reference to monks, nuns, friars, hermits and other religious. The reason for this is not known.

## ***Nobility***

Parish bidding prayers often included intentions for the local nobles and for the nobility of the realm. The following are examples.

For the lord of this toun and for the levody and for alle here childere.  
EN-17. York 1400

and for dukes, eerls, and barons, and for al thilke that habbeth the pees of this lond to kepe...  
EN-15. Salisbury 1400

The intercessions of Queen Mary simplify this section of the prayer, saying only: “the moste honourable counsell of theyr Majesties and all the Nobilitie”.

## **Queen and King**

Medieval bidding prayers from England almost always included intentions for the king and queen. A few examples are given here:

Ye shull bydde for the king of Engelond, for the quene, and for all here childryne, for the prince...  
EN-5. Worchester 1349

Ye schall py for the state of the tempalty of all crystendum & in especyal of thys lond: for our sourayn lord the kyng and sovoyne lady the queen...  
EN-22. Butley 1401

for our lyege lorde the kyng... for our lyege lady the quene  
EN-36. Wynchen de Worde 1483

Comparison with the intercessions of Mary I show a number of points of difference. Thus the personal names of the king and queen are used; this is never the case in parochial intercessions. Bidding prayers would have named Queen Mary during the entire period of her reign, but the reference to Philip indicates that this prayer was composed after their marriage. Extant parochial intercessions refer to the king as sovereign and to his spouse the queen; here

Mary and Philip are both sovereigns

### ***Titles***

Parochial bidding prayers include only the simplest of titles for the king and queen. In contrast, the intercessions of Queen Mary provide a most elaborate and expanded set of titles. Technically, these are referred to as the sovereigns' "style", or "style and titles". Accounts of the time provide further information regarding this matter.

When Mary was first proclaimed queen, the title given by the herald was:

Of the most high, puissant, and most excellent princess, Mary the First, by the grace of God queen of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, of the church of England and Ireland supreme head.

Strickland, *Lives*, vol 3, p 466.

This corresponded to the titles used by Henry VIII after 1534 and by Edward VI. See the separate document on this website, *Sovereign and Pope in English Bidding Prayers before and after 1534*.

As Mary could not in conscience accept the idea of royal supremacy over the church, she immediately asked parliament to change her title. The new title was used in a letter to the bishop of London:

Maria Dei gratia, Angliae, Franciae, et Hiberniae regina, fidei defensor  
Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol 3, pp 432-433, 1554

John Foxe explains the change of titles – and shows his disapproval – as follows.

The same time when this parliament was summoned, she also summoned a convocation of bishops, and of the clergy, writing unto Bonner (whom she had made vicegerent in the stead of Cranmer, being then in the Tower) after the tenor and form of a new style, different from the old style of king Henry and king Edward, as followeth.

Where now, good reader, concerning the altering and changing the queen's style, the latter part thereof to be left out of her style, which is: "Ecclesiae Anglicanae et Hibernicae supremum capit" because in this present parliament the supremacy being given away from the crown of England to the pope, thereupon this parcel of the title was also taken away.

Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol 3, pp 432-433, 1554

At the time of their marriage, Mary and Philip received a new style and titles: Thus:

... the king of herolds openly, in presence of both their magesties and the whole audience, solemnly proclaymed this their new stile and title in Latin, Frenche, and in Englishe.

The stile in Latin, Philippus et Maria, Dei gratia, Rex et Regina Anglie, Francie, Neapolis, Hierusalem et Hibernie, fidei defensores, Principes Hispaniarum et Secilie, Archiduces Austrie, Duces Mediolani, Burgundie et Brabantie, Comites Haspurgi, Flandrie et Tyrolis

The stile in Englishe. Philip and Marie, by the grace of God king and quene of England, Fraunce, Naples, Hierusalem, and Irelande, defenders of the faith, princes of Spain and Secyll, archdukes of Austria, dukes of Millan, Burgundy, and Brabant, countes of Haspurge, Flaunders, and Tirol.

*Chronicle of Queen Jane*, p 142

Though rather long and complex, this style was generally used in full, as in the intercessions of Queen Mary. The London merchant Henry Machyn twice records the complete style in his diary (pp 34, 67), and Foxe records that the lord chancellor informed the university of Cambridge that “every preacher there should declare the *whole* style of the king and queen in their sermons.”

Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol x, p 566, 1554 [emphasis added]

(From the point of view of gendered language, it is interesting that this style gives Mary [as well as Philip] the masculine titles of archduke, duke and count. In Mary’s will, however, these are given as archduchess, duchess and countess. See Stone, *History of Mary I*, pp 507-517 and Loades, *Mary Tudor*, pp 370-383.)

## ***Children***

The intercessions of Queen Mary also include a most unusal prayer for the fertilygy of the royal couple: “and to send unto us of theyr bodyes most joyfull and comfortable fruite and issue”; there is no precedent for this in parochial bidding prayers. Certainly an heir was longed for (at least by Mary and her supporters), and twice Mary was thought wrongly to have been pregnant.

Several liturgies and prayers survive from the first period during which Mary was thought to have been pregnant. These and related texts are given in the *Appendix*.

## ***The King’s Absence***

Finally the intercessions of Queen Mary note the temporary absence from England of King Philip, but also suggest that he had been or could be away more than once: “grauntynge unto us the prosperous and safe retourne of the Kynges most excellent Majestie, both nowe, and

at all tyme els, when his sayd Majestie shall be absente from us.” Again, there is no precedent for this in parochial bidding prayers. In fact, Philip made several trips abroad, some for extended periods.

## **Omissions**

The intercessions of Queen Mary include several omissions -- some of considerable significance -- when compared with regular parochial texts.

### ***Elizabeth***

First, the Queen’s sister Elizabeth is not named, though both Mary and Elizabeth were named in prayers from the reign of Edward VI.

Queen Katharine Dowager, my Lady Maries grace, and my Lady elizabeth’s grace, your Majesties most dear sisters

Coxe, *Form*, p 76

I commend unto Almighty God your most excellent Majesty our Sovereign Lord [Edward VI}... Queen Katherine Dowager, my Lady Maries grace, and my Lady Elizabeth’s grace, your Majesties most dear sisters

Coxe, *Form*, p 83

### ***London***

The city of London is also not mentioned, though several parochial intercessions name it at length, for example.

Yee schulleth also bidde for ye meir of this toun, and for al the communitie.

EN-15. Salisbury 1400

Ye shule also pray specially for the welfayr and prosperite of this worshopefule cyte of London, for my rytht worship and reverente maister our maier, with all my maisters his bretherne aldermen; for the schereffs and all other offycers and dwellers in the shame.

EN-13. London 15<sup>th</sup> c

### ***People of the Parish***

Finally, and of great significance, there are no intentions for the people of the parish; only “the whole commons of this realme and domynions thereof”

As set forth at greater length (and with examples) in my *Women and Medieval General*

*Intercessions: Introduction*, intentions for the living in parochial intercessions might include the following: all parishioners and the entire community, those present, those absent, pregnant women, widows, orphans, children, the poor, the sick, those in distress, gild members, pilgrims, those who supply bread, parish benefactors, almsgivers, founders and oldest members, those who pay tithes and offerings, those who do not pay tithes, oneself, family and friends, married women, personal benefactors, persons for whom prayers have been promised, those in a state of grace, prisoners, penitents, personal malefactors, sinners, enemies, unbelievers, evildoers, the excommunicated. There could also be intentions for captives, those at war, civic benefactors, the practice of agriculture, merchants and commerce, sailors, workers, servants.

## **The Dead**

Medieval parish bidding prayers often almost always included an extensive series of intentions for the dead.

### *Deceased Commoners*

The prayers for the dead usually included only parish folk, not clergy, royalty or nobility. For example:

Ye schulleth kneling bidde for youre fadres soules, for oure modre soules, for youre brothur soules, for sustur soules, for youre godfadur soules, for godde modur soules, and for alle your kinnes soules.

Ye schul also bidde for alle the soules whos bones restuth in this chirche or chirchehey or in eny other holi place, and for alle the soules that habbeth yife in her lyf or by quethe eny manere good to this place, wher for Godes seruice is the feiror y do in this holy stede.

Ye shulleth also bidde for alle the soules that ben in payn of purgatorie, that God for his merci for youre bedes the rathur bringe hem to blisse and to reste, and for alle the soules ye han hed of her godus wher fore yeo beoth in dette fort bidde and for alle cristen soules Pater noster et Ave.

EN-15. Salisbury 1400

The intercessions of Queen Mary refer to deceased commoners only indirectly, by saying “Thirdly and lastely, ye shall praye for all the soules departed in the faith of our Saviour Jesus Christe”.

### *Deceased royalty*

Intentions for deceased royalty and clergy are uncommon in English bidding prayers. Here, however, is one example of an exceptional parish bidding prayer that referred to clergy and royalty.

Furthermore ye shal pray for al kristen sowles, for al archebysshoppis & bisshoppis sowles and in especial for al them that haue be bisshoppis of this diosyce, and for al curatis, persones and vycayres sowles and in especial for the sowles of them that haue ben vuratis of this chirche and for the sowles that haue seruyd in this chirche. Also ye shal pray for the sowles of alle crysten kynges and quenes and in especial for the sowles of them that haue ben kynges of this royaume of Englund, and for al the sowles that to this chirche haue yeuen boke, belle, chalys or vestement or any other thyng by whiche the seruyce of God is better doon & Holy Chirche worshipped.

EN-37 Caxton 1483

There are also two examples from England that refer to a number of deceased kings and nobles, and do so by personal name.

And on the second part We shall pray for all kyngges soule patrones of this church and alle other lordes, that haue worshipped hit with her bodyes, rentis, or any other iowels, and in especiall for the sowles of the kynges William rows [Rufus], Henry the furst kyng, . . . Stephen Kyng, Herry the secunde, Richard the first, Kyng Jonnys soule, and the kynges soule Herry the thryd, the kynges soule Edward the furst, Edward the second, Edward the thryd, and for Edwardes soule prince of Walis, which yaf moche goode to the table of the high auter, for the soule of kyng Richard the secunde, for the kynges soule Herry the fourthe, and for the kynges soule Herry the fyfte, and for the soul oof kyng Herry the syxte, and for the soule of kyng Edward the fowryth

EN-12. Salisbury, 15<sup>th</sup> c

Also ye shall praye for the soule of Kyng Athelstan, the ferst founder of this place, for Kyng Edgar, Kyng Alfrede, Kyng William Conqueror, Kyng William Ruf, Kyng Henry, Kyng Steph., Kyng Harry, Kyng Richard, Kyng John, Kyng Harry, Kyng Edward, also for the soul of Edward son tyme Prince of Wales

for Thomas, some tyme Duke of Excetre, for John, late Duke of Excetre, for Anne, later, Dutchesse of Excetre, for Hugh Courtenay, some tyme Erle of Devonshie, and Margarete his wyfe.

Also ye shall praye for the soules of all chrysten kynges and quenes and in especyal for the soules of them that haue ben kynges of this noble realme of Englonde.

EN-33. Exeter 1461

Two later texts also name royalty by name may also be given.

And I shall desire you to commend unto God with your prayers the souls departed unto God in Christ's faith, and among these most especially for our late Sovereign Lord King Henry VIII, your Majesties most noble father; for these and for grace necessary, I shall desire you to say a Pater noster, etc.

Coxe, *Form*, pp 82-83 [here 83]

Henricum dico Septimum, et Elizabetham uorem ejus, Hemphredum ducem Glocestriae, Margaretam comittisam Richmondiae, Johannem Kempium, archiepiscopum Cantuariensen, Thomam Kempium, episcopum Londinensen, Henricum Octavum, Reginam Mariam, et saeculi sui sexusque phoenicem Elizabetham, ejusque regni religionisque horreden dignissimum...

Coxe, *Form*, pp 146-151 [here 149]

References to deceased royals in the intercessions of Queen Mary are relatively brief and simple: "Ye shall praye...especially for the kyns and queenes moste noble progenitours and auncesters, beyng departed in the Catholike faith of Christ".

## Discussion

The prayer of Queen Mary I studied here is definitely a general intercessions or bidding prayer in form, general structure, and some aspects of its content. Its strong focus on the queen and king, and its failure to include people of the parish, however, show that it is not a typical medieval bidding prayer used in parishes. Instead, I feel there is adequate evidence to identify this text as one used by the royal court or at least highly influenced by a court form of bidding prayer.

Particularly noteworthy is the fact that Bishop Bonner wished to impose the intercession of Queen Mary on all the churches in the diocese of London as the only permissible text for use in Sunday worship. It must be remembered, however, that English parishes were no longer using the "regular" or "traditional" medieval form of bidding prayer (including significant variation in content from one parish to another). Instead, since 1534 they had been using a uniform text composed by King Henry VIII and imposed by him on all churches. Henry's text completely omitted the pope and cardinals and named the sovereign as supreme head of the church in England. Henry's text gave preeminence to the royal family and omitted the people of the parish.

Queen Mary and her supporters did not accept the idea of royal supremacy over the church. As already noted, she had asked parliament to remove this claim from her royal style or title. She would have also wanted to remove the claim of royal supremacy from the bidding prayer used in Sunday worship throughout her realm and return to the tradition of praying for the pope and cardinals. This goal could have been achieved by allowing parishes to return to their pre-1534 prayers. (I do not know if this was done in some places or not.)

Bishop Bonner, however, appears to have learned a lesson from Henry VIII, namely that

the Sunday bidding prayer was an influential means of communicating official views of church and state and of promoting allegiance to the reigning sovereign. A court form of bidding prayer, with its built in emphasis on the sovereign, was well suited – and at hand. The use of the intercessions of Queen Mary I, therefore, may be seen, at least in part, as a Catholic “spin” on the Anglican spin in use since 1534 following the revision carried out by Henry VIII.

***Appendix: Liturgies and prayers in expectation of a child*** (and related texts)

1. J. M. Stone, *The History of Mary I Queen of England*. London: New York: E. P. Dutton; Sands, 1901

p 342 To Mary the moment seemed to rain blessings. God was operating miracles of grace in her favour. From the midst of perils that had surrounded her from her childhood upwards, from ignominy such as the lowest in the land had never known, she had been raised to the throne. Those who had taken up arms against her had been twice signally defeated. By a marriage which she had contracted in spite of the most violent prejudice and opposition, she had allied her beloved country to the most powerful empire in the world, and now she had been the means, not only of restoring to it its birthright, but had thereby, in a certain sense, expiated and undone her father’s sin.

To crown her glory, she was about to become a mother, and secure a long succession of Catholic monarchs to the throne. She had longed for it, and had hoped for some time: on the day of the Legate’s arrive she thought that she knew it as certain, and applied to herself the words of St Elizabeth, on hearing the salutation of the Blessed Virgin.

P 346. At the beginning that month [April], Mary went to Hampton Court, where she intended to await her confinement.

P 350-351. Meanwhile, elaborate preparations had been made for the advent of Mary’s passionately longed for child. Public prayers were offered for the Queen’s safety, and Parliament had petitioned Philip that “if it should hapen to the queen otehrwise than well, in the time of her travail, he would take upon himself the government of the ralm during the minority of her majesty’s issue, with the rule, order, education and government of the said issue.” In the royal Library in Paris is a letter addressed to the Queen of Navarre, and describing an interview with Philip and Mary, at which the latter informed the writer, that the first desire of her heart was to have a son. Letters were written as the expected time approached, to announce the joyful intelligence of the birth of a child, blank spaces being left for the date and the sex to be filled in afterwards. But the time wore on and passed, and it was at last clear that what had been mistaken for the promise of motherhood, was but the beginning of a fatal disease. Mary clung to the hope long after her physicians had assured her that she would never give birth to a child, and most of those around her flattered the hope, while they pitied the delusion.

One of her women was however more sincere and a contemporary document related, “How Mrs Clarentius and divers others, as parasites about her, assured her to be with child,

insomuch as the Queen was fully so persuaded herself, being right desirous thereof, if God had been so pleased, that it might have been a comfort to all Catholic posterity, as she declared by her oration in the Guild Hall at London, at the rising of Wyatt, which was so worthy a speech made by her there, touching the cause of her marriage and why, that it made them that were there, though of contrary religion, to relent into tears, and hardly could she suffer any that would not say as she said, touching her being with child. Mrs Frideswide Strelley, a good honourable woman of hers would not heidl to her desire, and never told her an untruth....

The writer then describes that “when the rocker and cradle, and all such things were provided for the Queen’s delivery, that her time should be nigh, as it was supposed, and those parasites had had all the spoil of such things amongst them, and no such matter in the end... then when the uttermost time was come, and the Queen thus deluded, she sent for Strelly her woman again, to whom she said, “Ah Strelly, Strelly, I see they be all flatteres, and none true to me but hou,” and then was she more in favour than ever she was before.”

As the hope of an heir was gradually abandoned, all other reasons for congratulation appears also to fade away. De Noailles’ intrigues had prepared a fresh harvest of discontent, and with Elizabeth’s release, the turbulence of the Londoners assumed a more insolent character than ever. Hideous lampoons were circulated, bearing upon the Queen’s supposed condition, and to increase her agony of mind, Philip showed signs of a sickening conviction of the uselessness of his sacrifice.

A little book of prayers, once belonging to Queen Mary is to be seen at the British Museum [Sloan MS 1583, f 15]. Its leaves are worn and thumbed, and it opens of itself at a blurred and tear-stained page, on which is a petition for the unity of the Catholic Church, and another for the safe delivery of a woman with child. These oft-conned prayers afford us a glimpse into the Queen’s heart, which not all the despatches of ambassadors are able to give.

P 394. Mary had gone into retirement at Hampton court, in the spring of 1555, and had refused to relinquish the cherished hope of maternity, till long after her physicians had pronounced that hope vain. But at last in August, she yielded to entreaties, and consented to remove to Oatlands, ostensibly that the palace which the court had inhabited for so many months might undergo a thorough cleansing, the rushes be changed and the floors washed.

## 2. *The Diary of Henry Mackyn*, from A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1563. London: Camden Society 1848

p 76. The xxvij of November the Kyng and the lordes of the parlement satt within-in the court, and ther my lord cardenall dyd make a orayson to the Kyng and the lords of the parlement what . . . [missing] thanks unto God of the Quen’s grace qychenyng.

P 76-77. The xxix day of November was commondyd by the byshope of London, thrughe ys dyosesse, that thay shuld say the masse of the Holy-gost with processyon, and to syng Te Deum, and ringyng, and to pray to God to gyffe hym thanks of owr gracious quen of her qwychenyng with chyld, and to pray.

P 84. The iiij day of aprell the Kyng’s grace and the Quen removyd unto Hamtun cowrte to kepe

Ester ther, and so her grace to her chambur ther.

P 85. The xxij day of April, being saint George's day, at Hampton Court, the King, with other lords and knights of the garter, went in their robes on procession, with three crosses, and clarkes and prestes, and my lord chancellor, the cheyff menyter, metered, and all thay in copes of cloth of tyssue and gold, syngyng *Salva festa* dyes as thay whent a-bowt; the Quen's grace lokyd owt of a casement, that hundereds dyd se her grace after she had taken her chambur....

P 86. The xxx day of Aprell and the last day of Aprell thydynges cam to London that the Quen's grace was delevered of a prynce, and so ther was grett ryngyng thugh London, and dyvers plases *Te Deum laudamus* songe; and the morow after yt was tornyd oderways to the plesur of God! But yt shall be when yt please God, for I trust God that he wyll remembur ys tru servands that putt ther trust in hyym, when that they calle on hym.

3 *The Chronicle of Queen Jane...* ed John Gough Nichols. London: Camden Society, new series 1850

Alsoe, the 27 day of Maye, 1537; being Trynytie Sondaye, there was *Te Deum* soung in Powles for joye of the Queenes quickninge of childe, my Lord Chaunseler, Lord Privaye Seale, with diverse other lordes and bishoppes, being then present; the mayre and aldermen with the bestte craftes of the Cyttye beinge there in their lyveryes, all gevinige laude and prayse to God for joye of the same; wher the Bishoppe of Worcester, called Docter Latymer, made an oration afore all the Lordes and Commons, alfter *Te Deum* was songe, shewinge the cause of their assemblye, which oration was mervelouse fruitfull to the hearers; and alsoe the same night was diverse greate fyers made in London, and a hogeshed of wine at everye fyer for poore people to drinke as long as yt woulde haste; I praye Jesue, and it be his will, send us a prince.

Chronicle, p 64, 1537

4. *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, ed. Stephen Reed Cattley. London: R.R. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1837

4A On the Wednesday following, being the 28<sup>th</sup> of November, there was general procession in Paul's for joy that the queen was conceived and quick with child, as it was declared in a letter sent from the council to the bishop of London.

Foxe, vol 3, p 567, 1554

A Copy of a Letter sent from the Council unto Edmund Bonner Bishop of London, concerning Queen Mary's conceiving with Child.

After our hearty commendations unto your good lordship: whereas it hath pleased Almighty God, amongst other his infinite benefits of late most graciously poured upon us and this whole realm, to extend his benediction upon the queen's majesty in such sort as she is

conceived and quick of child: whereby (her majesty being our natural liege lady, queen, and undoubted inheritor of this imperial crown) good hope of certain succession in the crown is given unto us, and consequently the great calamities, which, for want of such succession, might otherwise have fallen upon us and our posterity, shall, by god's grace, be well avoided, if we thankfully acknowledge this benefit of Almighty God, endeavouring ourselves with earnest repentance to thank, honour, and serve him, as we be most bounden: these be not only to advertise you of these good news, to be by you published in all places within your diocese, but also to pray and require you, that both yourself do give God thanks with us for this his especial grace, and also give order that thanks may be openly given by singing of Te Deum in all the churches within your said diocese; and that likewise all priests and other ecclesiastical ministers, in their masses, and other divine services, may continually pray to Almighty God, so to extend his hooly hand over her majesty, the king's highness, and this whole realm, as that this thing, being by his omnipotent power graciously thus begun, may by the same be well continued and brought to good effect, to the glory of his name. Whereunto, albeit we doubt not ye would of yourself have had special regard without these our letters, yet, for the earnest desire we have to have this thing done out of hand, and diligently continued, we have also written these our letters, to put you in remembrance; and so bid your lordship most heartily well to fare. From Westminster the 27<sup>th</sup> of November 1554

Foxe, vol 3, pp 567-8, 1554

4B A Prayer made by Dr Weston, Dean of Westminster, daily to be said for the Queen's Deliverance – Out of Latin into English

O most righteous Lord God, which, for the offence of the first woman, has threatened unto all women, a common, sharp, and inevitable malediction, and hath enjoined them that they should conceive in sin, and, being conceived, should be subject to many and grievous torments; and finally, be delivered with the danger and jeopardy of their lives: we beseech thee for thine exceeding great goodness and bottomless mercy, to mitigate the strictness of that law. Assuage thine anger for a while, and cherish in the bosom of thy favour and mercy our most gracious queen Mary, being now at the point to be delivered. So help her, that without danger of her life she may overcome the sorrow, and in due season bring forth a child, in body beautiful and comely, in mind noble and valiant. So that afterward, she, forgetting the trouble, may with joy, laud and praise the bountifulness of thy mercy, and, together with us, praise and bless both thee and thy holy name, world without end. This, O Lord, we desire thee, we beseech thee, and most heartily crave of thee. Hear us, O Lord, and grant us our petition: let not the enemies of thy faith, and of thy church say, "Where is their God?"

Foxe, vol 3, p 582, 1555

4C. A solemn Prayer made for King Philip and Queen Mary's Child, that it may be a Male-Child, well-favoured, and witty, etc.

O most mighty Lord God, which regardest the prayer of the humble, and despisest not their request; bow down from thine high habitation of the heavens, the eyes of hy mercy unto us

wretched sinner, bowing the knees of our hearts, and with many and deep sighs bewailing our sins and offences; humbly, with eyes intent and hands displayed, praying and beseeching thee, with the shield of thy protection, to defend Mary thy servant, and our queen, who hath none other helper but thee, and whom, through thy grace, thou hast willed to be conceived with child: and at the time of her travail graciously, with the help of thy right hand, deliver her; and from all danger, with the child in her conceived, mercifully preserve.

[several paragraphs have been omitted here; they deal with matters other than Mary's supposed pregnancy]

And grant unto thy servant a happy and an easy travail: for it is not impossible to thy power, nor indecent to thy justice, nor unwonted to thy mercy.

It is well known unto us, how marvellously thou didst work in Sarah of the age of ninety years, and in Elizabeth, the barren, and also far stricken in age; for thy counsel is not in the power of men. Thou Lord, that art the searcher of hearts and thoughts, thou knowest that thy servant never lusted after man, never gave herself to wanton company, nor made herself partaker with them that walk in lightness; but she consented to take a husband with thy fear, and not with her lust. Thou knowest that thy servant took a husband not for carnal pleasure, but only for the desire and love of posterity, wherein thy name might be blessed for ever and ever.

Give therefore unto thy servants Philip our king and Mary our queen, a male issue, which may sit in the seat of thy kingdom. Give unto our queen thy servant a little infant, in fashion and body comely and beautiful, in pregnant wit notable and excellent. Grant the same to be in obedience like Abraham, in hospitality like Lot, in charity and brotherly love like Joseph, in meekness and mildness like Moses, in strength and valour like Samson. Let him be found faithful as David after thy heart. Let him be wise among kings as the most wise Solomon. Let him be like Job, so simple and an upright man, fearing God, and eschewing evil. Let him, finally, be garnished with the comeliness of all virtuous conditions, and in the same let him wax old and live, that he may see his children's children to the third and fourth generation. And give unto our sovereign lord and lady, king Philip and queen Mary, thy blessings and long life upon earth; and grant that of them may come kings and queens, which may steadfastly continue in faith, love, and holiness. And blessed be their seed of our God, that all nations may know, thou art only God in all the earth, which art blessed for ever and ever: Amen!

Foxe, vol 3, pp 582-563, 1555

#### 4D. Another Prayer for Queen Mary, and her conceived Child.

O Almighty Father, which didst sanctify the blessed Virgin and mother Mary in her conception, and in the birth of Christ our Saviour thine only Son; also, by thine omnipotent power, didst safely deliver the prophet Jonas out of the whale's belly: defend, O Lord, we beseech thee, thy servant Mary, our queen, with child conceived; and so visit her in and with thy godly gift of health, that not only the child thy creature, within her contained, may joyfully come from her into this world, and receive the blessed sacraments of baptism and confirmation,

enjoying therewith daily increase of all princely and gracious gifts both of body and soul; but that also she (the mother), through thy special grace and mercy, may in time of her travail avoid all excessive dolour and pain, and abide perfect and sure from all peril and danger of death, with long and prosperous life, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

Foxe, vol 3, p 584, 1555