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**Martin Hume's *Queens of Old Spain*:
History and Rhetoric**

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ABSTRACT

The objective of this project is to examine how the British historian Martin Hume interprets Isabella I of Castile, Joanna I of Castile, and Mary I of England in his work *Queens of Old Spain* (1911), and to check whether this work is influenced by any anti-Spanish sentiment or elements of the anti-Spanish 'Black Legend' myth. To answer this questions, the chapters where the lives of these monarchs are portrayed will be analysed, contrasted with the existent literature, interpreting those statements made by Hume that might answers the questions proposed.

KEYWORDS

Martin Hume, Isabella I of Castile, Joanna I of Castille, Mary I of England, Anti-Spanish sentiment, Black Legend

RESUMEN

El objetivo de este trabajo es analizar cómo el historiador británico Martin Hume interpreta a Isabel I de Castilla, Juana I de Castilla, y María I de Castilla en su obra *Queens of Old Spain* (1911), y comprobar si este trabajo está influenciado por sentimientos antiespañoles o por elements de mito de la 'Leyenda Negra' antiespañola. Para contestar a estas preguntas, se analizarán los capítulos donde se retratan las vidas de estas monarcas, contrastándola con la literatura existente, e interpretando las afirmaciones de Hume que puedan dar respuesta a las preguntas propuestas

PALABRAS CLAVE

Martin Hume, Isabel I de Castilla, Juana I de Castilla, María I de Inglaterra, Sentimiento antiespañol, Leyenda Negra

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Introduction

Throughout the history of Spain, there have been different characters that have helped to define the country's image, even defining the Iberian nation in a national and international context. Some of these influential people have helped to define the country in different aspects, such as culturally, politically, socially and in many other diverse ways that have shaped the country, its history, culture and society. Among these influential people, there are kings, queens, politicians, artists, and more notorious figures that have been important in Spain in a certain span of time throughout the country's extended history. In the case of Spain, although it has been a patriarchal society, the figure of queens and their image and involvement in the realm's government, including national and international affairs, has been bigger than in other European forces, as their influence and posterior legacy. Historians from different nations recounted the history of Spain, or an exact period of the history, or have translated historical papers to their own language.

Although at the time of telling other country's history historians should be objective and tell the factual history of the foreign nation, sometimes a biased discourse, that might be born as a result of an historical rivalry, or a sentiment of dislike or hate towards the other country due to the acts made by it or its governors in their past. This situation may happen with Spain, as the acts made by the colonial power during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the bloody and unjustified violence caused by the Inquisition towards different population, being a decision made by the monarchs of that ages, has created an anti-Spanish sentiment that might be reflected in different historical account made by intellectuals, and even the society from different countries, being especially notorious this sentiment in England, as it can be seen in different moments of the relationships and interactions between both countries.

The principal objective of this project is to examine how some of the Spanish monarchs are represented by the English historian Martin Hume, and check the existence of any anti-Hispanic sentiment, or any evidence of the existence of the 'Black Legend'. In this case, the principal object of analysis is the book *Queens of Old Spain* (1906), written by the English historian Martin Andrew Hume (1843-1910), who published extensively on Spanish history throughout his career, and can be considered one of the most influential historians regarding Spanish history in the English-speaking world. *Queens of Old Spain*

(1906), focuses on the life of different queens or consorts of Spain. The version of Hume's *Queens of Old Spain* used for the analysis and to answer the different questions proposed in this project is a version published in October of 1906, in London by Grant Richards Ltd., and re-issued in July of 1911. The work is divided in five books, where Hume talks broadly about the life of eight monarchs that have been Queens of Spain, Consorts, or foreign monarchs that have had a direct relationship with Spain: Isabella I of Castille, Joanna I of Castille, Mary I of England, Isabella of France, Isabella of Bourbon, Mariana of Austria, Marie Louise of Orleans, and Mariana of Neuburg. In the case of this project, the content that is going to be analysed are the first two books and the first part of the third one, being the lives of the monarchs "Isabel the Catholic" [Isabella I of Castille], "Joanna the Mad" [Joanna I of Castille] and "Mary of England" [Mary I of England], the ones selected as the object of analysis on this project.

These monarchs have been selected due to their relevance in different aspects, as the analysis of each of them might bring different insights into the three characters and how the use of anti-Spanish rhetoric may affect how their stories are told. Isabel's relevance as a female ruler in a very masculine society, Joanna's mental status and her development and Mary's direct connection between England and Spain due to her marriage with Spanish King Phillip II are some of the main features that have been important at the time of choosing what of the monarchs' lives treated by Hume were going to be analysed and commented in the body of this project.

Before starting the analysis of Hume's work and answer to the questions proposed above, it is needed to revise Spanish history from an English perspective, a check of previous works from different authors about some of the concepts that are going to be treated on this project. The first point that will be revised as part of the contextual elements of this project will be the review of the author's writings. Although *Queens of Old Spain* is the main object of analysis, reviewing of some of the author's previous and posterior works might be useful to understand the Hume's point of view of Spain. Having this background of the historian's work might have an impact on the analysis of the focus of the project, as it can reveal if the author's interpretations are biased by any anti-Spanish sentiment or the Black Legend notion.

Reviewing literature that treats concepts related with the “Black Legend” myth, Hispanophobia, or anti-Spanish sentiments may have a great impact at the time of identifying an anti-Hispanic cliché or any sign of it in Hume’s representation of the three monarchs.

To conclude the contextual review, it is necessary to contrast other historical studies with the main work of analysis. This can help to reveal whether different authors share their view or if they have different ideas to Hume’s. The works revised on this section deal with Spanish history and Anglo-Spanish relationships, mostly oriented on the ages when the analysed monarchs lived, or with texts that their major theme is the life of this monarchs (in the case of Mary I, about her marriage with an Spanish monarch or about her experience as Spanish consort). Reviewing this type of works, can be useful to answer to the questions proposed on this project, and can be used to compare with Hume’s interpretations and perspective, to see if there is a common nexus or a noticeable contrast between Hume’s and other authors’ works.

Once the relevant literature has been discussed and has given a broader contexts of the concepts that are going to be used and reviewed in this project, the next phase is the analysis of Hume’s *Queens of Old Spain*, where it is going to be discussed the representations that the English historian has done of the Spanish monarchs, as well as the representations and interpretations made of other relevant characters in Spain’s history, the different historical milestones that occur during the lives of this monarchs, and the Spanish society that coexisted with the monarchs analysed. This part of the project will start with an introduction to *Queens of Old Spain*, that has the purpose of giving a broader context of the work that is going to be analysed in a detailed way, explaining its structure and what parts are the ones that are going to be analysed in further sections of the project, and checking if there is more information on the rest of sections of the work, that might be useful for the analysis of the monarchs’ representation that will be made later in this essay. The order of the Queens in the analysis is going to be chronological, as it is done by Hume in his book, starting with Isabella I of Castile life, followed by her daughter’s Joanna I Castile complicated life, and concluding the analysis with Mary I of England’s life, mostly oriented to her role as wife of Philip II of Spain, and the interaction between both countries during that time.

Finally, the last part of the project is to assert some concluding remarks to the project, to see if what is the results of work that has been done, interpreting these results according to the question that have been proposed in the introduction of this project; making also an objective insight of the actual limitations that the project might have had, and address potential improvements and considerations that should be taken into account in an hypothetical review of the problem issued in this work.

Spanish History seen from England

Martin Hume

As an initial point, it is important to introduce the author of the work that is the focus of analysis of this project. To talk about Martin Hume's life and publications it is needed to check his biography. According to his biography by G. Martin Murphy and published in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (2004), "Hume, Martin Andrew Sharp (1843-1910), historian, was born in London on 8 December 1843 [...]". He had a special relationship with Spain, as "his maternal ancestor Andrew Hume had been one of the foreign entrepreneurs recruited by the government of Charles III of Spain", and "the family settled in Spain and took part an active part in public life" (Martin). This familiar connection and the visits to the homeland of part of his family (from who he adopted the surname 'Hume') was crucial in his career, as the author established a special bond with the nation, that made him able to talk about religion in an impartial tone, as the biographer affirms on this excerpt: "His family background gave him and insight into the Spanish character rare among English historians and though he was a lifelong protestant he dealt with religious matters dispassionately." (Martin).

Regarding Hume's bibliography, his publications can be mainly classified in three different groups: English history, Spanish history, and Anglo-Spanish relations. On the subject of English history, the focus of the majority of the works is the sixteenth century, concretely the Elizabethan era, as he wrote different works dealing with characters that lived during that century, such as sir Walter Raleigh, Mary I of Scotland, Henry VIII of England, or Lord Burghley; or different topics related this period, as Elizabeth I of England's marriage or the religious tensions during Elizabeth's reign. The English historian also wrote several works regarding Spanish history, publishing works that had a general focus such as *The Spanish People: their origin, growth and influence* (1901), yet a great part of them deal with an specific period or relevant characters of Spanish history, such as Phillip IV of Spain, *Modern Spain*, or as in the case of the main focus of analysis of this project, *Queens that were monarchs or consorts in Spain or that have a direct relationship with Spain*. Finally, the other great field that Hume covered with his works were the Anglo-Spanish relationships. Although he wrote about different aspects

regarding Spain and England connections, his main contribution to this topic were the different volumes of Calendars of Letters and State Papers relating to English Affairs, whose focus were different Spanish documents that were preserved mainly in the Archive of Simancas. This collection of works treating the history of both countries and the interactions between both countries are clear evidence of the historian's expertise on these subjects, and reviewing the most relevant ones for this analysis might be an important step before analysing *Queens of Old Spain*.

The first work from the British historian that should be inspected is *Spain: its greatness and decay (1479-1788)*, originally published in 1898. In this book, Hume talks about Spain's ascent as an overseas power, until its decay, reviewing different governments from different Spanish monarchs. This work is an interesting point to start reviewing Hume, as it may give a more general insight of Spain history as told by Hume, and as it makes more focus on the kings and the events, it might support or give a different perspective than the ones shown on *Queens of Old Spain*.

One interesting quote that reflects Hume's opinion on Spanish history can be found at the preface of this work, where the author explains what the reader is going to find in this work and shows a more personal view of what he is writing about, as one of his main objectives is to show a real accounting of how the events happened on the rest of the book. In this preface Hume introduces how Spain went from being a power to being a decayed nation. To explain this change in the status of the country, Hume gives his point of view of what are the actual reasons for Spain's decadence: "unsupported pride and unwarranted ambition are as disastrous to nations as to men, that riches gained without labour produce no extended or lasting prosperity, that the true basis of wealth is industrial production, that beneficent ends cannot be attained by means which disregard human sufferings or trample on human rights, and, above all, that the hereditary transmission of unrestrained power from father to son is certain to end in disaster" (Hume, 1913, p.9).

By showing his own beliefs about how to rule a nation properly, the historian provides a guide to other countries of how to progress economically and politically, using Spain's decline, as the perfect example of how it should not be done, as the unlimited dynastical power and the economical funding without respecting the rights of the population are not the way of progressing economically and politically, in favour of the industrial power and

the individual rights. Although the monarchs selected for an analysis on this project are part of what the author considers the rising of Spanish power, as their governments are included in the first part of this account. Hume also makes clear in this preface, that this unlimited power that passes from one king or queen to the next one, is also one of the key factors for a monarchy's downfall, as it is exemplified by the Spanish empire on this work. Hume also affirms that everything bad that happens to the country "can be traced almost with certainty to the unwise act or short-sighted policy from which it sprang." (Hume, 1913, p.6), meaning that it is possible to find what decision or action led to an event that affected the nation negatively, and consequently the monarch that did it, or whose government has the fault. This quote can be also related with Hume's idea of the dynastical unlimited power as something negative for the country's progress, as the monarchs had a main role at the time of taking decisions; and how a bad decision made by a ruler could affect to the whole country during one of his or her descendants' kingdoms.

Although this work does not deal directly with the monarchs analysed on this project, some quotes can be seen as an interpretation of Hume's opinion of the characters, events or other items mentioned in this project. In the introductory chapter regarding the Catholic Monarchs, the author addresses some of the problems that Spain has had in its history, depicting the monarchs and Spanish population.

One of the problems that Hume identified in Spain is that "it has so many sides, so many possibilities, so many alternative policies" (Hume, 1913, p.18). This problem addressed by Hume appears again later while the author discusses the decisions made by both kings in their respective kingdoms: "The history of Spain is therefore the tragic result of an embarrassing wealth of alternative policies. It was impossible that a country with no common feeling or constitutional unity between its principal sections, containing an alien race fundamentally opposed in faith and customs, herself sparsely populated, her material resources undeveloped, should permanently succeed in all the tasks imposed upon her by nature or ambition. That she sank after a century and a half of greatness need excite no wonder. Marvellous rather was the tenacity which held its grip so long" (Hume, 1913, p.18-19). Here, Hume emphasizes the lack of unity between Castile and Aragon, linking it with the Catholic Monarchs' governance and how it divided Spain, preventing national

unity and identity, considered by Hume one of the problems that made Spain fall from their international power status.

Another example of an excerpt where the author gives his insight about Spain's problems and personality, is when the author mentions the Spanish conflict with the Islamic territories of southern Spain and northern Africa. To explain the conflict and its intensity the British historian addresses that this "hostility was intensified by recurrent outbursts of fanaticism." (Hume, 1913, p.19), addressing the cruelty of this conflict to the religious ideologies of both sides, that came from their leaders, in the case of Spain, more concretely from Isabel's side. As part of this religious fanaticism, Hume also explains the problem with Jew population, affirming that Jews were "a contagion and the particular heresy of Spain" (Hume, 1913, p.33). Even though there are more excerpts where Hume shares from his perspective some of the problems that Spain had, it also praises Isabel and Fernando's bureaucracy, quoting that although it was "ultimately oppressive and deadening, was at first beneficial as encouraging a sense of order, and order was what Spain chiefly needed." (Hume, 1913, p.28)

One of the features that appear on Hume's works is the use of texts that are contemporary to the from different authors to support his accounting of the history. This can be a useful tool to support his arguments or his point of view, as by adding another accounting of the events, only for the purpose of adding more information, it also gives more information about the author's insight and can be used as truthful evidence to support the writer's argument. In this case, Hume uses a letter from an Italian ambassador depicting the Spaniards of the 16th century, to also give his insight of the Spanish population during the Catholic Monarchs' reign: "In profession and in externals they are most religious, but not in practice; [...] they are at everyone's command; but they are men to keep at arm's length, and to trust but little." (Hume, 1913, p.26).

Another work from the author that should be revised is *The Spanish people: their origin, growth, and influence* (1901). In this book, Hume makes a general accounting of the whole history of Spain until the end of the nineteenth century. The British historian gives a more general insight than in other of his works, where the focus is a concrete period or other issue. In this case Hume gives his explanation of why Spanish history has been like it has been, and thenceforward he gives his opinion on Spanish people. In this case, the

principal characteristic of the Spanish population that Hume emphasises is the “mystical exaltation” that Spaniards had has been decisive in different moments and situations during the nation’s history.

The author also connects this religious fervour to an “overwhelming individuality” (Hume, 1901, p.X), claiming that these two features had helped Spain to be a power nation in different stages of history. The British historian correlates Spanish Catholic exaltation to the individualism that Spaniards also had, claiming that “fervid Christianity knitted the men of Spain together” (Hume, 1901, p.XI). explaining that Christianity in Spain made every man equal and dependent to the clergy, throughout different periods of the country’s history. Furthermore, the author emphasises the excessive importance of religion on Spanish government's decisions, although he also praises the religious exaltation as the main factor that “Spanish people owed its strength to” (Hume, 1901,p.11); making possible some of the biggest achievements made by the Spanish people throughout the history of the country, as Hume affirms on this excerpt: “it was the moral greatness born of spiritual exaltation, which gave Spain a predominance far greater than was warranted by her material resources or her real national standing at any time.” (Hume, 1901, p.XII).

Hume also claims that this extreme spirituality that Spaniards possess has been used as an argument to justify the brutality of their acts. Carried by the name of God and the Catholic church, Hume relates this to the individuality that guided Spaniards to act to achieve their objectives. This characteristic is used by the British historian to explain some events where Spanish people asserted their “superiority over heretics, Jews, and Moors, and they welded the nation into a solid weapon.” (Hume, 1901, p.XII), criticising the institutions that fuelled hatred against non-Catholic communities.

Despite the fact that much of Martin Hume’s writings are concerned with Spain’s history, there are no more works related with the issue of this project, as the rest of the works deal with other aspects, such as literature, compilation of documents; or even if they deal with the history of Spain, Hume focused on other events or characters, that are not related with the main issues of this project. Other type of documents regarding Hume’s accounting of Spanish history are the articles and works made by other authors revising the British author’s works, giving their perspective of Hume’s work and life.

Mexican historian Carlos Pereyra studied Hume's view of Spain in the article "La Popular España de Martin Hume" (1921), a title that can be translated as The Popular Spain of Martin Hume¹. In this article, Pereyra gives his opinion on Hume's way of historical accounting, capturing the attention of the writer, leaving open conclusions and not talking enough about the Spanish population. One of the conclusions that Pereyra has on Hume's *The Spanish people; their origin, growth, and influence* is that the author combines different characteristics to create an image of the Spanish population that can be used without regarding the historical period. Pereyra also makes a point regarding dual nationality that Hume may have, as he was a British man that lived in Spain and talked about Spain in his works, doubting if Hume's anti-Hispanic sentiment is a British feeling or if it is the old anti-Hispanic feeling that Spaniards had, from the point of view of a foreigner², being this an important statement to take into account in this project, as it might check if there is any anti-Hispanic sentiment on his work, or if the author is only applying a Spanish perspective to account the history of this country.

As Pereyra focuses on the way how Hume tells Spanish history, other authors analyse other aspects of Hume's rhetoric. This can be seen in Michael Alpert's article Martin Hume y la "Historiografía Inglesa de España" (2000), that can be translated as "Martin Hume and the English Historiography of Spain"³. In this case, Alpert affirms that Hume wrote impregnated of the English Whig concept that says that historiography describes the process and the degree of improvement of the society, that political revolution risks destroying the progress already achieved, and that the English conservative model is the ideal one.⁴ The different publications from other authors regarding Hume's life and writings provide different insights that might be considered in the analysis of Queens of Old Spain.

¹ Title translated by Carlos Flores.

² Quote translated by Carlos Flores. Original text: "[...], si el prejuicio de Hume es un sentimiento británico o es el añejo antiespañolismo de los españoles pasado por el alambique de un extranjero" (Pereyra, p.66)

³ Title translated by Carlos Flores.

⁴ Quote translated by Carlos Flores. Original text: "[...] Hume escribía imbuido del concepto Whig inglés de que la historiografía describe el proceso y el grado de mejora de la sociedad, que la revolución política arriesga con destruir el progreso ya conseguido, y que el modelo inglés de progreso conservador es el ideal" (Alpert, p.55)

The Black Legend

One of the main objectives of this project is checking if Martin Hume uses anti-Spanish rhetoric in *Queens of Old Spain*, but first, it is needed to introduce the Black Legend. The term 'Black Legend' was introduced by the Spanish historian Julián Juderías on his work “La Leyenda Negra y la verdad histórica, contribución al estudio del concepto de España en Europa, de las causas de este concepto y de la tolerancia religiosa y política en los países civilizados” (1914), translated as “The Black Legend and the historical truth, a contribution the study of the concept of Spain in Europe, of the causes of this concept and of the religious and political tolerance in the civilized nations.”⁵. Juderías uses this term to explain the anti-Spanish sentiment of the different European and American countries towards Spain and its actions. The Black Legend is can be seen in different situations and aspects in history, the ones who must be considered on this project are the ones related with Britain and Spain during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The Black Legend and anti-Hispanic sentiment in Spain during these two hundred years has to do with two main aspects: Imperialism and religion, as Maltby explains, “Anti-Hispanism in England has been selected for this role because of its venerable antiquity. Formed in the days when European man was first groping toward a concept of nationhood, fueled by religious antagonisms that are not yet dead, and by an intense rivalry for overseas empire [...]” (Maltby, p.9). One of the main religious aspects that helped to create the 'Black Legend' and this rivalry between the two countries is the Catholic-Protestant conflict, as it heated the rivalry between the main power that represented these two sections of Christianity. Different historians have talked about this throughout time, as can be seen in these excerpts by Lawrence and Maltby. Lawrence affirms that “the ‘Black Legend’ was a diverse body of weaponized propaganda common across Protestant northern Europe which depicted Spaniards as cruel, fanatical and intolerant”(Lawrence, p.15), or that that different idioms that involved Spain, were “probably originated in the taboo of Catholic (viz. ‘Spanish’)” (Lawrence, p.3); while Maltby, although agreeing with Lawrence on the importance of the Christian rivalry in the confrontation between nations, he also addresses part of the guilt to “Spain’s efforts

⁵ Title translated by Carlos Flores.

as the champion of Catholicism during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries earned the country the undying hatred of Protestants in every corner of Europe.” (Maltby, p.4).

Another issue regarding the Black Legend that should be taken into account in this project is the different event that are considered “permanent elements of the supporters of the Hispanic Black Legend ” (Ruiz, p.109) that also are relevant during the realms of the monarchs selected for the analysis of this project, that of the included by Ruiz are the Spanish Inquisition and the expulsion of the Jews. Although there are many events or elements that might be considered as part of the Black Legend myth, from these monarchs’ time or from latter moments of Spanish history, the one that have been previously discussed in this section of the project are the ones that might be more relevant at the time of analysing the presence of the Black Legend myth in Hume’s *Queens of Old Spain*, and consequently, the appearance of any anti-Spanish sentiment in the work of the British historian.

Spanish history and the three monarchs

Although there might be many different perspectives of different historians of Spanish history, it can mainly be classified in two main groups: the ones influenced by anti-Hispanic sentiments, as the Black Legend, and the ones that perceive Spanish history with a more objective point of view, not affected by any biased feeling about the nation. This difference can be seen in this excerpt by William D. Phillips and Carla Rahn Phillips, where the authors claim that Spain is different to other European countries: “Spain has often been perceived as different from other countries in Europe, with a pejorative connotation to that difference. In part, at least, that perception stems from a lack of knowledge about the history of Spain. Yet, in a certain sense Spain is different from the rest of Europe, in the diversity of its population and in its close contacts with civilizations outside Europe” (Phillips and Phillips, p. xi). This is something that must be considered at the time of analysing *Queens of Old Spain*, as it may help to catalogue Hume’s accounting on the three monarchs as a pejorative one, or an objective one.

Following a chronological order, the first one that must be revised is Isabella I of Castile. The period of Isabella's government as the Catholic Queen is often mentioned as "the beginning of Spain's modern history" (Kamen, p.51), or being considered one of the few crucial kingdoms that the history of any nation has⁶, even considered by some Spanish historians, such as, Alvar Ezquerro, the most important in our History⁷. Her marriage with Ferdinand is one of the main aspects that must be revised, as the ideas about their joint management of the two kingdoms has different approaches depending on their perspective on the "union", they unified Spain; or "they consolidated royal authority but maintained many of the laws and traditions of their various kingdoms and duchies." (Phillips and Phillips, p. 153-154), considered by others as a diarchy, where if at the beginning each monarchy exercises preponderance, the most powerful one will end eclipsing the weakest one, assuming some of his or her government's methods⁸. The influence of each monarch in different the different aspects of their joint governance has also been discussed by different authors, where it is mainly agreed that in the foreign policy are the Aragonese criteria are fundamentally imposed⁹, while "it was the Crown of Castile that was responsible for the more arbitrary actions associated with Spain" (Kamen, p.55). The objective of the Catholic Monarchs on both reigns has been also taken into account by different historians affirms that "the action of the Catholic Monarchs has traditionally been explained as a move to unify the peninsula in faith" (Kamen p.52), supported by other historians that claim that the catequization of the infidels, the religious proselytism are indispensable to live calmly, with interior and collective peace¹⁰. Gender issues are often mentioned while talking about Isabel's life, often considered a "strong ruler and yet she was confined to a female body" (Lehfeldt, p. 49). Lehfeldt addressed Isabella's marriage to Ferdinand as the main explanation to the rise of a female ruler on an early-modern era, affirming that "her matrimonial ties to Ferdinand softened some of

⁶ Quote translated by Carlos Flores. Original text: "[...] es uno de los pocos reinados cruciales que tiene la historia de cualquier nación." (Alvar Ezquerro, p.68)

⁷ Quote translated by Carlos Flores. Original text "[...] el más importante de nuestra historia" (Alvar Ezquerro, p.68)

⁸ Quote translated by Carlos Flores. Original text: "[...] una diarquía en la que si al principio cada monarquía ejerce una preponderancia, a la larga, el más poderoso eclipsará al más débil, asumiendo alguno de sus métodos" (Alvar Ezquerro, p.77)

⁹ Quote translated by Carlos Flores. Original text: "[...] la política exterior de los Reyes Católicos: se imponen, fundamentalmente, los criterios aragoneses" (Alvar Ezquerro, p.11)

¹⁰ Quote translated by Carlos Flores. Original text: "[...] La catequización del infiel, el proselitismo religioso eran imprescindibles para vivir tranquilos, en paz interior y paz colectiva" (Alvar Ezquerro, p.95)

the blow associated with a woman on the Spanish throne [...]” (Lehfeltdt, p.49), also claiming that although Isabella’s was seen publicly as a powerful woman, she probably accepted his husband’s leadership in their relationship, as it seen in this excerpt, “while she may have bowed to his husbandly authority in private, her public rule was forthright and unapologetic” (Lehfeltdt, p.49).

Regarding Joanna I of Castile’s image, she is a monarch that has long inhabited the legend status¹¹, as the different beliefs regarding her ‘madness’ had prevailed more than the factual accounting of her life. There are historians that depict her “as a woman that was involved in a passionate but self-destructive relationship with her husband, [...] she has often been depicted as a feeble-minded woman who soon sank into a mental state that some call melancholia, and other, folly depression, madness, or schizophrenia.” (Gómez, Juan-Navarro, Zatlin, p.9), while other authors “portray a more complex character victim of a series of court intrigues and betrayals at both the personal and political levels, and not as weak and mentally unstable as other historians have depicted her”. (Gómez, Juan-Navarro, Zatlin, p.9), claiming that her husband, her father and her son have successively increased their authority at her expense¹², as the Queen’s ‘incapacity’ was originated in her failure to accomplish the desire and meet the expectative of the agents that surrounded her¹³.

Regarding Mary’s image, she is considered to have “a bad reputation in the eyes of many and is more than a slight embarrassment to some” (Edwards, p. XIII), as “hand behind the ‘bloody murdering’ of Protestants [...] and her marriage to Philip” (Edwards, p.XIII) were some of the causes of her unpopularity. Her marriage to the Spanish Emperor is a key factor while disserting Mary’s life, some authors emphasize the disapproval of Mary marrying to the future Spanish Monarch by the English population, as they did not want to “see England itself transformed into a satellite of a foreign empire” (Samson, p. 769), and the role of the Spanish consort has also to be considered, as he “loomed so large on the history of her reign and her life[...]” (Edwards, p.113). Although there was a general

¹¹ Quote translated by Carlos Flores. Original text: “[...] ha habitado durante mucho tiempo el reino de la leyenda” (Aram, p.281)

¹² Quote translated by Carlos Flores. Original text: “[...] su marido, su padre, y su hijo sucesivamente incrementaron su autoridad a costa de ella” (Aram, p.284)

¹³ Quote translated by Carlos Flores. Original text: “La «incapacidad» de la reina surgió como su fracaso a cumplir con los deseos y ajustarse a las expectativas de los actores que la rodeaban.” (Aram, p.122)

reluctance to the entrance of a foreign king to the English government, one of the main reasons of Mary marrying the future ruler of the Spanish Empire was because “no one expected a woman to rule for herself” (Prescott, p.256). Prescott also claims in the next pages that the Queen was not able to deal with the pressure and the commitment that being a monarch was, so he needed a King that helped her, and that gave her a heir to the English crown, being this something believed by different historians, as Loades also claims that Mary "fully shared the universal conviction that government was not women's work" (Loades, p.216). Regarding her management of the British realm, some authors consider religious issues as “her more fundamental concern of all” (Edwards, p.200), where it is noticeable the role of the cardinal Pole, that was “the central figure in Mary’s plans” (Edwards, p.273).

Martin Hume's Queens of Castille and of England

In Hume's introduction of Queens of Old Spain, he emphasises the role of female rulers as the main difference between the two nations, stating that Spanish Queens and Consorts had more importance on the government management of their realms. Hume also affirms that the way in which Spanish and English Queens managed their kingdoms was different compared with the methodologies used by their male equivalents. Moreover, the British historian affirms that international affairs might explain the importance of Spanish Queens. The British historian justifies his choice of Queens to narrate their lives due to "their greatness, their political significance, their attractions, or their misfortunes" (Hume, 1911, p.10). It is also important to make emphasis on one excerpt of this introduction, where Hume talks about his intentions writing this historical account of some of the Queens' lives, affirming that "Such of their stories as are here told briefly are set forth with an honest desire to attain accuracy in historical fact and impartiality in deduction therefrom. There has been no desire to make either angels or devils of the personages described" (Hume, 1911, p.15). This shows his attempt to reassure his impartiality over different aspects, as in the religious aspects, "though he was a lifelong Protestant", as affirmed by the biographer Martin Murphy.

Isabella I of Castile

As an initial point on Hume's representation of Isabella, it is safe to assume that the British historian believes that the Catholic Monarch is the most impactful Queen from the ones that he has chosen to account their lives, as she is the one that has a more extensive bibliography. Similarly, in other of his works, as *Spain: its greatness and decay (1479-1788)*, Isabella is the only female sovereign that has a part dedicated to her governance.

As the so-called Catholic Queen, religion had an important role on Isabella's life, and analysing the religious perspective on Hume's accounting of the monarch's life experience might answer part of the questions proposed on this project. Religion has a predominant role in Isabella's life as Castile's sovereign, as the author claims that the monarch believed that "rigid orthodoxy should be the cementing bond" (Hume, 1911, p. 29) of the unity of Spanish kingdoms, as other authors such as Alvar Ezquerro, that

claimed that the catequization of the infidels, the religious proselytism are indispensable to live calmly, with interior and collective peace¹⁴, or Kamen's idea of "the action of the Catholic Monarchs has traditionally been explained as a move to unify the peninsula in faith" (Kamen p.52). To explain the importance of the Catholic unification as one the main objectives of Isabella during her life, the author gives to main origins. The first of all, is "religious exaltation" (Hume, 1911, p.XI), that the author claims that is on the monarch's "innate tendency" (Hume, 1911, p.44), as it was part of the "Castilian national obsession" (Hume, 1911, p.44), a concept that can be linked with the "fervid Christianity" (Hume, 1901, p.XI) that the author introduced in his previous work *The Spanish people; their origin, growth, and influence* (1901). The influence of churchmen, mainly her confessors, is the other aspect that the author emphasizes to explain religious relevance on Isabella's government management, as the author affirms that "Torquemada, as Isabel's confessor and spiritual tutor, had abundant opportunities of influencing her, and never ceased to keep before her the sacred duty imposed upon rulers of extirpating heresy, root and branch" (Hume, 1911, p.44). In this case, the influence of the churchmen can be seen in different moments of Isabella's life, where they claim, "that to strike at heresy in her realms was her duty". This concept of Isabella's sacred duty as a Queen can be related with concepts introduced by other authors, as Alvar Ezquerro, that addresses the providentialist sense of the Queen's existence¹⁵. Some of the events where the Monarch follows God's plan for her as sovereign are also considered as part of the "permanent elements of the supporters of the Hispanic Black Legend"(Ruiz, p.109), as the Spanish Inquisition or the expulsion of the Jews, where the author might use this Anti-Hispanic propaganda, as to explain the justification of this event that "the superiority by divine selection[...] as a result of the religious persecution of the minority" depicting the Spaniards and their monarch as "cruel, fanatical and intolerant" (Lawrence p.15).

The marriage between Isabella and Ferdinand is one of the aspects that has more relevance at the time of narrating the life of the Catholic Queen, as their joint governance is considered by some authors as "the beginning of Spain's modern history" (Kamen, p.51). As their marriage was the alliance between a powerful man and a powerful woman

¹⁴ Quote translated by Carlos Flores. Original text: "[...] La catequización del infiel, el proselitismo religioso eran imprescindibles para vivir tranquilos, en paz interior y paz colectiva" (Alvar Ezquerro, p.95)

¹⁵ Quote translated by Carlos Flores. Original text: "El sentido providencialista del existir de la reina [...]" (Alvar Ezquerro, p.88)

during the fifteenth century, gender issues and roles are a common topic in dissertation about the Catholic Monarchs' marriage, as in the case of Lehfeltdt, that claims that "she may have bowed to his husbandly authority in private [...]" (Lehfeltdt, p.49). In this case, although Hume does not focus on the inner aspects of their relationship, he claims that Isabella "was incomparably the higher mind of the two"(Hume, 1911, p.29), that can be seen as a claim to the superiority of a female ruler against her husband in a patriarchal society, instead of assuming the common fifteenth century gender roles' situation, where the male was the most powerful one. Influence on each monarch decisions can be also related with gender roles, as if Ferdinand was the one who asserted dominance in the relations, as Lehfeltdt claimed, her interests would have been completed before the ones from her husband, but as Hume claims, "he was forced, indeed, by the circumstances and his wife to allow precedence to Castilian aims" (Hume, 1911, p.54-55). Alvar Ezquerro's concept of a diarchy could be also considered at this point, where if each monarchy exercises preponderance, the most powerful one will end up overshadowing the weakest one¹⁶, that he explains to justify the establishment of Aragonese institutions in Castile (Alvar Ezquerro, p.88), but as it can be seen in different parts of Hume's work, the Monarchs let the other have more influence in some events or aspects concerning both kingdoms, as in the war with the Moorish kingdom of Granada, where "Isabel took her full share of the military operation" (Hume, 1911, p.35) or Ferdinand "having his way" (Hume, 1911, p.100).

Finally, Isabella's role as a female ruler has also to be analysed, as Hume interpretation may differ or agree with other representations made by different authors. One of the aspects that the author states several times that "Isabel was no mild saint, as she is so often represented. She was far too great a woman and Queen to be that" (Hume, 1911, p.39), as "she was not tender, or gentle, or what we should call now womanly" (Hume, 1911, p. 138). Hume's interpretation of Isabella as not as good as depicted by authors from the early twentieth century and earlier, can be linked with the opinion of latter authors, such as Alvar Ezquerro, that affirms that Isabella's politic life was full of transcendental facts, some laudable ones and some obscure ones, because she was a

¹⁶ Quote translated by Carlos Flores. Original "[...] una diarquía en la que si al principio cada monarquía ejerce una preponderancia, a la larga, el más poderoso eclipsará al más débil [...]" (Alvar Ezquerro, p.77)

Queen that governed, not a decorative figure¹⁷. Other authors portray Isabella as “a strong ruler [...] confined to a female body” (Lehfeldt, p.49). Hume also emphasises the Queen’s non-feminine power and behaviour, “idolised by men who had never yet regarded a woman as being capable of such a stout heart as her”(Hume, 1911, p.63) or she “scorned to avail herself of the privilege of her sex, and suffered all the hardships and dangers of a soldier’s life” (Hume, 1911, p.36). In both examples, Hume agrees with Lehfeldt’s idea of Isabella’s power as sovereign, that differed from the stereotype of a fifteenth century ruler.

Joanna I of Castile

To start talking about Hume’s perspective on Joanna I of Castile life experience, it must be considered the role of religion, as although she was Spanish, and a daughter of the ‘mystically exalted’ Isabella I of Castile, Hume states that “the principal feature of her aberration is was its antireligious tendency” (Hume, 1911, p.200), claiming that the most notorious aspect of her ‘madness’ was her rejection to the Catholic tradition of her country. This can be contrasted with later authors’ perspectives, such as Aram’s one, that advocates the predominant beliefs, that claimed that if a monarch was not considered apt to govern, he or she might have offended God¹⁸. To explain Joanna’s rejection to the Catholic beliefs, the British historian uses as his main argument that “the freedom of thought and speech common in Flanders was more to the taste of Joan than the terror-stricken devotion of her Inquisition-ridden native land” (Hume, 1911, p.125). This comparison between Spain and Flanders can be related with different arguments regarding the Black Legend and Anti-Spanish sentiments, as emphasizing the Inquisition to talk about the native land of the Monarch can be directly linked with Ruiz’s theory, that claims that Inquisition is considered as part of the “permanent elements of the supporters of the Hispanic Black Legend”, as it is used to depict Spaniards “fueled by religious by religious antagonisms” (Maltby, p.9).

¹⁷ Quote translated by Carlos Flores. Original text: “La vida política de Isabel está llena de hechos trascendentales, loables unos, oscuros otros, porque fue una reina que gobernó, no una figura decorativa” (Alvar Ezquerro, p.22)

¹⁸ Quote translated by Carlos Flores. Original text: “Según las creencias predominantes, un monarca que era considerado no apto para gobernar debe haber ofendido a Dios” (Aram, p. 283)

In the case of her relationship with her husband, one of the things than all the authors agree is about the jealousy that his action generated on the Catholic Monarchs' daughter, and it is able to see how some authors link this directly with her 'lunacy', as Hume claims that "such jealousy [...] at last it became a bad habit which reached amorous delirium"; that can be directly linked with other authors interpretations, like Gómez, Juan-Navarro and Zatlin (p. 9), that define their relationship as "passionate but self-destructive", or Aram, that claims that Isabella attributes her daughter's behaviour to her passion for Philip¹⁹. Although there are other aspects where Philip's impact is seen on Hume's, these aspects involve other agents, and it must be considered while talking about her life as a Queen.

Regarding Joanna's life experience as a female monarch, Hume claims that she might have been secluded from her duties as sovereign, doubting if "she was the victim of a hellish conspiracy on the part of those who should have loved her best, or a woman afflicted by the hand of God" (Hume, 1911, p. XII), coinciding with other authors' perspectives on the 'Mad Queen' life experience, as it has been considered a "victim of a series of court intrigues and betrayals at both the personal and political levels, and not as weak and mentally unstable as other historian have depicted her" (Gómez, Juan-Navarro, Zatlin, p.9); or Aram's statement that claims that the Queen's 'incapacity' was originated in her failure to accomplish the desire and meet the expectative of the agents that surrounded her²⁰. Hume's interpretation can be directly seen in different excerpts, as the British historian affirms that "she was sacrificed solely to the ambition of her husband, her father and her son, in succession" (Hume, 1911, p.181), but it clearly seen in the way how the author approaches Joanna's life in his accounting. In Hume's accounting, Joanna appears mainly as a factor to be considered on her husband, father, and son's governing plans, although it is a chapter dedicated to her life. Although Joanna's biography is not as influenced by anti-Spanish rhetoric as Isabella's, Hume also uses the religious intolerance criticized in anti-Spanish propaganda to depict some aspects of Joanna's environment, that led her to the 'lunacy' that she is usually related to.

¹⁹ Quote translated by Carlos Flores. Original text: "Aunque Isabel atribuyó el comportamiento de su hija a su pasión por Felipe" (Aram, p.283)

²⁰ Quote translated by Carlos Flores. Original text: "La «incapacidad» de la reina surgió como su fracaso a cumplir con los deseos y ajustarse a las expectativas de los actores que la rodeaban." (Aram, p.122)

Mary I of England

Religion has a crucial role on Mary's life accounting, as she is a Catholic monarch in a country where there were "sands of religious revolt" (Hume, 1911, p. XII), and it can be seen in Hume's representation of the Queen, as in the "God illumined her" (Hume, 1911, p. 220) while choosing her husband, and this marriage "meant the resurrection of her country and the salvation of the people" (Hume, 1911, 223). This can relate to other authors' interpretations on the Queen's life, as "she was convinced that she had a personal relationship with her Saviour Jesus Christ" (Edwards, p. 229), or religion being considered "her more fundamental concern of all" (Edwards, p. 200). To explain the religious perspective of Mary's life, Hume addresses this to her ascendancy as "she was a grand-daughter of Isabel the Catholic, and as a natural result mystically devout and exalted [...]" (Hume, 1911, p. 258), something that can be also seen in Hume's later works, as he uses to justify her mystical exaltation, as she is "grand-daughter of the ecstatic Isabel the Catholic, a daughter of highly-Catherine of Aragon, and a niece of Juana the Mad" (Hume, 1913, p. 131); or in other author's work, such as Edwards, that claimed that Mary was "blamed for her hot Spanish blood" (Edwards, p. 36). This can be related with anti-Spanish sentiment, as Hume justifies her religious fervour with her Spanish ascendancy, depicting her as "cruel, fanatical and intolerant", that Lawrence (p. 15) uses to explain how anti-Spanish propaganda depicted Spaniards.

As it happened in Joanna's chapter with her husband Philip I of Spain, her father Ferdinand II of Aragon and her son Charles I of Spain, Philip II of Spain has an important involvement on Mary's life accounting made by Martin Hume, as the author claims that she "demands notice because her marriage with Philip II" (Hume, 1911, p. XII), although she was not a sovereign on Spanish territory. This involvement of the Spanish King on Mary's life accounting is seen also on other authors' works, as Edwards justify it as Philip "loomed so large on the history of her reign and her life that it is important to consider the character of the man who came from Spain on July 1554 to marry her". (Edwards, p. 113). Regarding their relationship, Hume portrays that their union was seen with a different perspective from each of the participants, as Phillip saw it as a "sacrifice for the cause" (Hume, 1911, p. 233), and as "love at first sight" (Hume, 1911, p. 232); something

that is also confirmed by other authors as Edwards, as he claims that “Mary clearly invested a very great deal of her emotional capital in the marriage, but her husband [...] did no such thing” (Edwards, p.201). The last aspect of their marriage that should be considered is its influence in Anglo-Spanish relationships. To explain English fear of this alliance, Hume addresses that “what they did know was that a Spaniard was coming to be their King, that the Inquisition and the *autos de fe* were coming too” (Hume, 1911, p. 223), while other author as Samson directed this interpretation to a more political insight, as it explain this fear as a refusal to “see England itself transformed into a satellite of a foreign Spain” (Samson, p.769). Hume’s perspective can also be linked with anti-Spanish sentiment, as he uses the common Black Legend argument of the Inquisition to justify this fear, and this interpretation can be connected with Maltby’s idea of the “Spain’s efforts as the champion of Catholicism during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries” (Maltby, p.4) as the cause of “Protestants in every corner of Europe” (Maltby, p.4).

To conclude with the analysis of Hume’s chapter, her role as a ruler and a female sovereign must be analysed. Hume uses the term “Pathetic” (Hume, 1911, p.XII) that can be related with Edwards’ idea of Mary having “a bad reputation in the eyes of many” (Edwards, p.XIII). Both authors used her marriage with the Spanish monarch as one of the causes of her unpopularity throughout history, as Hume claimed that it “handicapped her from the first” (Hume, 1911, p.257), and Edwards addressed alongside other causes, as he stated that she was a “highly controversial, for the fact that she was a female, because of her religious policies and her choice of husband” (Edwards, p. XIII). Being a female ruler is something that many authors also take into account while accounting Mary I of England’s life, as they claim her pursuit of a husband to rule because of Mary believing on the “universal conviction that government was not women’s work” (Loades, p.216), as “no one expected a woman to rule for herself” (Prescott, p.256), and looking for a husband to “relieve her of those duties of a sovereign which she did not think it fitting for a women to perform” (Edwards, p.200). In Mary’s biography, Hume addresses her Spanish ascendancy as the cause of her Catholic exaltation, and thenceforward as the main cause that led to the different events that made the Catholic monarch so unpopular in her homeland. In this case, Hume uses anti-Spanish rhetoric to explain the questionable acts made by a British Queen.

Conclusion

The main objectives of this dissertation have been to examine how the monarchs Isabella I of Castille, Joanna I of Castille and Mary I of England are represented by the British historian Martin Hume in his work *Queens of Old Spain*, and checking if there is any evidence of anti-Spanish sentiments or element of the Black Legend myth on the work of the British historian.

The analysis of the Queens lives selected as focus of the analysis can be divided into three parts in each Queen: the religious perspective of their lives, the relationship with their respective husband, and its role as sovereign, and most importantly as female rulers. Regarding religious aspects, it can be seen how Hume's representation of the Queens and religion can be frequently connected with anti-Spanish sentiments and arguments used by the Black Legend myth supporters, answering to one of the main questions proposed in this project, that was whether Hume uses anti-Spanish rhetoric on his accounting of the monarchs' lives, and as it can be seen in different parts throughout the analysis, the author mainly stereotypes Spain, the Queens and Spaniards as "cruel, fanatical and intolerant" (Lawrence, p.15). This brings us back to Pereyra's question about if Hume's anti-Hispanic sentiment is a British feeling or if it is the old anti-Hispanic feeling that Spaniards had, from the point of view of a foreigner²¹. Pereyra's question can now be answered, as Hume constantly uses anti-Spanish representations to define Spaniards on his work. This interpretation of Hume's also gives a contrary vision to the one given by Martin in his biography of the British historian, as he affirmed that Hume "dealt with religious matters dispassionately" (Martin). The other main question of this project was how Martin Hume represented the Queens, and this has been mainly answered in the analysis of Hume's biography of the Queens. Hume represents Isabella as a powerful woman, that was able to break boundaries of the gender roles of a woman sovereign in the fifteenth century; while Joanna is depicted as monarch that was not permitted to govern in her own country, betrayed by the people that should have taken care of her, giving even more importance to this issues than to the 'lunacy' that other historians emphasize on the monarch's life; and he depicted Mary as the unpopular Queen that other historians had also depicted, in

²¹ Quote translated by Carlos Flores. Original text: "[...], si el prejuicio de Hume es un sentimiento británico o es el añejo antiespañolismo de los españoles pasado por el alambique de un extranjero" (Pereyra, p.66)

his case accusing her Spanish ascendancy as the main culprit of her way of acting. Although the British historian narrates the events with the objectivity that he claims on his works, his representation of the monarchs contains different elements of Anti-Spanish rhetoric to define the monarchs, mainly addressing how Spanish Catholic exaltation defined the three monarchs' lives.

To conclude, it is important to talk about Hume's relevance as an historian, as he dedicated a great part of his career to the study of Spanish history and the lives of some of the most notorious Spanish characters. With *Queens of Old Spain*, Hume has brought the history of Spain and its queens closer to the English-speaking reader, showing them a different perspective of history than the one of their native lands.

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