# A Body Politic to Govern:
# The Political Humanism of Elizabeth I

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# Dedication

To my loving wife Kristen who has supported me through all of this and to my two joys Eliza and Daisy. All I do is for you three.

Acknowledgements

I completed this dissertation at the University of Tennessee Department of History under the sage guidance of Dr. J. L. McIntosh. I am grateful to her for all of her wisdom, advice, and belief in both me and this project. Without her mentoring, encouragement, and stringent editing, I do not think this project would have been completed. I was also quite fortunate to complete my graduate studies at the University of Tennessee during the time of the formation of the Marco Institute of Medieval and Renaissance Studies. The formation of this institute has broadened the classes that I was able to take as well as increased the reputation and regard for both the faculty and school throughout the country. This is well-deserved.

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## Abstract

"A Body Politic to Govern: The Political Humanism of Elizabeth I" is a study that examines the influence between the virtues and thoughts of the political humanists of the Italian Renaissance, and the political persona of England's Elizabeth I. In order to do this I have dealt with questions concerning how Elizabeth constructed literary works such as letters and speeches, as well the style in which she governed England. I have studied Elizabeth's works and methods within their literary and historical contexts. This has included the examination of the works of relevant humanist contemporaries such as her own advisors, Members of Parliament, and fellow monarchs.

In the course of my research I have traveled to libraries and archives in the United States, England, and Scotland to study original manuscripts when possible as well as microfilm copies of the originals in other cases. My focus was to examine the literary works of Elizabeth I within their historical contexts in order to see what possible influence might be discernible from contemporary humanist as well as classical sources.

In this dissertation I demonstrate a discernible influence between the thoughts and virtues of political humanism upon the public presentation of Elizabeth I's political persona. Elizabeth exemplified the virtues of political humanism through her dedication to the *vita activa, amor patriae,* and service to the greater good of her realm. In so doing I argue that Elizabeth presented herself as a prince stressing her classical education and divine-sanction as the authority by which she ruled England's government and church.

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# Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| ACFLO | *Elizabeth I: Autograph Compositions and Foreign Language Originals,* ed. Janel Mueller and Leah Marcus [Chicago University Press, 2003] |
| BL | British Library |
| CSP | *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Edward, Mary and Elizabeth, 1547-80, 1581-90, 1591-94, 1595-97, 1598-1601, 1601-03,* ed. Mary A. Everrett, [London, 1870]. |
| | *Calendar of State Papers Edward VI,* ed. C. S. Knighton [London, 1992] |
| | *Calendar of State Papers Mary,* ed. C. S. Knighton [London, 1998] |
| CW | *Elizabeth I: Collected Works,* ed. L. S. Marcus, J. Mueller, and M. B. Rose [Chicago University Press, 2000] |
| Hartley | T. E. Hartley, ed., *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I,* 3 vols., (Leicester, England, 1981-1995) |
| LP | Brewer and Gairdner, eds. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII…*[London, 1864-1905] |
| NAS | National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh |
| RH | Register House |
| TNA | The National Archives, Kew (formerly PRO) |

# Introduction

## Thesis

Due to the prominence of Elizabeth I as a subject for academic and popular inquiry, scholars have published an immense number of works on her life. However, Elizabeth's own self-promotion as a classical humanist has received surprisingly little attention. Therefore, it is the intention of this dissertation to illuminate an area of Elizabethan scholarship that has yet to be the primary focus of a study using original published research. The main issue in question will be how Elizabeth, as a female monarch in the sixteenth century, used her humanist education to project the image of a competent, learned, and devout prince. Particular attention will be paid to how Elizabeth constructed a political persona or "body politic" that reflected the influence of the political humanism of her male contemporaries.

I will further foreground Elizabeth's self-presentation as a ruler who enjoyed the special favor and sanction of God. In so doing, I will demonstrate that Elizabeth began her scholarly career as a humanist concentrating on the classical idea of the *vita contemplativa* (contemplative life) most likely expecting to be a future patroness of religious learning. Yet, in 1558, when faced with the opportunity to rule, Elizabeth entered the pursuit of the *vita activa* (active life) and thus began to utilize her humanism to build, project, and sustain her political image as sovereign.

This dissertation further contends that this political humanism which stressed the civic virtues of *amor patriae*, the *vita activa*, and the good of the state was the civic language of the day. This language was found in the writings and speeches of contemporary humanists such as Sir Thomas More, Thomas Elyot, and members of

Elizabeth's Parliaments. This study presents a new and fresh approach to a much studied historical figure by connecting Elizabeth's projection of her political persona to her reliance upon political humanism.

## Context of the dissertation

It will first be useful to define some key terms and set them within their current academic discourse. What modern scholars label humanism, intellectuals in sixteenth-century England described using the phrase the *studia humanitatis* ("studies of human nature" or "of the things that characterize a civilized man"). Scholarly consensus has generally settled on the definition of humanism given by Paul O. Kristeller.[1] Kristeller connected renaissance humanism to three distinct influences: the tradition of the medieval *dictatores* (clerks or scribes), the study of Latin classical works dating back to the twelfth century, and the introduction of Greek classical works.[2] These early humanists were drawn to the Roman writers Seneca, Cicero, and Virgil seeking the eloquence and wisdom of the ancient writers for practical purposes of the day such as writing a letter or to aid them in the area of local politics.

Hans Baron expanded upon this definition of humanism by coining the phrase *Bürgerhumanismus*, or "civic humanism." He argued that within the Italian humanist movement was a group of politically-minded individuals seeking the *vita activa*. Civic humanists placed a primary emphasis on man in the world and man as the center of power within that world with the obligation to make positive contributions to his surroundings. Notable examples such as Leonardo Bruni looked back to the Roman

[1] Paul O. Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and its Sources*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979).
[2] "The Philosophy of Man in the Italian Renaissance," in *Italica*, vol. 24, no. 2. (June 1947), pp. 94-95.

Republic as the ideal form of government with its citizens actively engaged in public affairs.[3] Consequently, the early civic humanists held up Cicero and his writings and speeches in defense of the ideals of the Roman Republic as the model for good government during the renaissance. These humanists valued the ideals of republicanism, political participation, and civic-mindedness. They further represented a resurgence of the republican ideology of the ancient classical period.[4]

Despite the initial acceptance of Baron's conception of civic humanism, recent scholarship has cast much of his thesis into doubt. Pocock and Skinner have been critical of any idea of a progressive continuum of republican thought with the Italian civic humanists as the key.[5] Mark Jurdjevic argued that "civic humanism" was not really a democratic or republican movement but was also compatible with the government of an autocrat—as in the case of the Medici.[6] James Hankins, in the introduction of *Renaissance Civic Humanism*,[7] also joins the chorus that has risen up against Baron's arguments. Hankins views "civic humanism" as more of a transitional political and intellectual movement situated between the medieval guilds and moving slowly towards the monarchies of Western Europe. Hankins also argues that historians could salvage the term "civic humanism" if they first realized that it was not necessarily innovative or Florentine, but of Roman origin. Christopher Celenza also rejects Baron's arguments for

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[3] See Leonardo Bruni, *In Praise of Florence: The Panegyric of the City of Florence and an Introduction to Bruni's Civil Humanism,* intro and trans. Alfred Sheepers, (Amsterdam: Olive Press, 2005).
[4] See chapters 16 and 17 of Baron*, In Search of Florentine's Civic Humanism, Essays on the Transition from Medieval to Modern Thought*, Vol. II (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988).
[5] See Pocock, *Machiavellian Moment*; and Quentin Skinner, *Liberty Before Liberalism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
[6] Mark Jurdjevic, "Civic Humanism and the Rise of the Medici," pp. 994—1020.
[7] James Hankins, *Renaissance Civic Humanism*, introduction, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 1—13.

the Florentine component of "civic humanism" stating that much of Baron's thoughts came from the social contexts in which he wrote. Celenza writes that because Baron was a Jewish scholar forced from his home in pre-war Germany, "it is unsurprising that he invested so much faith in the ideology of republicanism that the Florentines expounded and unsurprising as well that he cast the Renaissance as a dramatic struggle of freedom versus tyranny."[8]

While most scholars have rejected parts of Baron's thesis, they have not rejected the idea of a politically-minded humanism beginning in Italy and gradually moving into the intellectual and political world of sixteenth-century England. Charles Stinger in his work, *The Renaissance in Rome,* argues that "the humanist rediscovery of epideictic oratory became fundamental…to the intellectual character of the Roman Renaissance."[9] He has further argued that Italian humanists played a central role in shaping the political discourse of the inner court of the Renaissance Papacy.[10] This dissertation argues that a similar political humanist discourse dominated English politics at the time of Elizabeth's accession. By her participation in it, Elizabeth shaped her "body politic" in a way that both was understood and respected by her male contemporaries.

This dissertation takes the more modified definition of a political humanist as put forth by scholars such as James Hankins and J.G. A. Pocock and places Elizabeth I within this tradition. These political humanists (such as Sir Thomas More, Thomas Elyot, and others) used their education for the sake of the common good, held high the values of the *vita activa*, *amor patriae,* and valued all forms of government including monarchy. They

[8] Christopher Celenza, *The Lost Italian Renaissance*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), p. 38.
[9] Charles Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome,* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), p. 73.
[10] Ibid.

esteemed the study of the classics for solving practical problems of the day. When Elizabeth became queen and took the reins of government, she utilized her own political humanism to pursue the *vita activa* in service to the greater good of her realm as well as to project and defend her own political persona.

This dissertation further builds upon the argument that early English humanism had much in common with its Italian forerunner. Alistair Fox's definition of English humanism has removed the Protestant characterization from this intellectual movement and instead described it as a diverse trend that focused on classical literature and primarily affected and impacted the areas of English culture and education.[11] Diarmaid MacCulloch writes that English humanism was not so much a "New Learning," as it was actually a "refocusing of old learning."[12] He also argues that Pope Pius II played a major part in helping make humanism attractive to the intellectuals of northern Europe. In England, bishops and cardinals became patrons of this new "refocused" old learning and played a major part in founding several colleges and universities in England with the goal to increase the study of the Biblical languages.[13] Thus, MacCulloch agrees with Fox that the early English humanism was found in both Catholic and Protestant circles.

Although it is difficult to give a precise date for the entrance of humanism into England, the historian Roberto Weiss dated its beginnings around the year 1485.[14] While

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[11] Alistair Fox and John Guy, *Reassessing the Henrician Age: Humanism, Politics, and Reform 1500-1550*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, Ltd., 1986), pp. 32—33.
[12] MacCulloch, *The Reformation*, p. 74.
[13] See also Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome.*
[14] Roberto Weiss, Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century, 3rd ed. (London: Blackwell, 1967), pp. 5-6, 185. See also Paul Lawrence Rose, "Erasmians and Mathematicians at Cambridge in the Early Sixteenth Century," in *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 8, No. 2, Humanism in the Early Sixteenth Century. (Jul., 1977), pp. 46-59. Maria Dowling, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII,* (London: Croom Helm, 1986).

some scholars suggest the presence of earlier influences,[15] it is generally accepted that by the late fifteenth century, humanist ideals, or the "New Learning," were beginning to enter England via academic circles centering around Oxford University. These English scholars were originally interested in education in classical languages, especially the learning of Greek.[16] This revival of enthusiasm in the value of the classics for educational and academic purposes was due to the humanist connection between knowledge and morality. Joanna Martindale asserts that for the English humanists: "The central emphasis was literary, rhetoric was believed to hold the key to the good life."[17] Thus, to the humanist scholar, (like Sir Thomas More) true education produced morality.[18] Martindale writes that for the English humanist "the *studia humanitatis* leads to knowledge and virtue, and hence to good government."[19] Therefore, English humanists felt that they should pursue the *vita activa* and use their education for the common good.

## Elizabeth and gender

As a female monarch in the sixteenth century, Elizabeth I, faced special challenges. Initially, humanist educators considered a classical education only fit for men. Humanist treatises on education focused on how to train aristocratic boys for the *vita activa*. General acceptance of humanist education for women was slow during this time

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[15] For a discussion of earlier influences and a nice review of pertinent secondary literature see Rosemary Masek "The Humanistic Interests of the Early Tudor Episcopate," in *Church History*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (Mar., 1970), pp. 5-17. See also David Rundle, "Humanism Before the Tudors: On Nobility and the Reception of the studia humanitatis in Fifteenth Century England," chapter 2 in *Reassessing Tudor Humanism*, ed. Jonathan Woolfson, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan Ltd, 2002).
[16] Weiss, *Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century*, pp. 5-6, 185.
[17] For a good collection of renaissance humanist texts on education see Craig W. Kallendorf ed. and trans., *Humanist Educational Treatises*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2002); Joanna Martindale ed., *English Humanism: Wyatt to Cowley*, (London: Croom Helm Ltd., 1985), p. 20.
[18] See Constance Jordan, *Renaissance Feminisms* and Maria Dowling, *Humanism in the Court of Henry VIII.*
[19] Martindale, *English Humanism: Wyatt to Cowley*, p. 26.

even among writers such as Vivés and More. Hilda Smith writes that although most humanists agreed that women were capable of learning, "it was a question of what they would do with such learning and whether it might interfere with their more important responsibilities as wives and mothers."[20]

Therefore, before the time of Henry VIII most humanist educational tracts focused on the education of young boys and not aristocratic girls. Erasmus wrote several works focusing on education of young men.[21] Thomas Linacre, a physician to Henry VIII, authored three separate Latin grammars for the instruction of young boys in schools.[22] The Spanish humanist, J. L. Vivès in 1523 published *De tradendis disciplinis*, which was influential in England due to his close ties with the first wife of Henry VIII, Queen Katherine of Aragon. In 1531, Thomas Elyot authored his most famous educational treatise *The Boke Named the Gouernour*. This work is significant as it is the first book in English primarily concerned with the education of boys.[23]

Like their Italian predecessors, English scholars considered that to be fully educated, one must be trained in the *studia humanitatis*. This included instruction in the languages of Greek, Latin, and often Hebrew.[24] They further countenanced a wide spectrum of immersion in classical authors such as Seneca, Cicero, and Virgil as well as the Bible and the church fathers. These English humanists felt this curriculum would

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[20] Hilda Smith, "Humanist education and the Renaissance concept of woman," in *Women and Literature in Britain: 1500-1700,* ed. Helen Wilcox, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 11.
[21] Desiderius Erasmus, *Enchiridion militis Christiani* [1503], *De ratione studii* [1511], *Institutio principis Christiani* [1516], and *De pueris instituendis* [1529].
[22] Kristian Jensen, "De Emendata Structura Latini Sermonis: The Latin Grammar of Thomas Linacre," in *Journal of the Wartburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 49. (1986), pp. 106-125.
[23] Donald W. Rude, ed., introduction to, *A Critical Edition of Sir Thomas Elyot's The Boke Named the Governour*, [1531], (London: Garland Publishing, 1992), p xi.
[24] See Erika Rummel, *The Case Against Johann Reuchlin: Social and Religious Controversy in Sixteenth-Century Germany*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), and Johann Reuchlin, *De rudimentis hebraicis*, (Pforzheim, Thomas Anshelm, 1506).

produce morality and character in their students.[25] Although early English humanist tutors assumed the masculinity of their students, their ideas would later find expression in the progress and content of Elizabeth's education as princess.

During the reign of Henry VIII, humanists such as Juan Vivés, Erasmus, Richard Hyrde, and Sir Thomas More, began to advocate the beginnings of a limited education of aristocratic women in classical studies.[26] It is important to underscore that these early recommendations for women's education, while innovative, still took a demeaning approach to women in regards to the early modern view of their subservient role in society. In fact, Vivés seminal work on female education, *Institutione Faeminae Christianae* (1523), only has nine pages touching on specifics for academic curriculum. The remainder of his work covered such topics as "manners and family, and especially how a wife should establish respect toward her husband and his relatives."[27] Smith writes that Vivés "offered training that aided women to become well-informed and charming companions to their husbands, pious and good Christians, and individuals able to deal easily and sympathetically with Scripture and catechism."[28]

Henry VIII's first wife, Katherine of Aragon, was very influential in the development of the education of royal women by her own supervision and interest in the education of Princess Mary.[29] Sir Thomas More also provided for his own daughters'

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[25] Maria Dowling, *Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII*, pp. 179-180.
[26] J. K. Sowards, "Erasmus and the Education of Women," in *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (Winter, 1982), pp. 77-89. See also Thomas More (1478-1535), *Sir Thomas More: Selected Letters*, ed. Elizabeth Francis Rogers (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), pp. 104-105.
[27] Smith, "Humanist Education and the Renaissance Concept of Women," p. 16.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Dowling, *Humanism*, pp. 89-90.

education with several well-accomplished tutors in classical languages and literature.[30] In support of this trend, humanists began to add to the works on the education of women. For example, Thomas Elyot in *The Defence of Good Women* wrote that:

> Women (specially) moughte be prouoked to imbrace virtue more gladly, and to be circumspecte in the bryngynge vp of theyr children. But with that imagination there came also to my remembraunce, the vngentyll custome of many men, whiche do set theyr delyte in rebukynge of women, althoughe they neuer receyued displeasure.[31]

While the humanist influence in England began to fuel the idea that women were worthy of an education, these works still viewed women in a secondary role to men limiting both the scope of their education and public role. English humanists still had the primary motive to promote virtue and morality in women and not to prepare them for public service.

English scholars advocated that their female students, which would include Elizabeth and other royal and aristocratic ladies, pursue such scholarly activities as reading, writing, and translation of religious texts. These activities were viewed as "safe" as it was thought that they would not stimulate sinful or original thought. Erasmus wrote that for women "reading and studying of books so occupieth the mind, that it can have no leisure to muse or delight in other fantasies."[32] One very early figure in women's translation was Margaret Beaufort [Elizabeth's paternal great-grandmother], who had

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[30] Dowling, *Humanism*, pp. 220-221.
[31] Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Defence of Good Women* [1540], ed. Edwin Johnston Howard, (Oxford, Ohio: The Anchor Press, 1940) pp. 1-2. This is a reprint in original spelling but not a facsimile.
[32]Richard Hyrde, "Preface," to *A Devout Treatise Upon the Pater Noster in Renaissance Women: A Sourcebook*, ed. Kate Aughterson, (New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 174.

excerpts from Thomas à Kempis' *De imitatione Christi* published posthumously in 1504.[33]

Sir Thomas More was an early advocate for women's education stressing that women had the ability to learn as equally as men.[34] He further laid out an educational curriculum for his daughters which included the church fathers, the Scriptures, as well as the writings of classical authors.[35] More's daughter, Margaret Roper, had her own translation of Erasmus' *A Devout Treatise Upon the Pater Noster* published as early as 1526.[36] However, Valerie Wayne argues that translation and reading of religious texts were normally "presented as an agent of control more than enlightenment and was identified with that other occupation, the handling of wool and flax, as a craft."[37]

Due to the gradual acceptance of educating elite women according to humanist principles, many royal women, some of whom would have a direct influence on the course of Elizabeth's education, rose in stature to become supporters and even patrons of the humanist education of women.[38] Many of these same women also engaged in translation of texts, especially religious ones, as part of their efforts. Such figures as Katherine of Aragon, Anne Boleyn, and Katherine Parr stand prominently in this regard. Juan Luis Vivès book *Institutione Faeminae Christianae* was dedicated to Queen

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[33] See *Early Tudor Translators: Margaret Beaufort, Margaret More Roper and Mary Basset Printed Writings 1500–1640*: Series I, Part II, vol. 4. ed. Lee Khanna, (Surrey, UK: Ashgate Publishing, August 2001).
[34] Hilda Smith, *Humanist Education and the Renaissance Concept of Woman,* p. 21.
[35] Ibid., p. 22.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Valerie Wayne, "Some Sad Sentence: Vivés' Instruction of Christian Women," in *Silent But for the Word: Tudor Women as Patrons, Translators, and writers of Religious Works*, ed. Margaret Hannay, (Kent: Kent State Press, 1988), p. 20. See also Erica Longfellow, *Women and Religious Writing in Early Modern England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) and *Women and Literature in Britain: 1500-1700*, ed. Helen Wilcox, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
[38] For a good summary of the progress of Tudor women see Barbara J. Harris, *English Aristocratic Women: 1450-1550*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

Katherine of Aragon. He also dedicated his work *Satellium sine Symbola* to Princess Mary in which he advocated a more extensive classical education program as befitting to a possible future female monarch.[39] At the time, Mary was as the king's only legitimate offspring and there was the distinct possibility that Mary might rule one day. Therefore, Vivès recommended a classical education including Plato's works on government, More's *Utopia*, Erasmus' *Institutio Christiani Principis*, the Scriptures, theological works, and classical authors such as Plutarch, Seneca, Lucian, and Cato.[40]

It is difficult to know much about Elizabeth's early education due to lack of any direct evidence. However, Katherine Parr, the last of Henry VIII's wives, was an accomplished intellectual who was very interested in providing for the education of the royal children. When the young Elizabeth sought the appointment of Roger Ascham to replace her tutor, William Grindal, after his death, Queen Katherine and her husband, the Lord Admiral Thomas Seymour, were intimately involved.[41] J.L. McIntosh has also argued that two influences were present in Elizabeth's household as a princess: "Protestant erudition and an appreciation for Italian artistic forms."[42] She cites Elizabeth's preference for Ascham as her tutor, and Elizabeth's own competency and zeal for the Italian language and culture as evidences of this.[43] In an early defense of her right to rule,

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[39] Charlton, *Women, Religion and Education in Early Modern England*, p. 130. See also Juan Luis Vivès, *A very fruitefull and pleasant booke called the instructio[n] of a Christen woma[n]*, (London: In Fletestrete, in the house of Thomas Berthelet). [1531].
[40] Charlton, *Women, Religion and Education in Early Modern England*, p. 130.
[41] See Janel Mueller, "Devotion as Difference: Intertexuality in Queen Katherine Parr's 'Prayers or Meditations,'" in *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 53, No. 3. (Summer, 1990), pp. 171-197. Roger Ascham, "Letter LXXXV to Sir John Cheke, February 12, 1548," in *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham*, ed. J. A. Giles, Vol. 1, pt. 1, (London: John Russell Smith, 1865), p. lvi, and 160.
[42] J. L. McIntosh, *From Heads of Household to Heads of State: The Preaccession Households of Mary and Elizabeth Tudor, 1516-1558*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), p. 98.
[43] Ibid., pp. 98-101.

Elizabeth referenced the thoroughness of her own humanist studies in a 1566 speech to Parliament stating:

> It is said I am no divine. Indeed, I studied nothing else but divinity till I came to the crown, and then I gave myself to the study of that which was meet for government, and am not ignorant of stories wherein appeareth what hath fallen out for ambition of kingdoms, as in Spain, Naples, Portingal, and at home.[44]

Roger Ascham also provided anecdotal evidence about Elizabeth's later education in the *studia humanitatis.* He wrote that he tutored Elizabeth in:

> Saint Cyprian and Melanchthon's *Common Places*…as best suited, after the holy Scriptures, to teach her the foundations of religion, together with elegant language and sound doctrine.[45]

Elizabeth's brother's education is documented a bit more thoroughly. After Prince Edward reached the age of six, he left behind his rudimentary instruction given by the women of his court and began his own humanistic studies outright.[46] This included the addition of Jean Belmain, to teach him the French language, to the distinguished group of scholars—Cox and Cheke.[47] There is also ample testimony that Elizabeth and Edward lived together in the years before he ascended to the throne. The Imperial ambassador Chapuys states in 1538 he saw the princess Elizabeth at dinner with Edward living in the same residence.[48] In 1543 he authored another letter in which he noted that Elizabeth and Edward still lived together.[49] Since Elizabeth and Edward lived together for a time during

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[44] *CW*, pp. 96-97.
[45] Ascham, "Ascham to Sturm," pp. lxii-lxiii.
[46] Edward speaks of himself in the third person describing his transition from education from "the women" to the scholars Coxe, and John Cheek. Edward VI, *England's Boy King: The Diary of Edward VI, 1547-1553,* Jonathan North ed., (Welwyn Garden City, United Kingdom: Ravenhall Books, 2005), p. 15.
[47] Ibid.
[48] *CSP, Spanish,* Vol. V—Part II (1536-1538), p. 509.
[49] *CSP, Spanish,* Vol. VI—Part II (1542-1543), p. 459.

his early years, it is reasonable to suppose that Elizabeth might have enjoyed the instruction of her previous tutors along with Belmain.[50]

David Carlson provides some insight into the education of Elizabeth and her siblings by examining the education of Henry VIII and his brother, Prince Arthur. He argues that while the curriculum that the Tudor children studied cannot be ascertained exactly, "what can be known of their tutors provides the best indication of the sort of education the Tudor royal children would have received. The distinguishing characteristics of this education would seem to have been its professionalism and a pervasive, if primitive, humanism."[51] Most certainly this included language study in ancient and modern languages, Biblical study and theology, as well as a thorough study of the classical authors such as Plato, Seneca and Aristotle.[52]

Elizabeth's paternal uncle, Prince Arthur, was educated by the humanist scholars John Rede and Bernard André.[53] Furthermore, André left a detailed description of Arthur's education. He wrote:

> This above all I would wish to emphasize particularly, that, before he had reached his sixteenth birthday, he had either committed in part to memory or had at least handled and read, at one time or another, with his own hands and eyes, all of the following: in grammar, Guarino, Perotti, Pomponio Leto, Sulpizio, Aulus Gellius, and Valla; in poetry, Homer, Vergil, Lucan, Ovid, Silius Italicus, Plautus, and Terence; in oratory, the *De officiis*, the *Letters*, and the *Paradoxa stoicorum* of Cicero, and Quintilian; and in history Thucydides, Livy, Caesar's

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[50] Certainly, Elizabeth's later proficiency in classical and modern languages attests to the excellent instruction that she had as a child. Edward VI, *England's Boy King: The Diary of Edward VI, 1547-1553*, p. 15.
[51] David Carlson, "Royal Tudors in the reign of Henry VII," in *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 22, no. 2 (Summer, 1991), p. 253.
[52] Charlton gives list of Vivés recommended curriculum for the Princess Mary. Charlton, *Women, Religion and Education in Early Modern England*, p. 130.
[53] Carlson, "Royal Tudors in the reign of Henry VII," p. 253.

> *Commentaries*, Suetonius, Tacitus, Pliny, Valerius Maximus, Sallust, and Eusebius.[54]

Elizabeth's father, Henry VIII, was also educated by such noted scholars as John Skelton, John Holt, and William Hone.[55] Contemporary accounts confirm his aptitude at a young age. Erasmus wrote in a preface to his *Prosopopoeia Britanniae*, stating: "The boy Henry, favoured with his father's name, contemplates Athena's arts from earliest childhood, with the poet Skelton showing him the sacred fonts."[56]

Therefore, while little direct evidence exists for Elizabeth's early education, her extant literary output coupled with the preference of the Tudors for classical education suggests her education must have been extensive for the time.

## Gender and Elizabeth's "body politic"

Despite the limited advances of royal and aristocratic women in the eyes of their humanist educators, Elizabeth still had to contend with the issue of her gender when she became Queen of England in 1558. For Elizabeth's accession to the throne came in the very same year that John Knox published his famous tract *The First Blast against the Monstrous Regiment of Women.*[57] Amanda Shepherd argues that Knox actually intended to target any woman who inherited a title of monarchy and not just Mary Tudor, the queen of England, Marie de Guise-Lorraine, the Dowager Queen of Scotland and regent

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[54] Translation by Carlson. Bernard Andre, *Vita Henrici Septimi*, ed, Gairdner, *Historia*, 43, as cited in Carslon, p. 256.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Erasmus, *The Poems of Desiderius Erasmus*, ed. Cornelis Reedijk, (Leiden: Brill, 1956), 253 as quoted in Carlson, pp. 255-256.
[57] John Knox, *The first blast of the trumpet against the monstruous regiment of women*, (Geneva : J. Poullain and A. Rebul, 1558); See also Christopher Goodman, *How superior powers oght to be obeyd of their subiects and wherin they may lawfully by Gods Worde be disobeyed and resisted*, (Geneva : John Crispin, 1558).

on behalf of her daughter, Mary Queen of Scots.[58] She further argues that Elizabeth's Protestantism did not help her in regards to Knox's opinion. Knox's arguments against her Catholic sister, Mary I, were "on the grounds of her religion and her marriage to a foreigner, but above all because of her sex."[59] However, Shepherd does argue for a more complicated understanding of gender in the sixteenth century as she discusses several prominent male scholars who came to the defense of women rulers.[60] She writes that "gender and power were high on the political agenda in the sixteenth century."[61]

Adding to the current scholarly discourse on gender in sixteenth-century England is Carol Levin's work *The Heart and Stomach of a King*.[62] Levin, like Shephard, argues for a more complicated and nuanced understanding of Elizabeth's presentation in regards to her gender. She asserts that Elizabeth's subjects viewed her as both "King and Queen." She cites a speech by Nicholas Health, the Archbishop of York early in Elizabeth's reign in which he described Elizabeth in both male and female terms as "our sovaraigne lord and ladie, our kinge and queen, our emperor and empresse."[63]

This is an adaptation of the famous medieval concept, first studied by Ernst Kantorowicz, that a king had two bodies—one material and one spiritual.[64] A king was thought to be endowed with an earthly body as well as a spiritual one which was not subject to mortal decay. In this way, this concept affirmed the divine sanction of his rule

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[58] Amanda Shephard, *Gender and Authority in Sixteenth-Century England*, (Staffordshire: Keele University Press), May 15, 1998.
[59] Ibid., p. 21.
[60] Shephard references works by John Aylmer, Richard Bertie, John Leslie, David Chambers, and Lord Henry Howard. Ibid., p. 7.
[61] Ibid., p. 201.
[62] Carol Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power*, (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994).
[63] Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*, p. 121.
[64] See Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

and put the king into the realm of the divine. This political sentiment had its origins in the theological doctrine of Christ's dual nature: man and God. James I mentioned this concept in a speech to Parliament in 1609 where he advocated the unity of England and Scotland (two bodies) under one head.[65] Francis Bacon suggested–without immediate success-that England and Scotland be united under the one name of "great britainne" to demonstrate the newness of the union of the two different bodies.[66]

Marie Axton discussed the concept of the monarch's two bodies in regards to female rulers such as Elizabeth.[67] Axton writes that contemporary English lawyers argued that the queen also had two bodies: "a body natural and a body politic."[68] The historical record supports that Elizabeth's subjects recognized this concept of viewing her as both king and queen. In a 1566 speech in the House of Commons, an unnamed MP requested that Elizabeth deal with her succession. In his speech he stated "and therefore we beseche your Majesty of your *princely* care and *motherly* love towards us your servantes and children" (Italics mine).[69] Axton argues that in the person of Elizabeth the concept of the king's two bodies became the concept of the queen's two bodies. However, for Elizabeth this conceptualization helped to compensate for a perceived weakness—her gender. Levin states that this dual nature "had a particular value to the Queen."[70] She writes: "If a kingly body politic could be incorporated in to an actual female body—her natural self—

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[65] James I, *The Political Works of James I*, ed. Charles McIlwain, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918), pp. 307-309.
[66] "The United Kingdom of Great Britain" did not come into official use until the Act of Union in 1707. For Bacon's quote, see Francis Bacon, *A Brief Discourse Touching the Happie Vnion of the Kingdomes of England, and Scotland*, (London: Faelix Norton, 2603), p. a 7.
[67]Marie Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies: drama and the Elizabethan Succession*, (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977).
[68] Ibid., p. x.
[69] T. E. Hartley, *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I*, vol. 1, (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1981), p. 157.
[70] Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*, p. 123.

how much more right Elizabeth had to rule, and to rule alone."[71] Elizabeth herself stated in her very first speech to the Lord's of the realm "as I am but one body naturally considered, though by his permission a *body politic to govern*" (Italics mine).[72]

It is this kingly "body politic" of Elizabeth I with which this dissertation is primarily concerned. This dissertation argues that Elizabeth shaped her "body politic" as a learned and devout prince in the style of her contemporary male political humanists. Elizabeth's awareness and conscious shaping of her political persona fits well with Stephen Greenblatt's argument that "in sixteenth-century England there both selves and a sense they could be fashioned."[73] Alison Heisch gives a motive for Elizabeth's use of political humanism to shape her "body politic" as "to rule effectively, Elizabeth had to control Parliament."[74] In order to push her agenda and rule effectively, Elizabeth had to speak the political language of her male statesmen and courtiers. As a political humanist, as this dissertation argues, Elizabeth was not content to live the *vita contemplativa*.

Therefore, this dissertation asserts that Elizabeth relied upon this concept of the two bodies to present herself, as Levin has argued, as both "King and Queen."[75] Levin states that Elizabeth demonstrated power through being both king and queen and "blurred the definitions of gender and role expectation in her particular position as ruler of Renaissance England."[76] However, this study expands upon Levin's argument and differs

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[71] Ibid.
[72] TNA, SP Domestic, Elizabeth 12/1/13; also cited in *CW*, p. 52.
[73] Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), p. 1.
[74] Alison Heisch, "Queen Elizabeth I: Parliamentary Rhetoric and the Exercise of Power," in Signs, Vol. 1, No. 1, (Autumn, 1975) p. 31.
[75] Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*, pp. 121-123.
[76] Ibid., p. 148.

from it by its primary concentration on Elizabeth's construction of the outward "body politic" in the style of the English political humanists.

To her subjects there was no doubt that Elizabeth was their queen. However, when ruling politically and pushing her agenda, this dissertation argues that Elizabeth employed a "body politic" in the language of a learned and devout prince—a political humanist. This political image was obviously not seen visibly but consisted in her political dialogue through both her spoken and written words. When Elizabeth defended her power, as this dissertation will demonstrate, she relied upon her classical education speaking in the common tradition and style of the political discourse of her male contemporaries.

Therefore, this dissertation adds to both gender and political studies in that it discusses how Elizabeth chose to deal with the issue of her gender in a political manner. Elizabeth relied upon her "body politic" to project and justify her power through the image of a political humanist. Despite her chosen motto, *Semper Eadem* (Always the Same), this dissertation will also highlight discrepancies in this presentation of her "body politic" to her subjects.

## Sources of the study

Elizabeth I was a public figure whose literary output and records of government are well-chronicled and preserved. As she has also been a favorite topic of scholarly inquiry, there is an abundance of printed editions of sources dealing with both the history of her life and government. Therefore, this study will primarily be consulting and analyzing known sources rather than relying on newly discovered documents. What this dissertation contributes is an examination and analysis of her written and printed works

within their historical contexts with an eye towards how they reflect influence from the political humanism of the day. I will argue that Elizabeth used this political humanism to create a sustainable and defendable image of the learned prince who extolled the political virtues of the *vita activa* in service to the state.

While Elizabeth's works have recently appeared in reliable and highly useful critical editions, I have examined many of the original manuscripts. I completed this research at the archive deposits of the British Library (London), Lambeth Palace Library (London), The National Archives (Kew), the Bodleian Library (Oxford), Cambridge University Library, and the National Archives of Scotland (Edinburgh). I undertook this research during two extended trips to the United Kingdom as a Galen Broecker Fellow which were graciously funded through the History Department at the University of Tennessee.

Therefore, in this study I will reference the original manuscript in the first citation when I have examined it. In any secondary citations, I will also cite the reliable and readily accessible printed editions of Elizabeth's works, such as the *Collected Works*, for the ease of the reader. For this I owe a large debt of gratitude to the scholars who have gone before me in collecting, editing, and translating many of these works. Much appreciation is especially due to the work of Janel Mueller, Joshua Scodel, Leah Marcus, and Mary Beth Rose.[77] In 2000, Mueller, Marcus, and Rose immeasurably advanced Elizabethan studies when they co-edited an edition of most of Elizabeth I's written works. The editors arranged this volume chronologically and included original poems,

[77]Elizabeth I, *Collected Works*, hereafter referred to as *CW*, ed. Leah Marcus et al. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

letters, prayers, and speeches of Elizabeth in English. In this volume, the editors corrected and updated the spelling of her words to make a modernized English version. They also translated her foreign language works into English to help make them accessible to a wider audience.

Shortly after this publication, Mueller and Marcus published another work on Elizabeth entitled *Elizabeth I: Autograph Compositions and Foreign Language Originals.*[78] In this volume, the editors left the spelling in the manuscripts as Elizabeth recorded it and even included such details as strike-outs and marginalia which help reveal the processes by which Elizabeth composed many of these works. They also left her foreign language compositions in her original Latin, Greek, Italian, French and Spanish.

This dissertation actually began as a consideration of the historical relevance of the classical translations of Elizabeth I. At the time of the origination of this idea, the only published work in this area was that of a nineteenth-century English scholar, Caroline Pemberton.[79] In 2004, Steven W. May added to this corpus of literature with an edited collection of Elizabeth's works including some of her shorter translations of Latin authors, e.g. Cicero, Seneca, and Plutarch.[80] In 2009, Janelle Mueller and Joshua Scodel improved upon Pemberton's initial foray by releasing two new and updated texts, *Elizabeth I: Translations, 1544-1589*, and *Elizabeth I: Translations, 1592-1598*, which

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[78] *Autograph Compositions and Foreign Language Originals*, hereafter referred to as , ed. Janel Mueller and Leah Marcus, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).
[79] Caroline Pemberton, *Queen Elizabeth's Englishings of Boethius, Plutarch and Horace*, (1899; repr., Kessinger Publishing, April 30, 2004).
[80] Steven May, *Elizabeth I: Selected Works*, (Washington Square Press, New York, New York, 2004).

provided printed copies of Elizabeth's translations as well as useful literary criticism and analysis of them.[81]

Upon a more detailed examination of her literary corpus, I began to notice an affinity between her projection of her political image and the values and virtues of political humanism. Therefore, the major sources for this dissertation will be these original works of Elizabeth I including selected speeches, letters, translations, poetry and prayers as evidence for the influence of the politically-oriented humanism on this monarch. I will also utilize state papers, records and speeches from Parliamentary proceedings, personal and political letters of advisors and foreign monarchs, and contemporary or near-contemporary historical accounts of the time. While many of these records have been explored previously many times, this study will examine them in a new light drawing a connection between Elizabeth I and the political humanism of sixteenth-century England. Furthermore, I will detail how each of these sources demonstrate that when Elizabeth desired to present her "body politic" or assert her power, she relied upon her classical education in the style of a political humanist prince.

Because of this approach, I will be focusing on those sources that are the direct intellectual and literary products of Elizabeth I. Therefore, in certain circumstances, the issue of control and authorship will need to be discussed. Even in the sources that purport to be from her hand, there may be multiple influences from her intimate band of advisors in the writing of her speeches or letters. However, this dissertation will argue that when Elizabeth's authorship only rises to that of a modern-day President with speech writers,

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[81] Elizabeth I, *Elizabeth I: Translations, 1544-1589*, ed. Janel Mueller and Joshua Scodel, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); and Elizabeth I, *Elizabeth I: Translations, 1592-1598*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

she still had final say or control over what she said publicly or had printed.

There are also other sources that could, but will not, be utilized here to support her intention to present herself as a political humanist prince—e.g., portraits, pageants and plays of the time.[82] While these and other sources present strong evidence that Elizabeth's image of a renaissance political humanist was definitely understood by those around her, they did not directly originate with the intellectual ability of Elizabeth herself. Furthermore, it is also beyond my scope of expertise to analyze portraits and literary works. So while they present an interesting avenue for future study, they do not fall within the purview of this dissertation. This dissertation seeks as far as possible to link Elizabeth's own scholarship with her projection of her political persona.

While the overall field of Elizabethan studies has focused on other issues, this study concentrates on Elizabeth as a growing humanist scholar in the pursuit of the civic virtues of *vita activa*, *amor patriae*, and the commonweal. Many scholars have certainly noted and discussed Elizabeth's humanism. Susan Doran, Janel Mueller, and Janet Green stand prominently in this regard. Yet, there has not been a work focusing solely on her humanism and its use in the projection of her political persona. Notable scholars such as Pemberton, May, Mueller, and Scodel have immeasurably advanced Elizabethan studies with the collection and publication of printed collections of her works and translations. While these printed editions provide some highly valuable literary criticism and commentary on her humanist works, there is still plenty of room to connect Elizabeth's scholarship with the overt projection of her political persona.

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[82] See Roy Strong, *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I*, (London: Pimlico, 2003), p. 42. See also Robert Laneham, *A Letter: Wherarin, part of the entertainment unto the Queenz Maiesty, at Killingwoorth Castle, in warwk Sheer, in this soomers progress*, 1575, is signified, (London: S.N., 1575), pp. 11-13.

Similarly, more scholarship on the Latin writings of one of Elizabeth's most well-known tutors and Latin secretary, Roger Ascham would be valuable to shed more light on mid-sixteenth-century English political humanism. In 1989, Alvin Vos edited a volume of Roger Ascham's Latin letters.[83] Vos was most interested in presenting Ascham as a literary genius and stylist of the Latin language. Even though he does not focus directly on Elizabeth I and her political humanism, Vos' work does discuss one of her teachers and the humanist influences that helped to shape Elizabeth's education and her style of rule.

Peter Herman has written a monograph entitled *Royal Poetrie: Monarchic Verse and the Political Imaginary of Early Modern England*.[84] In this work he examines the poetry of Henry VIII, Mary Stewart, Elizabeth I, and King James I and how each of these monarchs used their poetry in the defense of their political standings. He also wrote an article entitled "Authorship and the Royal 'I'," where he argues that King James VI/I "used verse as an instrument of diplomacy" especially in regards to a previously unstudied sonnet James composed for Elizabeth.[85] His consideration of the monarch's use of humanist models for the projection of power fits into the thesis of this dissertation that Elizabeth I used her humanist education, including her penchant to write poetry, as a means of both political persuasion and image projection.

Wallace MacCaffrey in his biography of Elizabeth hinted at the connection between Elizabeth's education and her political projection, writing:

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[83] Alvin Vos, ed., *Letters of Roger Ascham*, trans. Maurice Hatch, (Peter Lang: New York, 1989).
[84] Peter Herman, *Royal Poetrie: Monarchic Verse and the Political Imaginary of Early Modern England*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010).
[85] "Authorship and the Royal 'I': King James VI/I and the Politics of Monarchic Verse," in *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 54, No. 4, Part 2 (Winter, 2001), pp. 1495-1530.

> However, the question remains how far her immersion in the classical authors affected her conduct as a ruler. It might well be argued that Elizabeth's coldly calculating view of politics and her secular view of the function of religion in society owed something to her reading of the classical moralists.[86]

In a similar vein, Christopher Haigh describes Elizabeth's education as "classical."[87] He also labels her a "political realist." This study, however, focuses on the classicism noted by MacCaffrey and how Elizabeth found the practical application of humanism in the *realpolitik* alluded to by Haigh. In other words, this dissertation focuses on how Elizabeth I was a political humanist as her contemporaries would have understood her particular brand of classically-infused political posturing.[88]

In this study I will demonstrate how Elizabeth was taught from an early age to rely upon her classical humanist education when communicating or projecting her political persona. In so doing, I will discuss her use of education, praise of civic virtues, and her own literary output in the context of the political dialogue of the day. This will examination of relevant letters and works by contemporary monarchs or statesmen as well as speeches by MP's. Since this is a new line of inquiry, this dissertation fills a much needed gap within historical and political studies.

As this is the first large-scale project to focus upon Elizabeth primarily as a humanist (who happened to be a sovereign rather than the other way around), I have had to look to other studies of historical figures which also center their analyses on their subjects' intellectual abilities. One such starting point is that offered by Diarmaid

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[86] Wallace MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I*, (London: Edward Arnold, 1993), p. 7.
[87] Christopher Haigh, *Elizabeth I: Profiles in Power*, (Essex: Pearson Education Limited, 1989), p. 31.
[88] Haigh, *Elizabeth I: Profiles in Power*, p. 31.

MacCulloch in his magisterial biography *Thomas Cranmer: A Life*.[89] MacCulloch takes on the figure of Thomas Cranmer, whom he credits with shaping the modern English language. In many ways, this work is an intellectual biography which demonstrates the development over time of Cranmer's own understandings of the intricate matters of religion. Thomas Mayer offers another such model in his work *Reginald Pole: Prince and Prophet*.[90] Mayer's work explores the relationship between Pole's written and lived life. He argues that one cannot understand these lives as one in the same. In this study Mayer seeks to find and elucidate the rich dialogue between the man and his written work exploring the intellectual side of Pole in this process. Certainly, this can be argued about Elizabeth I as well.

Using these two intellectual biographies as inspirations, this dissertation will follow a chronological path in presenting the case for Elizabeth I as a political humanist prince influenced by political dialogue of her male contemporaries. This study will examine select pieces of Elizabeth's literary corpus within their historical contexts dividing each chapter up into major themes or issues of the day. Within these smaller sections or themes, this study will continue with a chronological examination of all of the relevant letters, poetry, speeches, translations, and prayers of Elizabeth. At times, I will compare them to the works of contemporaries of the day including fellow political humanist such as monarchs or statesmen. This is to demonstrate a greater connection between the many aspects of how Elizabeth was participating in the ongoing discourse of the political humanism of sixteenth-century Europe.

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[89] Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life*, (Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 1996).
[90] Thomas F. Mayer, *Reginald Pole: Prince and Prophet*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge and New York, 2000).

## Preview of study

This study seeks to present evidence that when Elizabeth I chose to assert or defend her political power, she utilized her humanist education. Elizabeth relied upon her own adaptation of English political humanism when she presented her "body politic" to her subjects and the world. This study further aims to place Elizabeth I within the wider context of English political humanism which included such notable figures as Sir Thomas More, Thomas Elyot, Juan Vivés, and other courtiers and statesmen. These scholars were humanists because they were trained in the *studia humanitatis.* They were political humanists because they adapted their education for use in the political sphere for the greater good of society. Thus, when Elizabeth participated in the ideals and virtues of political humanism, she was not innovative, she was part of the common tradition of a larger movement within the English and European political context.[91]

Chapter one concentrates on the *juvenilia* of Elizabeth. This chapter examines select letters, poetry, prayers, and translations of the young princess Elizabeth before she thought or, perhaps, believed she might ever have a chance to rule. This chapter will argue that primarily Elizabeth, as a young royal, was influenced by and educated in the trends of growing English political humanism. This humanism stressed classical works to prepare young men for the *vita activa*. These same works were also beginning to be used in a limited amount with aristocratic women for training in godliness or as patrons of religious learning, like her step-mother Katherine Parr.

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[91] See Daniel A. Crews, "Juan de Valdes and the Comunero Revolt: An Essay on Spanish Civic Humanism" in *The Sixteenth Century Journal,* Vol. 22, no. 2, (Summer 1991), pp. 233-252.

Chapter two focuses on the select works of Elizabeth as a young queen, covering the years of 1558-1572. As England's sovereign, Elizabeth had now left behind the contemplative life of a learned patroness of religious works and entered the *vita activa* of the world of government and politics. In this chapter, I will further assert that Elizabeth's political humanism was given a chance to develop by a refocusing of her studies. Elizabeth told Parliament that after attaining the throne, "I gave myself to the study of that which was meet for government," including classical and contemporary works of political theory and kingship.[92]

In Chapter three, I will discuss Elizabeth's middle years of her reign (1572-1587). During this time, Elizabeth continued to build upon the foundation of her early reign and continued to project the image of a learned political humanist in charge of both church and state. Similar to her early years as queen, Elizabeth employed two major styles in the delivery of her speeches: Senecan and Ciceronian. During this time her letters began to develop more of a familiar style in keeping with contemporary trends. This growing use of an informal style supports the contention of Natalie Mears that Elizabeth relied upon familiarity and intimacy as the basis of seeking counsel from her closest advisors.[93]

Chapter four examines the final years of Elizabeth's long reign (1587—1603) and cites the continued evidence of the long-lasting effects that her political humanism had o the projection of her "body politic." During this last period of her life, Elizabeth dealt with many complex issues including war with Spain, problems with Henri IV and France, the Earl of Essex, and rebellion in Ireland.

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[92] *CW*, p. 96.
[93] See Natalie Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realm*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, January 8, 2009).

What this study seeks to do is to take the available evidence of Elizabeth's literary corpus and present it as a compelling argument for the consideration of Elizabeth I as part of the growing trend in England and Europe of political humanism. It argues that from the very beginning, Elizabeth's immersion in the classical values of a politically-active humanism shaped her ideas about political philosophy as well as about her own projection of power. In fact, her classical education was so ingrained in her that she was able to employ it quite naturally and comfortably in a variety of circumstances. Elizabeth did this in order to secure and legitimize her power in a world and project the image of the "body politic" of a strong king and pious monarch.

This dissertation takes the life of such a well-known and well-studied monarch as Elizabeth I and shows her to be more than simply a successful female ruler in sixteenth-century Europe. This dissertation argues that Elizabeth participated in the *vita activa* in the style of her male contemporaries in order to rule effectively. She understood the concept of the king's two bodies and presented a "body politic" of a learned and devout prince relying upon her civic virtues to construct her political persona as well as her philosophy of government. She did this because this was the language that educated men in government understood and spoke. Finally, this project provides a valuable avenue for further consideration and discussion of the links and influences between the politically-oriented humanists of Italy and the later humanists in England in the sixteenth century.

When the youthful Princess Elizabeth was not in a position to rule, she devoted herself to academic study, or the *vita contemplativa*, focusing on the *studia humanitatis*.[94] When the *vita activa* presented itself after the death of her childless sister Mary I,

[94] The evidence for this is found in her prolific *juvenilia*. See *CW* and *Elizabeth I: translations, 1544-1589*.

Elizabeth as England's prince refocused her literary interests on authors who gave her examples of civic values and virtues to aid in the workings of government. This dissertation argues that this is when Elizabeth used her humanist education within the context of the political humanism that was used by both Parliament and the ruling class of England. Elizabeth stated in a 1566 speech to Parliament: "I thank God I am indeed endued with such qualities that if I were turned out of the realm in my petticoat, I were able to live in any place of Christendom."[95] However, Elizabeth was not "turned out of the realm" but rather she remained as England's prince for nearly forty-five years applying her humanist education to the task of ruling her kingdom.

[95] *CW*, p. 97.

# Chapter 1:
# The humanism of the young Elizabeth
## Introduction

Elizabeth I's achievements as a female writer and intellectual in sixteenth-century England were in many ways a result of the dynamic intellectual trends that were gaining increasing popularity in early modern Britain and Europe. As detailed in the introduction, humanist influences from the European continent began in the late fifteenth century to take a nascent hold over the intellectual elite of early modern England.[1] At first, these influences only affected the education of English young men. However, English humanists began to recommend that royal and aristocratic women be educated in the *studia humanitatis*. This trend opened the door for Elizabeth's exposure to the values, virtues, and ideals of political humanism. In this chapter, I will detail the early evidence and influences of the beginnings of this exposure found in Elizabeth's pre-accession *juvenilia*.

## Elizabeth's *Juvenilia* under Henry VIII

For the initial examination of Elizabeth's early works during the time of her father, Henry VIII, I will discuss her first four letters as a group—three letters to Queen Katherine Parr and one to her father, King Henry VIII. These first four letters, written when Elizabeth was between the ages of 10 to 12 years, demonstrate a close affinity of style and give many clues to Elizabeth's earliest education. The first letter, dated July 31, 1544, was written entirely in Italian in which Elizabeth demonstrated both a proficient

[1] See especially chapter 2, Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Reformation: A History,* (New York: Penguin Group, 2004); and also Alistair McGrath, *The Intellectual Origins of the European Reformation,* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, Ltd., 2004).

skill in the language and her humanist italic handwriting.[2] This style of handwriting is very readable and stands in contrast to the more cursive diplomatic script of the day. Elizabeth further demonstrated this italic style of writing in her Latin letter to Henry VIII on December 30, 1545,[3] and her French letter to Queen Katherine on December 30, 1545.[4] Elizabeth and her siblings were the first royal children to be taught this style, which according to Janel Mueller, "signaled an openness to humanist influences and served as a display mode for the 'New Learning' and its adherents."[5] J. L. McIntosh has also argued that these styles of Italic handwriting as well Elizabeth's aptitude in the Italian language are further evidence that Elizabeth's princely household was open to Renaissance ideas and culture.[6]

These early letters showcased Elizabeth's proficiency in classical and contemporary languages at an early age. By age twelve, Elizabeth was able to write capably in Italian, French, and Latin. They also reveal much about her initial instruction in letter writing as they are quite formal and include exaggerated flattery taking the position of an inferior writing to a superior. These letters further demonstrate Elizabeth's familiarity with the major influences on epistolary style in sixteenth-century England: the medieval *ars dictaminis*, early modern rhetorical theory, and the revived interest in the familiar letter.[7] Three seminal texts on letter instruction were in use during this time:

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[2] BL, MS Cotton Otho, C.X., f. 235r. When I have examined the manuscript I will cite it and note any other secondary sources in the subsequent citations for ease of the reader. Also cited in *CW,* pp. 5-6.
[3] BL, MS Royal 7.D.X., sig. 2r-5r.
[4] NAS, MS RH 13/78, ff. 1r-7r.
[5] , introduction, p. xiv.
[6] McIntosh, *From Heads of Household to Heads of State,* p. 99.
[7] James Daybell, *Women Letter Writers in Tudor England,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) p. 19; See also Helen Wilcox, ed. *Women and Literature in Britain: 1500-1700,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Vivès, (1534) *De conscribendis epistolis*, Macropedius (1543) *Methodus de conscribendis epistolis,* and Erasmus (1522) *De conscribendis epistolis.*[8] While many scholars attest that the influence of the more formal medieval *ars dictaminis* had begun to fade in the fifteenth century, Elizabeth's earliest letters demonstrate a possible heavy influence from this source.[9]

Elizabeth began three of these four early letters with a very formal introduction, or *exordium,* expressing the greatness of her intended recipient as well as the humbleness of her own undeserving state. For example, in her only surviving letter to her father, she wrote:

> Illustrissimo ac potentissimo regi, Henrico octauo, Angliae Franciae Hiberniaeque regi, fidei defensori, et secundum christum, ecclesiae anglicanae et hibernicae supreme capiti. Elizabeta Maiestatis Suis humillima filia, omnem foelicitatem precatur, et benedictionem suam suplex petit.[10]
>
> To the most illustrious and most mighty King Henry VIII, king of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, and second to Christ, supreme head of the English and Irish Church. From Elizabeth, his majesty's most humble daughter, who wishes all happiness, and begs his blessing.[11]

In this letter Elizabeth relied heavily on the format recommended by the medieval *ars dictaminis* employing all the recommended sections: the *salutatio* (introduction—includes the names of the recipient and writer), the *exordium/benevolentiae captatio*

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[8] Daybell, *Women Letter Writers in Tudor England,* p. 19.
[9] See Martin Camargo, "The Waning of the Medieval *Ars Dictaminis*," in *Rhetorica* vol. 19 no. 2 (Spring 1991), pp. 135-140; and Malcolm Richardson "The fading influence of the medieval *ars dictaminis* in England after 1400," Ibid., pp. 225-248.
[10] BL, MS Royal 7 D.X., sig. 2r.; also cited in , p. 8.
[11] English translation mine. Unless stated all translations are mine. I will note in the dissertation when I rely on other English translations from sources such as *CW*. Ibid.

(securing of good will), the *narratio* (the message of the letter), *petitio* (the petition/request), and the *conclusio* (the ending).[12]

Despite the fact that the classical influences of the more formal letter had begun to fade during the sixteenth century in England, Elizabeth's *exordium* and formal style did not exist in a vacuum.[13] This style of education was present in the Tudor royal household as Elizabeth's brother, Prince Edward, wrote his father a letter in 1543 in much the same manner.[14] Elizabeth's early letters also contain many of these elements including the exalted style of the introduction and much flattery.[15] This style fits in well with a young student learning classical models wanting to impress her tutor/parent and demonstrate to them the effectiveness of her education and the depth of her devotion to her parents and God. She continued in this letter to her father with an elaborate simile stating:

> As an immortal soul is superior to a mortal body, so whoever is wise judges things done by the soul more to be esteemed and worthy of greater praise than any act of the body.[16]

This is very reminiscent of the "epic" similes employed by classical authors she may have read, especially Homer in *The Odyssey.* Writers from all eras since the classical age have made use of the epic simile often as a center piece to their own literature.[17] An epic, or Homeric simile, is an extended simile often involving a comparison with nature which takes several lines to describe. Often they are greatly

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[12] For a more extensive discussion of these parts of the medieval letter, see E. J. Polak, "Dictamen," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages,* ed. Joseph Strayer, vol. 4 Croatia—Family Sagas, Icelandic, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1982), pp. 173-176.
[13] See Camargo, "The Waning of the Medieval *Ars Dictaminis*," pp. 135-140; and Richardson "The fading influence of the medieval *ars dictaminis* in England after 1400," pp. 225-248.
[14] Edward VI, "Prince Edward to Henry VIII,"[May 22, 1543] as cited in *Letters of the Kings of England,* vol. II, ed. James Halliwell, (London: Henry Colburn, 1846), p. 1.
[15] Bodleian, MS Cherry 36, ff. 2r-4v; and NAS, MS RH 13/78, ff. 1r-7r.
[16] BL, MS Royal 7 D.X., sigs. 2r-3r; also cited in *ACFLO,* p. 8.
[17] See C.A. Martindale, "Milton and the Homeric Simile," in *Comparative Literature,* Vol. 33, No. 3. (Summer, 1981), pp. 224-238.

elaborated and introduced by a specific formula such as "as when…so…"[18] Elizabeth's brother Edward also often utilized Homeric similes in his letters to his father.[19] In Elizabeth's simile, she included the phrase that the "immortal soul is superior to a mortal body."[20] To view the soul as superior to the flesh is similar to Neo-Platonic philosophy and theology. It expresses the idea that this world (the visible world) is inferior to a greater unseen world existing only in the mind of the Creator. Plato asserted this view throughout his works, but especially in the *Timaeus* and the *Allegory of the Cave.*[21] Since many of his thoughts were very similar with the medieval theologians' view of creation in relation to God, they were easily adapted and appropriated for use by later thinkers who also liked the combination of philosophy and theology.

Her letter was also in Latin, at the time, the language of both the Catholic Church and some diplomacy, and demonstrated a very formal style as recommended by the *ars dictaminis* of an inferior to a superior full of flattery and little content. She also employed the Latin phrase "*res gestae*" stating: "and likewise whoever is wise judges *things done* [italics mine]."[22] In using this common Latin idiom for the denotation of historical writing, Elizabeth demonstrated her knowledge of terms used commonly in classical works of history. She continued: "*Nam nihil acceptius esse debet regi, quem philosophi deum in terris esse sentiunt*,"[23] (For nothing ought to be more acceptable to a king, whom

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[18] Stephen Adams, *Poetic Designs: An Introduction to Meters, Verse forms, and Figures of Speech,* (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 1997), p. 134.
[19]See King Edward VI, "Prince Edward to Henry VIII,"[May 22, 1543] as cited in *Letters of the Kings of England,* vol. II, ed. James Halliwell, (London: Henry Colburn, 1846), p. 3.
[20] BL, MS Royal 7 D.X., sig. 2r.; also cited in *ACFLO,* p. 8.
[21] For a discussion of Neo-Platonic thought in 16th century England see Clay Daniel, "Milton's Neo-Platonic Angel?" in *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900,* Vol. 44, No. 1, The English Renaissance, (Winter, 2004), pp. 173-188.
[22] BL, MS Royal 7 D.X., sig. 3r; also cited in *ACFLO,* p. 8.
[23] Ibid.

the philosophers perceive to be a god on earth). This statement voiced an affinity with the growing belief in the divine right and supremacy of kings. This dissertation will contend that this was a belief that Elizabeth asserted throughout her own reign.

Elizabeth's only extant letter to her father served as the preface or introduction to yet another work of translation. Elizabeth included with the letter a present of an original trilingual translation of Queen Katherine's *Prayers or Meditations* into French, Italian and Latin. Elizabeth spoke of her own devotion to both the King and God:

> Tamen si bene accipiatur, me vehementer excitabit vt quantum annis cresco, tantum etiam scientia, et dei timore crescam, itaque fiet vt illum religiosius colam, et maiestatem tuam officiousius obseruem.
>
> Nevertheless if it is well received [her gift to Henry VIII], it will excite me very much so that, however much I grow in years, I will also grow in knowledge and the fear of God, and so dedicate myself to Him more fervently and heed your majesty more dutifully. [24]

Here, Elizabeth continued to express the desire that she grow in piety and in knowledge of God. Therefore, this gift of the translation of Queen Katherine's *Prayers or Meditations* served several purposes. It not only demonstrated her early interest in theology; it also served to impress her father as it was a work done by his wife, the Queen.

Queen Katherine had intended the *Prayers or Meditations* to be a supplement to Archbishop Cranmer's *Litany* to help teach the laity how to pray in English.[25] While Cranmer's work was intended for public worship, Katherine's was a work of personal and private devotion. Later textual scholars have discovered that her work is essentially a

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[24] BL, MS Royal 7 D.X., sig. 3r; also cited in *ACFLO* , p. 8..
[25] Janel Mueller, "Devotion as Difference: Intertextuality in Queen Katherine Parr's "Prayers or Meditations," (1545)," in *The Huntington Library Quarterly,* Vol. 53, no. 3. (Summer, 1990), p. 175.

sixty page summary of the classic medieval work of spirituality, the *Imitatio Christi* by Thomas a' Kempis.[26] In this book of personal devotion, Mueller asserts that Parr purposely manipulated the texts of the *Imitatio Christi* in a way to demonstrate how the soul must have direct access to Christ and his saving grace without a mediator such as a priest or church.[27] While Katherine's next published work *The Lamentation of a Sinner* (1547) was yet more Protestant in its approach, Elizabeth's early interest in her step-mother's own religious writing demonstrates her exposure to the reformed religion.

The manuscript of Elizabeth's translation showcases the young Elizabeth's aspiring skills as a student of classical languages. Generally, Elizabeth translated Katherine's English text very literally into Latin using almost the exact same word order as in the English. This style fit well with the method of "double translation" as advocated by Roger Ascham.[28] For example, Katherine began her work with: "Most benign Lord Jesus, grant me thy grace, that its maye always woorke in me, and perseruere unto the end."[29] Elizabeth translated that into: "*Benignissime Domine Iesu. Largire mihi gratiam tuam ut semper operetur in me et perseueret mecum usque in finem*."[30] The only slight modification or, perhaps, interpretation that Elizabeth made in this instance is that she used *largire* for "grant." While it does substantially mean "grant" in the imperative form, it also tends to imply an extreme form of granting such as "to bountifully give, or give to excess." Perhaps, this was Elizabeth's way to add something to the text and show how much she too desired God's grace.

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[26] Mueller, "Devotion as Difference", p. 175.
[27] Ibid., p. 180.
[28] Ascham, *The Schoolmaster,* (1570) ed. Lawrence Ryan, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1967), p. 87.
[29] Katherine Parr, *Prayers or Meditacions,* (London: Thomas Berthelet, printer, 1545), p. 1.
[30] BL, MS Royal 7 D.X, f. 6r.

While Elizabeth's early letters demonstrated competence in languages and style, they also reveal possible influence from Greek and Roman texts of antiquity. In her Italian letter to Queen Katherine, she mentioned "*L'inimica fortuna*" (Unfriendly Fortune) as keeping her from seeing Katherine in person for over a year.[31] Through this simple epithet Elizabeth personified Fortune in the style of the classical authors. They envisioned Fortune as a goddess who was quite capricious in her considerations towards humanity and often blamed her for the adverse and calamitous circumstances and events that they suffered. A host of Latin and Greek authors including Virgil commented on the hapless deeds of Fortune.[32]

> Elizabeth again wrote Katherine in December of 1544, beginning with a proverb:
>
> (as the philosopher sayeth) even as an instrument of iron or of other metal waxeth soon rusty unless it be continually occupied, even so shall the wit of a man or a woman wax dull and unapt to do or understand anything perfectly unless it be always occupied upon some manner of study.[33]

Here, Elizabeth referred to an unnamed "philosopher" which was the standard way of referring to Aristotle. However, in this case the reference probably fits better with the writings of the Roman poet Ovid in his work *Tristia* where he stated: "My wit, injured by long rusting, is dull, much inferior to what it was before."[34] What is most interesting about this quotation from this Roman poet are the circumstances and context of his work from which Elizabeth may have drawn this proverb. The title *Tristia* means sadness or a sorrowful state, and Ovid wrote this work after his banishment from Rome by Augustus

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[31] BL, MS Cotton Otho., C.X., fol. 235r.
[32] Vergil, *Aeneid,* ed. G.P. Goold and trans. H. Faircloth, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), Bk. V, lines 353-356.
[33] *CW*, pp. 6-7.
[34] Ovid, *Tristia,* Book V, Poem 12, lines 21-22, quoted in *CW,* p. 6.

in A.D. 8 after writing his somewhat scandalous *Ars Amatoria* (The Art of Seduction). Ovid's poem lamented an exile and held out hope for a reinstatement and reconciliation.

With this letter, Elizabeth included a gift of another work of translation. This time she had completed an English rendering of Marguerite of Navarre's *Miroir de l'âme pécheresse* (The Mirror or Glass of the Sinful Soul).[35] Marguerite, Queen of Navarre, and sister to the then King of France sent a copy of this book to Elizabeth's mother, Anne Boleyn, around the time of 1534-35. It is possible that Elizabeth may have used the actual edition of this book from her mother's collection in the English translation for her stepmother Queen Katherine Parr in 1544.[36] While not an overtly Protestant text, this book does discuss the weighty issues of both spiritual and physical incest, and the corresponding belief in the universal siblinghood of mankind. Marguerite was also an advocate of vernacular translation of Scripture and patron of reformers, thus making her text a controversial one for the time.[37] Elizabeth's translation of this work is preserved in a sixty-two page bound copy held by the Bodleian Library in Oxford.[38] It includes a piece of embroidery on the back cover in which she included the initials "KP" for her stepmother Katherine Parr.

In her letter to her step-mother Elizabeth stated that her efforts compared well with the Biblical story of the talents.[39] Elizabeth asserted that constant study kept the

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[35] *CW,* p. 7.
[36] Marc Shell, *Elizabeth's Glass with "The Glass of the Sinful Soul" (1544) and "Epistle Dedicatory and Conclusion" (1548) by John Bale,* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), p. 3.
[37] Shell, *Elizabeth's Glass,* p. 3. See especially chapter 6. See also Anne Lake Prescott, "The Pearl of the Valois and Elizabeth I: Marguerite de Navarre's *Miroir* and Tudor England," in *Silent But for the Word: Tudor Women as Patrons, Translators, and Writers of Religious Works,* ed. Margaret Hannay, (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1985), pp. 61-76.
[38] Bodleian, MS Cherry 36.
[39] Marc Shell's book *Elizabeth's Glass,* provides a facsimile reproduction of both Elizabeth's original translation and letter and the cover of her book. .Matt. 25:14-30.

intellect sharp and that was her motivation for using her own talents in this manner by stating: "Which things considered hath moved so small a portion as God hath lent me to prove what I could do."[40] Near the end of the letter, Elizabeth declared:

> [Marguerite of Navarre] (beholding and contempling what she is) doth perceive how of herself and of her own strength she can do nothing that good is or prevaileth for her salvation, unless it be through the grace of God, whose daughter, sister, and wife by the Scriptures she proveth herself to be. Trusting also that through His incomprehensible love, grace, and mercy, she being (called from sin to repentance) doth faithfully hope to be saved.[41]

Elizabeth again touched on the doctrine of predestination in describing the saving experience as one of being "*called* from sin to repentance," and speaking that she "doth faithfully *hope* to be saved" (italics mine).

Shell argues that Elizabeth's translation of the French work *Miroir de l'âme pécheresse* was generally "very literal."[42] Her ability to translate French is supported by the fact that she had received an excellent education in the French language by one of Edward's tutors, Jean Belmain.[43] Anne Prescott also commends Elizabeth on her accuracy in translation.[44] The few mistranslations Elizabeth did make seem to have a purpose to them. She generally toned down Marguerite's more explicit sexually-charged terms, e.g., translating *arduer* as "goodness." Elizabeth also took a part of Marguerite's original story of an adulterous wife who was executed by her husband and made it appear as if he actually pardoned her instead of punishing her. Shell argues, perhaps rightly so, that this part of the story may very well have struck a chord with Elizabeth given her own mother's experience in a similar situation. Therefore, Elizabeth may have wanted to

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[40]Shell, *Elizabeth's Glass,* p. 148.
[41] Ibid., pp. 149-150.
[42] Ibid., p. 108.
[43] Starkey, *Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne,* p. 27.
[44] Prescott, "The Pearl of the Valois," p 67.

stress the mercy of Christ seen in this forgiving husband which was not seen in her own natural father, Henry VIII.[45] Elizabeth's translation of this work shows her ability with languages at an early age, her introduction to intellectual religious texts, and, perhaps, even her own subtle way of telling a story the way she wanted it told.

Elizabeth's fourth letter, this time to Queen Katherine herself, was written in French and once again prefaced a gift of another translation. Elizabeth presented her stepmother with an English translation of chapters one through ten of book one of John Calvin's seminal work of systematic theology, the *Institution de la Religion Chrestienne* (1541). The eleven year old Elizabeth stated that Calvin's work was a:

> little book whose argument or subject, as Saint Paul said, surpasses the capacity of every creature and yet is of such great vigor that there is no living creature of whatever sort that has not had within itself the feeling of it.[46]

When she mentioned Saint Paul's thoughts on the matter, she may very well have been referring to Romans chapter 1 where Paul asserted that since the beginning of creation all mankind has had an innate knowledge of their Creator.

In this first chapter of Calvin's work, Calvin highlighted the relationship between the knowledge of God and the knowledge of one's self. He wrote:

> But, though the knowledge of God and the knowledge of ourselves be intimately connected, the proper order of instruction requires us first to treat of the former and then to proceed to the discussion of the latter.[47]

Elizabeth gave even more praise to this work of reformed theology. In her remarks to Katherine, Elizabeth wrote:

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[45] Shell, *Elizabeth's Glass,* p. 108.
[46] MS NAS RH 13/78, ff. 1r-7r; also cited in *CW*, p. 12.
[47] John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion,* vol. 1, trans. John Allen, (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, 1930), p. 48.

> But seeing the source from which this book came forth, the majesty of the matter surpasses all human eloquence, being privileged and having such force within it that a single sentence has power to ravish, inspire, and give knowledge to the most stupid and ignorant beings alive in what way God wishes to be known, seen and heard: I yet think it is sufficient in itself and has no need for any human consent, support or help.[48]

Since translation was viewed as a safe activity for aristocratic and royal women, it was not unusual that a royal woman such as Princess Elizabeth would take part in it.[49] Elizabeth's sister, Mary, had translated Erasmus' paraphrase *On the Gospel of John* in 1544.[50] This translation by the Princess Mary demonstrates that when Elizabeth was educated, it was already customary for royal women of the Tudor household to engage in this scholarly activity.

## Elizabeth's works under Edward VI

During the reign of Henry VIII, Elizabeth had gone from the heiress presumptive, to "Lady Elizabeth" and again in 1543 to the line of the succession.[51] In early 1547, Henry VIII died and was succeeded by Elizabeth's younger brother, Edward. Throughout much of 1547 Elizabeth stayed with her step-mother Katherine Parr and her later husband Sir Thomas Seymour.[52] While staying with Katherine, Elizabeth authored four letters to Edward VI in a similar style of that which she wrote her father, replete with exaggerated

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[48] *CW*, p. 12..
[49] Valerie Wayne, "Some Sad Sentence: Vivés' *Instruction of Christian Women*," in *Silent But for the Word: Tudor Women as Patrons, Translators, and writers of Religious Works,* ed. Margaret Hannay, (Kent: Kent State Press, 1988), p. 20; See also Erica Longfellow, *Women and Religious Writing in Early Modern England,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004 and *Women and Literature in Britain: 1500-1700,* ed. Helen Wilcox, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
[50] Queen Katherine Parr, "Queen Katherine Parr to Princess Mary," [September 20, 1544] as cited in *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies of Great Britain,* vol. III, ed. Mary Wood, (London: Henry Colburn, 1846), pp. 180-181.
[51] For the three Acts of Succession passed in Henry VIII's reign in 1533, 1536 and 1543; see (25 Henry VIII. c. 22); (26 Henry VIII, c. 7); (35 Henry VIII, c. 1); from A. Luder, *Statutes of Realm,* III, pp. 471-474, 655-662, 955-958.
[52] MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I,* pp. 8-9.

similes to help her describe her feelings towards him about various issues. Each one of these letters began with a variation of a very formal *salutatio* such as: "*Illustrissimo et Nobilissimo Regi Edouardo Sexto*," (To the most illustrious and noble King, Edward VI).[53] While she continued a highly formal style when corresponding with Edward, Elizabeth began to adopt the style of the more familiar letter in much of her other correspondence.

During Edward's short reign, Elizabeth also penned her last letter to her stepmother Queen Katherine. In this letter Elizabeth took both an informal and personal tone possibly due to the fact that she was (rightly as it turns out) concerned for Katherine's health during her pregnancy.[54] The style of these letters also tended to be more concise, to the point, and dealt with a specific issue. During this time, though, her style was somewhat inconsistent as when writing Mary or Edward she continued to use exaggerated language in a classical style, even when writing in the vernacular.

Elizabeth continued to make use of classical quotations and allusions in her letters during this time. In a letter to Edward VI in 1547, Elizabeth wrote: "*Nihil aeque incertum aut minus diuturnum quam vita hominis, nimirum qui Pindari testimonio nihil sit aliud, quam vmbrae somnium*." (Nothing, likewise, is as uncertain or less lasting than the life of a man, without doubt, who by the testimony of Pindar, is nothing more than a dream of a shadow).[55] In this letter Elizabeth quoted Pindar, one of the nine canonical Greek lyric poets from the sixth century B.C.[56] In the very next sentence Elizabeth quoted the Greek

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[53] BL, MS Harley 6986, art. 11, f. 19r; also cited in , pp. 12-13.
[54] BL, MS Cotton Otho. C.X., f. 236v; also cited in *CW,* p. 20.
[55] BL, MS Harley 6986, art. 15, f. 21r; also cited in *ACFLO*, pp. 13-14.
[56] Pindar, *Pythian Ode, VIII*, line 6 as cited in *The Odes of Pindar: The Principle fragments,* ed. and trans. J. Sandys, (London: William Heineman, 1915), p. 269.

epic poet Homer. She wrote: "*Et homine, vt ait homerus, nihil terra alit fragilius*" (And as Homer said, earth rears nothing more fragile or more impermanent than man).[57] She used both of these classical quotations to give her brother comfort over a recent illness. This practice of quoting classical sources was also practiced by her brother, Edward VI.[58] While the use of the informal and more direct letter began to dominate, it is most likely that Elizabeth and Edward used this classical style as they were both writing to someone they hoped to impress with their knowledge.

In a 1553 letter to Edward VI, Elizabeth wrote: "Like as a shipman in stormy wether plukes downe the sails tarijnge for bettar winde."[59] While often these extended similes that Elizabeth used are not direct quotes of classical works themselves, they demonstrate the continuing and persistent desire on Elizabeth's part to mimic the classical style of ancient writers such as Homer or Virgil.[60] These characteristics of her letters do show that from an early age Elizabeth drew upon her classical education to make points and, perhaps, even try to impress those to whom she was writing.

In her next letter to Edward to assure him of her good will and love, Elizabeth returned to the very familiar roots of her classical education. She quoted Cicero's *De Officiis* twice in this letter. In the first citation she wrote: "*non facile habeo commemorare quantopere in diversas partes distrahatur animus, anipitemque cogitandi*

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[57] Bodleian Library, MS Add. C. 92, f. 12r; also cited in *ACFLO,* p. 14. This is a quotation from Homer *Iliad*, XIV. 446-447

[58] Edward VI, "Prince Edward to Richard Coxe," [April 9, 1546], as cited in *Letters of the Kings of England,* vol. II, ed. James Halliwell, (London: Henry Colburn Publisher, 1848), p. 7; see also Edward VI, "To the Archbishop of Canterbury," [January 24, 1546], Ibid., p. 24.

[59] BL, MS Harley 6986, art. 16, f. 23r; also cited in *ACFLO,* p. 28.

[60] For a good discussion of classical education affecting personal speech and writing see Bayard Tuckerman *a History of English Prose fiction* (Elibrion Classics, 2005, original 1891 G.P. Putnam and Sons, London), pp. 76-77.

*curam adferat*" (I cannot easily recall how greatly my mind is distracted in diverse ways, and it brings a double anxiety for consideration).[61] She didn't cite Cicero as the source of this quote despite her exposure to his works under the guidance of Ascham.[62] Whatever her reason, be it laziness or forgetfulness, it does demonstrate how Elizabeth relied upon her classical education for even everyday correspondence. She quoted Cicero again in the same letter stating: "*Net amen tua Maiestas tot tanaque in me benefacta aut male locata, aut potius (vt Ciceronis ex Ennio sumptis vtar verbis) malefacta essee indicaret*" (Still lest your majesty judge so great and so many a number of kindnesses to me as having been either poorly placed or, more desirable, (as I may use the words of Cicero taken from Ennius) poorly done).[63] This time she did name the source of her quotation. Both times she chose to quote Cicero's classic work dealing with civic and personal duty, *De Officiis* (On Duties). What is most intriguing about this work and Elizabeth's familiarity with it is that this text embodied many crucial ideals of the political humanism of sixteenth-century England. Marcia Colish states that Cicero's *De Officiis* was the most copied and studied piece of classical literature in the Middle Ages and Renaissance.[64]

In his work, Cicero wrote on natural law, honor, and expediency in light of the events of the Roman Republic. Cicero also suggested that common men needed to be both good and active citizens. It is highly probable that Elizabeth actually read this work due to her numerous quotations of it along with Ascham's contemporary statement that:

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[61] This is almost a direct quote of Cicero *De Officiis*, trans. Walter Miller, (London: William Heineman, 1921), Bk. 1.9, 8-9. Bodleian Library, MS Add. C. 92, f. 12v.; also cited in , p. 14.
[62] Ascham, "Ascham to Sturm," [April 4, 1550], pp. lxiii-lxiv.
[63] *ACFLO*, p. 15. See also Cicero, *De Officiis* II.18.
[64] Colish, "Cicero's *De Officiis* and Machiavelli's *Prince*," p. 90.

"she read with me almost all Cicero."[65] This work would likely have been a formative influence on Elizabeth both as a young princess and later as sovereign, and her uses of it here show the beginnings of how she would use her humanism to help construct her political persona in the writing of letters.

Near the end of this letter Elizabeth made a comment about how kings need to be wary of those types of people who seek to impress with words alone. She then used two Greek words, *kólakas* (flatterers) and *kórakas* (crows), and inserted them into her otherwise Latin letter. She literally stated: "*ne plures intra cubicula sua kólakas quam extra aulam suam kórakas habere videantur*" (not to appear to have more *flatterers* within their chambers than *crows* outside of their palace).[66] Using her Greek with her Latin, she made a pun using two closely sounding Greek words in the midst of a Latin letter demonstrating her skill in both languages. While her *Collected Works'* editors attribute this quote possibly to Diogenes,[67] a close reading of Diogenes actually reveals that he in turn attributed this proverb to the Cynic poet Antisthenes. However, it is extremely difficult to know whether Elizabeth directly read Diogenes or Antisthenes or if she merely remembered a few memorable quotes of them that she found in a compendium.[68]

In a 1549 letter to Edward VI, Elizabeth quoted the poet Horace as saying: "*Feras non culpes quod vitari non potest*" (You must not find fault with what is not able to be avoided). Just as she did previously in 1547 when her brother was ill, Elizabeth returned

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[65] "Ascham to Sturm," [April 4, 1550], pp. lxiii-lxiv.
[66] Bodleian Library, MS Add. C. 92, f. 12v; also cited in *ACFLO,* p. 15.
[67] *ACFLO,* fn., 6, pp. 15-16.
[68] A good example of a compendium of philosophical knowledge and quoted during this time is William Baldwin, *A Treatise of Morall Phylosophie contaynyng the sayinges of the wyse. Gathered and Englysed by Wylm Baldwyn.* (London: Edward Whitchurche, 1547).

to her classical education in order to find words of wisdom to comfort her brother through his illness.[69] While Elizabeth attributed this quote to Horace, this quote is actually found in the writings of Publilius Syrus, a first century Latin writer of proverbs and maxims.[70] Despite mistaking the name of the author, Elizabeth did quote this proverb exactly as it is found in the original, which may actually prove that she found this in a compendium.[71]

Later in this same letter Elizabeth employed a proverb of Erasmus found in his *Adagia*—"a dog hathe a day." Erasmus lists this proverb originally as *canis vindictam,* meaning very literally that "even a dog can get its revenge." This is found in a 1545 English edition of Erasmus' proverbs. Therefore, it is possible that Elizabeth both knew and read this text.[72] Within this letter Elizabeth also wrote that while she might be a bit ashamed to offer her portrait ("I might wel blusche to offer"), she asserted strongly that she would never be timid about presenting anything to do with her own intelligence ("but the mynde I shal neuer be asshamed to present").[73]

## A Switch of Language

Within the highly adorned correspondence between Princess Elizabeth and Edward VI, one finds an interesting clue about Elizabeth's thoughts on religion. Elizabeth's last Latin letter to Edward is undated but is assumed to have been written in

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[69] BL, MS Cotton Vespasian F.III, f. 48r; also cited in *ACFLO,* pp. 24-26.
[70] Publilius Syrus, *Minor Latin Poets*, Loeb Library, ed. and trans. J. Wight Duff and Arnold M. Duff, (London: William Heinemann, LTD, 1961.), pg. 40-41, line 206.
[71] Edward VI also quoted from Horace in a letter to his sister Mary. Edward VI, "Prince Edward to his sister Mary,"[November 7, 1546] as cited in *Letters of the Kings of England,* vol. II, pp. 19-20.
[72] Edward VI also quoted from Erasmus in his letters. See *Letters of the Kings of England,* pp. 19-20; Desiderius Erasmus, *Adagia in Latine and English,* trans. R. Taverner, (London: 1545), p. 63.
[73] BL, MS Cotton Vespasian F.III, f. 48r; also cited in *ACFLO,* p. 26.

the summer or fall of 1548.[74] In this letter she continued her style of exalted Latin and mainly concentrated on making sure that Edward still viewed her as both a grateful sister and subject. Elizabeth's next letters to her brother[75] continued the same style which was reminiscent of the structure and formality advocated by the medieval *ars dictaminis.* These letters were still full of flattery and from the perspective of an inferior to a superior, but something curious occurs in these last three letters to her brother. In these letters, Elizabeth switched her language choice to the vernacular instead of Latin. I believe that this switch to the vernacular, when set in the context of both Elizabeth's education and the time, actually demonstrated a strong clue to her thoughts on religion.

Elizabeth's first letter to Edward in the vernacular, while still maintaining a high degree of deference (only the language has changed), was written on May 15, 1549.[76] This change is significant because in January of that same year, the English House of Lords began debating the *Act of Uniformity of 1549.* This new act of Parliament proposed to make the first prayer book of Edward VI the only legal form of worship in England. This act further mandated that all services, prayers, and songs in English Churches be conducted in the vernacular instead of Latin. Just after this act had been passed by Parliament and just slightly before it went into effect on June 9, 1549,[77] Elizabeth abandoned Latin as her medium of correspondence with her brother, the King. She did continue her correspondence with him, but this time she only wrote him in English.

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[74] Bodleian, MS Smith 19, art. 1, f. 1r; also cited in *ACFLO,* pp. 18-19.
[75] BL, MS Cotton Vespasian F.III, f. 48r; and BL, MS Harley 6986, art. 16, fol. 23v.
[76] BL, MS Cotton Vespasian F.III, f. 48r; Also cited in *CW,* pp. 35-36.
[77] *Documents of the English Reformation,* ed. Gerald Bray, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), pp. 266-271.

Elizabeth wrote to Edward again on April 21, 1552, to comfort him on his sickness.[78] In the spring of 1553, Elizabeth wrote her last letter to her brother expressing a sisterly affection over his recent illness and regret over not being able to see him personally.[79] This letter, which was also in the vernacular, was her final extant letter to her brother as he would die on July 6, 1553.

While there is little doubt that Elizabeth kept progressing in her studies from the time of Edward's reign, her switch to the vernacular appeared to have come from a genuine personal preference for the vernacular. Elizabeth did not write a formal Latin letter again for another fifteen years. When troubled by the controversy surrounding the claim to the throne of Mary Stewart, Elizabeth returned to her once familiar medium of Latin in a brief note to her principal advisor William Cecil on September 23, 1564.[80] What is even more interesting is that, much earlier, during the reign of her Catholic sister, Mary I, Elizabeth wrote two letters to her sister and both of them were in the vernacular.[81] In so doing, she did not return to the language of the Catholic world—Latin. Even during her lengthy and copious correspondence with her erudite cousin, James VI of Scotland, Elizabeth always wrote in the vernacular.[82]

The importance of the vernacular in the minds of sixteenth-century reformers and intellectuals cannot be understated. Both the humanists and the later Protestant reformers joined together in their desire for the language of the Church and the Scriptures to be in

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[78] *CW*, pp. 36—37.
[79] BL, MS Harley 6986, art. 16, f. 23r.
[80] TNA, SP Scotland, Elizabeth 52/9/48, f. 113r.
[81] TNA, SP Domestic, Mary I 11/4/2, f. 3r; and BL, MS Lansdowne 1236, f. 37r-38v.
[82] BL, MS Additional 23240, ff. 1r-157r.

the common language of the people and not simply Latin.[83] This growing concern among continental reformers also had a history in England as well. As early as 1382, John Wycliffe and his followers advocated the reform of the Catholic Church with an emphasis on teaching the laity in the vernacular. William Tyndale championed this emphasis on religious teaching in the vernacular well into the reign of Elizabeth's father, Henry VIII. Tyndale's first version of the English New Testament appeared in England in 1526.

It was in this age of the growing importance of the vernacular in regards to religion on the continent and in England, that Elizabeth I was educated. Therefore, when her abrupt switch to corresponding with her brother in English is examined in the context of both the times and her own education, this sudden departure appears to have the marks of a purposeful and deliberate act. Elizabeth may very well have been demonstrating her own solidarity with Edward in matters of both state and religion. While writing or praying in Latin privately was not outlawed by this act, The Act of Uniformity of 1549 made the vernacular the language of religion and devotion of the English church placing it on par with Latin—the language of the Catholic Church. English was now the language of the Church of England. Therefore, it is reasonable to suggest that Elizabeth's use of her native tongue may very well underscore her careful reading of the times and demonstrate her interest and willingness to show support for both her brother as well as

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[83] Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 142; See also Martin Luther, *Pagan Servitude of The Church,* [1520] in *Selections from His Writings,* ed. John Dillenburger, (New York: Anchor Books, 1962), p. 288; and John Calvin, "Letter from Calvin to Farel," [March 15, 1539] quoted in Phillip Schaff, *History of the Christian Church, Volume VIII: Modern Christianity. The Swiss Reformation.* (Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing, LLC, 2004) p. 163.

the "New Religion." Elizabeth never returned to Latin as a common medium of letter writing.

This switch to the vernacular is something that is also seen in letters by Elizabeth's contemporaries. For instance, out of Edward VI's first fifty-five letters, fifty are in Latin, four are in English, and one was in French. However, his last eight extant letters, all written after 1549, are in English.[84] Edward's Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, appeared to have valued the vernacular from the very beginning. [85] While Cranmer continued to write Latin letters to foreign reformers, most of his letters which dealt with Church matters were all in English.[86] This makes sense as Latin was the language of academic and theological debate as well as diplomacy amongst international reformers and theologians. Cranmer's tendency to write in the vernacular when concerned with English church matters, though, does seem significant to showing a relationship with both Edward and Elizabeth's switch to the vernacular.

Therefore, in 1549, when Elizabeth switched her language of letter writing to English, she made a powerful statement about her public image. The preference for the vernacular in letter writing was something that she continued throughout the rest of her life.

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[84] Edward VI, *Literary remains of King Edward the Sixth. Edited from his autograph manuscripts, with historical notes and a biographical memoir,* ed. John Gough Nichols, 2 vols., (New York: B. Franklin, 1964).
[85] Thomas Cranmer, *The works of Thomas Cranmer edited for the Parker Society*, vol. 2, ed. Rev. John Edmund Cox, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1844-46).
[86] There is one exception to this rule. Cranmer wrote Martin Bucer in English concerning the issues of "vestments" which was a decidedly English matter. Cranmer, "Letter CCXCII," [December 2, 1550], pp. 428-429.

## Later writings under Edward VI

Princess Elizabeth continued many of the same trends as her earlier letters except that now she wrote in English exclusively. In a letter to Edward Seymour in 1549, in an attempt to clear her own name, she wrote: "For I know they are most deceived that trusteth most in themselves."[87] The editors of Elizabeth's collected works state this closely parallels the Apostle Paul in 2 Corinthians 1:9: "that we should not put our trust in ourselves but in God who raiseth the dead to life again."[88] However, another possibility is that she may have been remembering Proverbs 28:26: "He that trusteth in his own heart is a fool: but whoso walketh wisely, he shall be delivered." In keeping with the manner of the day, Elizabeth continued to use Biblical verses to support her case in her letters. [89]

In her very next letter, also to Edward Seymour, Elizabeth once again defended herself against the growing suspicions concerning a possible illicit and treasonous relationship with Thomas Seymour, the Lord Protector's brother. She also found herself in the precarious situation of having to defend her governess Katherine Ashley. Elizabeth expressed a strong devotion and loyalty to Ashley:

> For Saint Gregory sayeth that we are more bound to them that bringeth us up well than to our parents, for our parents do that which is natural for them—that is bringeth us into this world—but our bringers-up are a cause to make us live well in it.[90]

While she did not specifically mention which Saint Gregory of whom she is speaking, the editors of her *Collected Works* state this could possibly be Gregory of Nazianzus, the

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[87] BL, MS Lansdowne1236, ff. 33r-34v; also cited in *CW,* p. 32.
[88] *CW,* p. 32, fn. 3.
[89] Edward VI, "Prince Edward to Richard Coxe," [June 3, 1546] as cited in *Letters of the Kings of England,* vol. II, p. 11.
[90] BL, MS Lansdowne 1236, f. 35v.; also cited in *CW,* p. 34.

Eastern theologian and doctor of the Catholic Church.[91] Once again, it is impossible to know for sure if she got this quote from a published edition of Gregory's works or if she merely copied the phrase down from a compendium. However, in 1531 there was a Latin edition of St. Gregory's sermons translated by a German humanist named Willibald Pirckheimer in print in England. Erasmus edited this edition and wrote an introduction to it so Elizabeth may very well have had access to this edition.[92]

Elizabeth's first letter to Edward VI in the vernacular begins in a similar style of her previous Latin letters. She wrote: "Like as the richeman that dayly gathereth riches to riches, and to one bag of mony layeth a great sort til it come to infinit.."[93] While this did not appear to be a direct quote of any Scripture or religious text, it does closely parallel the thoughts in Luke 12:21: "So is he that layeth up treasure for himself, and is not rich toward God."

In another letter of April 21, 1552 to Edward, Elizabeth relied on quotation from Saint Augustine to comfort her brother during his illness. She wrote: "For nowe do I say with Saint Austin that a disease is to be counted no sikness that shal cause a bettar helthe whan it is past than was assured afore it came."[94] Elizabeth continued with another Biblical allusion:

> Moreouer I consider that as a good father that loues his childe derely dothe punis him scharpely, so God favoring your Maiestie gretly hathe chastened you straitly, and as a father dothe it for the further good of his childe, so hathe God prepared this for the bettar helthe of your grace.[95]

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[91] This quote is attributed to Gregory's funeral oration on Saint Basil the Great. *CW*, p. 34, fn., 3.
[92] John C. Olin, ed. and trans. *Six Essays on Erasmus and a Translation of Erasmus' Letter to Carondelet, 1523*, (Bronx: Fordham University Press, 1979) p. 43.
[93] BL, MS Cotton Vespasian F.III, f. 48r; See also *ACFLO*, pp. 24-26.
[94] Most probably this quote is alluding to Augustine's *Confessions*, Book V, Chapter X, line 18 , p. 27.
[95] *ACFLO*, p. 27.

Her words of encouragement correspond to Hebrews 12:5-6: "My child, do not regard lightly the discipline of the Lord…for the Lord disciplines those whom he loves, and chastises every child whom he accepts." Again, Elizabeth was not alone in this practice, Edward also often utilized Biblical quotations to underscore his points or give comfort to others.[96]

Later in 1552, Elizabeth wrote to her sister, the future Mary I, as she was also suffering from sickness. Elizabeth expressed her wishes for a speedy recovery and comforted her with the Latin phrase: "*Jacula praevisa minus feriunt.*" (For the darts which we foresee strike/hurt less).[97] The editors of her *Collected Works* and *Autograph Compositions and Foreign Language Originals* list this as the quotation of a proverb.[98] However, this phrase is very similar to the words of Pope Gregory I from his *Homily on the Gospels number 35* where he writes: "*Minus enim iacula feriunt quae praeuidentur.*"[99] While Elizabeth did rearrange the words making one verb into a past participle, possibly due to quoting from memory, the meaning is still essentially the same—that the trouble that we are able to see ahead of time causes us less harm.

It is interesting to suppose that part of Elizabeth's early education may have indeed included the works of the pope who had helped increase the strength and authority of the papacy over temporal powers. She may have had access to this text as there was an

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[96] See Edward VI, "Prince Edward to Richard Coxe," [August 20, 1546] as cited in *Letters of the Kings of England*, vol. II, pp. 16-17.
[97] BL, MS Lansdowne 1236, f. 39r; also cited in *CW*, p. 27.
[98] *CW*, p. 27, fn. 2. See also *CW*, p. 37, fn.4.
[99] Gregorius I. *Homiliarum in Evangelia Libri Duo. Liber Secundus. Homilia XXXV.* Migne. Patrologia Latina Database, http://pld.chadwyck.com/pld (25 September 2007).

edition of Gregory's works printed in England as early as 1506.[100] What is even more interesting is that in this sermon, Gregory was talking about the end of the world and how patience in the midst of adversity was to be prized. Certainly, in this letter Elizabeth stressed that her sister remain patient in her own suffering. Through this proverb, Elizabeth may very well have been showing both her extensive education and her political maneuvering by using a papal source Mary may have known well when addressing her famously Catholic sister.[101]

## Elizabeth's works under Mary I

Edward's reign ended with his premature death at the age of sixteen. After a brief contestation by Elizabeth's cousin, Lady Jane Grey, Elizabeth's sister, Mary, began her rule on July 9, 1553. Mary, a devout Catholic, set about to restore Roman Catholicism in England upon her accession. Now that Elizabeth was the heiress presumptive, she was viewed by many in power with much suspicion as her loyalties and education were in the "new faith." Originally well-received by her sister, Elizabeth soon fell into disfavor and suspicion when she was absent from mass.[102] To complicate matters, after Mary I came to power, Elizabeth became the subject of intrigue in the rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt, the younger. It was further rumored that she was involved in various plots to overthrow her sister. In a letter from October 1553, the Imperial envoy stationed in England, Simon Renard, wrote to the Holy Roman Emperor that he believed Elizabeth's absence from

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[100] Gregory I, Pope, *Regula et vita beatissimi patris Benedicti cum miraculis a beato Gregorio.* (London: 1506).
[101] *Forty Gospel Homilies*, trans. and ed. Dom David Hurst, (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1990).
[102] *CSP, Spanish*, Vol. IX, pp. 214-21.

court might actually give her more time to plot a rebellion.[103] Because of this suspicion, Mary had Elizabeth imprisoned in the Tower in 1554.

The night before Elizabeth was sent to the Tower, she wrote a letter to Mary expressing her innocence and loyalty to the crown.[104] Despite the impassioned nature of the letter, it reveals much about Elizabeth's education and political thinking as Elizabeth expressed a solid understanding of English royal law. Possibly due to the urgent nature of the situation, Elizabeth abandoned all form of pretence and formal greeting and simply began the letter with a statement about the reliability and power of a king's word. Elizabeth wrote: "If any euer did try this olde saynge that a kinges worde was more than a nother mans othe.."[105] By doing this she hoped to remind her sister of her last promise that she would never condemn her without giving her the opportunity to speak for herself. She writes:

> I most humbly beseche your Maiestie to verefie it in me and to remember your last promis and my last demaunde that I be not condemned without answer and due profe wiche it semes that now I am for that without cause prouid I am by your counsel frome you commanded to go vnto the tower a place more wonted for a false traitor, than a tru subiect.[106]

When referring to a "kinges worde," Elizabeth may have had several influences in mind. First, Elizabeth may have been thinking of the Old Testament verse: "a king's word hath power."[107] She also may have had in mind the long legal tradition in England that a King's word was incontestable when given in a matter. However, she may have realized that the extent to which that was legally binding on Mary was certainly

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[103] *CSP, Spanish*, Vol. IX, p. 323.
[104] TNA, SP Domestic, Mary I 11/4/2, f. 3v-3r; also cited in , pp. 29-32.
[105] Ibid., f. 3v; also cited in *ACFLO*, p. 29.
[106] TNA, SP Domestic Mary I, 11/4/2, f. 3v; also cited in *ACFLO*, p. 29.
[107] Ecc. 8:14.

tenuous.[108] Perhaps, she hoped that her extensive knowledge of history and precedent of the power of sovereign's word might sway Mary to reconsider her first action to imprison her.

During this time of intrigue, Elizabeth is said to have authored a prayer from the Tower. The earliest extant version comes from a work from 1582 by Thomas Bentley entitled *The Monument of Matrons.*[109] Her prayer is very simple and in English. It reads:

> Help me now, O God, for I have none other friends but Thee alone. And suffer me not (I beseech Thee) to build my foundation upon the sands, but upon the rock, whereby all blasts of blustering weather may have no power against me, amen.[110]

Her next prayer, also included in Bentley's account, is not given a date, but said to have been made "when she was in great fear and doubt of death by murder." It reads:

> Grant, O God, that the wicked may have no power to hurt or betray me; neither suffer any such treason and wickedness to proceed against me. For Thou, O God, canst mollify all such tyrannous hearts and disappoint all such cruel purposes. And I beseech Thee to hear me, Thy creature, which am Thy servant and at Thy commandment, trusting by Thy grace ever so to remain, amen.[111]

During this time, Elizabeth also participated in the humanist endeavor of writing poetry. Poetry had long been recognized as a valuable skill for any scholar as it employed and developed the use of eloquence that Cicero had advocated. Cicero wrote: "Indeed, the Poet is closely linked to the orator."[112] H. A. Mason argues that poetry formed an essential part of early Tudor Humanism. It was included in the standard educational curricula of the day, and was at the core of what the English humanists considered "*quam*

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[108] F.W. Maitland, ed., *Bracton's Notebeook*, Vol II (London: C J Clay and Son's Publishing, 1887), pp. 192-193.
[109] The reliability of this source is strengthened as it was published during the lifetime of Elizabeth I. Thomas Bentley, *The Monument of Matrons,* (London: Printed by H. Denham, 1582).
[110] In this first prayer she does allude to Matt. 7: 24-27. *CW*, p. 48.
[111] *CW*, p. 48.
[112] Cicero, *De Oratore*, 1.16.69, ed. and trans. E.N.P. Moor, (London: Methuen and Company, 1904), p. 5.

*sit humaniter vivendum,* what it means to be a human being."[113] Puttenham, in his famous *The Arte of English Poesie,* [1589] attested to the influence that poetry had in the realm of politics.[114] There is even one poem that has been attributed to Elizabeth's humanist younger brother, Edward VI, on the subject of the Eucharist.[115] Peter Herman has further connected the Tudors and James I with the use of poetry as an instrument of political discourse.[116]

In Elizabeth's *juvenilia,* there are three extant poems. The first poem was reported to have been written on a window at her residence in Woodstock, possibly during the period of 1554-1555.[117] In this poem, Elizabeth began with:

> O Fortune, thy wresting, wavering state
> hath fraught with cares my troubled wit,
> whose witness this present prison late
> Could bear, where once was joy flown quite.[118]

In this poem, she again referenced Fortune in the manner of the classical writers, as a goddess whose wiles control the actions of humans in an unpredictable and often unjustified way. Certainly, this may be possibly due to her feelings of uncertainty during this time. Her verses do sound quite similar to the complaints of Boethius in his *Consolatio Philosophiae* when he states about Fortune: "Change is her normal behavior,

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[113] H. A. Mason, *Humanism and Poetry in the Early Tudor Period,* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980), p. 24. See also Mike Pincombe, *Elizabethan Humanism: Literature and Learning in the Sixteenth Century.* (London: Pearson Education Limited, 2001); E. Armstrong, *A Ciceronian Sunburn: A Tudor Dialogue on Humanistic Rhetoric and Civic Poetics.* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 2006); and David Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
[114] George Putteham, *The Arte of English Poesie.* (London: Richard Field printer, 1589), p. 5.
[115] Edward VI, "Verses on the Eucharist," as cited in *The Literary Remains of King Edward the Sixth,* vol. I, ed. John Nichols, (London: J.B. Nichols and Sons, 1857), pp. 206-208.
[116] Herman, *Reading Monarchs Writing,* and "Authorship and the Royal 'I':"pp. 1495-1530.
[117] For a discussion of the sources of this poem, see *CW,* p. 46.
[118] *CW,* p. 46.

her true nature."[119] Princess Elizabeth's other two poems are quite brief and deal with the affirmation of her innocence in any plots against Mary[120] and discussing Christ's own words on Eucharist.[121]

After Mary found no evidence of Elizabeth's involvement in the rebellion, she had Elizabeth released from the tower and immediately placed under house arrest. In 1556, she wrote her sister again to express her continued allegiance and devotion to her rule.[122] Since she was no longer embroiled in a life or death controversy, Elizabeth took the time to begin this letter more formally: "To the Quene's most Excelent Maiestie." Elizabeth then used her favorite literary device of *comparatio* contrasting the love of pagans to their prince and Romans to their Senate to those unnamed ones in Mary's realm who had "rebellious hartes" and are only "Christians in names, but Iues [Jews] indide." In other words, she was able to admire the godless pagans in history and extol them for their virtuous support of their leaders, (*amor patriae*) while those in England who professed allegiance to Christ actually plotted to rebel against Mary, their "oincted Kinge." Here, Elizabeth expressed openly that she was able to see her sister, Mary, as a King and not just a Queen.

Near the end of this letter, Elizabeth again utilized exaggerated phrases in an ornate style to underscore her points, writing that she wished there were:

> good surgions for making anatomies of hartes that might shew my thoughts to your Maiestie, as ther ar expert fisitians of the bodies able to expres the inwarde griues of ther maladies to ther pacient.

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[119] Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, p. 23.
[120] *CW*, p. 46.
[121] Ibid., p. 47.
[122] BL, MS Lansdowne 1236, f. 37r; also cited in *ACFLO*, pp. 33-34. All further quotations are from this source.

She then stated: "so that the more suche misty cloudes offuscats the clere light of my truith, the more my tried thoughts shulde glister to the dimming of ther hidden malice." While once again these extended descriptions do not appear to be directly quoted from a classical text, they do demonstrate the depth of influence that the reading of classical authors had on Elizabeth. These efforts were not always effective, but they demonstrated the effects of her education and how she mimicked the styles and sources most familiar to her.[123]

Elizabeth stated that even those who do not love the state, should show allegiance to the Queen out of a fear of God, echoing the injunctions of St. Peter.[124] Elizabeth attributed any treason in the hearts of the English to the Devil who was like: "*tanquam leo rugiens circumit querens quem devorare potest*" (like a roaring lion wandering seeking whom he may devour).[125] With the minor exception of *circumit* meaning (encircle/surround/wander) instead of *circuit* meaning essentially the same thing, and a misspelling of *querens* instead of *quaerens* (present active participle: seeking), Elizabeth gave the exact quotation of 1 Peter 5:8 in the Vulgate. She also stated that she was fully able to recognize those who work against Mary as "impes" of the Devil because: "saint Poule sayeth *seditiosi filij sunt diaboli*" (the seditious are sons of the Devil).[126] Elizabeth cited this as a quote of St. Paul, but this is not found within the text of the Vulgate. Paul never used the phrase "*filii diaboli*" (sons of the Devil) in his writings. The Apostle John

[123] See again Tuckerman, *A History of English Prose fiction,* pp. 76-77.
[124] 1 Peter 2:17.
[125] BL MS, Lansdowne 1236, f. 37r.; also cited in *ACFLO,* p. 34.
[126] Ibid.

did in John 3:10, and St. Augustine did in his works against Pelagius.[127] Elizabeth might have been remembering Paul's comments in Romans chapter 13 where he wrote that all governments were instituted by God and those who resisted them were actually resisting God. There is also the possibility that Elizabeth, as she often did, simply got the got the attribution wrong.[128]

To stress her desire that God preserved Mary's rule in the midst of her enemies, she referenced yet another Biblical allusion in this letter. She wrote: "He hathe euer thus preserved your Maieste throw his ayde muche like a lambe from the hornes of thes basans bulles."[129] In this statement Elizabeth drew upon the imagery and words of Psalm 22: "Many oxen are come about me: fat [bulles] of Bashan close me in on euery syde. They gape vpon me with their mouthes: as it were a rampyng and a roryng lion."[130] This Psalm was quoted by Jesus from the cross[131] and is both a Psalm of lament and of future deliverance of the Lord's chosen one. Here, Elizabeth used this imagery of those attacking the Lord's anointed (Mary) to reinforce the idea that the Queen was wrongly assaulted as was Christ himself. This time Elizabeth used her humanist education in order to construct an image of herself as a dutiful and pious servant of her sister the Queen.

## Conclusion

Elizabeth's *juvenilia* attests to her growing skill in classical humanism, languages, theology, history, and government. It also supports the assertion that like her siblings,

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[127] "sed ex parte filios Dei fieri, ex parte autem filios saeculi, id est, diaboli, remanere," in St. Augustine, *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum,* 3.3.4.
[128] Romans 13:1. The editors of her *CW* and attribute this to a "loose paraphrase" of Ephesians 2:2, see *CW*, p. 43, fn. 6.
[129] BL, MS Lansdowne 1236, f. 37r; also cited in *ACFLO,* p. 33.
[130] Ps. 22:12-13, [Bishop's Bible, 1568]. Ibid.
[131] See Matt. 27:46.

Elizabeth received a thorough classical and humanist education. Most probably, Elizabeth was being groomed to be a future patron of religious studies similar to both Katherine Parr and even her own mother, Anne Boleyn. Ascham himself attested to the high ability of Elizabeth as a student of humanism in his work *The Schoolmaster*. While it is certainly reasonable to suppose that most of his description at this point was exaggerated flattery, it leaves little doubt that he thought Elizabeth was at least competent in her learning. He wrote that by 1570 his student, now Queen Elizabeth:

> Hath attained to such a perfect understanding in both the tongues (Latin and Greek) and to such a ready utterance of the Latin, and that with such a judgment as they be few in number in both the universities, or elsewhere in England, that be in both tongues comparable with Her majesty.[132]

This dissertation contends that it was this original education in the classics and humanist authors that set the stage for Elizabeth to adapt her humanism to the pursuit of the *vita activa* and the projection of her "body politic" as England's prince.

[132] Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, p. 87.

# Chapter 2:
# Elizabeth's early years as Queen (1558-1572)
## Introduction

As her juvenilia demonstrates, the young Princess Elizabeth progressed aptly in her pursuit of the *studia humanitatis* concentrating on the *vita contemplativa.* In all probability she expected to live out her life as a patroness of religious and educational scholarship much like her step-mother Katherine Parr. Yet, a series of events and circumstances eventually resulted in her ascendancy to the throne of England. In 1543, Parliament mandated, in the Third Act of Succession, that Henry VIII restore both Mary and Elizabeth to the line of succession if their younger brother, Edward, should die childless.[1]

Neither her brother Edward VI nor her sister Mary I experienced a long reign or had any children. Edward died in 1553 and Mary died shortly thereafter in 1558. With her sister's death, Elizabeth was now thrust into the *vita activa* and given a chance to demonstrate how her own humanism would shape both her reign and her political persona.

As has been noted in the introduction, in the sixteenth century women monarchs were received with mixed feelings. While the Protestant Elizabeth may have expected opposition from Catholics to her reign, Amanda Shephard has argued that some of the harshest rebukes of women rulers in sixteenth-century England came from Protestant polemicists.[2] The Protestant Reformers John Calvin and Heinrich Bullinger joined in

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[1] 35 Henry VIII, c. 1, in *The Statutes of the Realm*, ed. Alexander Luders et al. (London, 1810-28), III, p 955-958.
[2] Shephard, *Gender and Authority in Sixteenth-Century England*.

opposition to the right of female rulers.[3] However, both Calvin and Bullinger did allow for an exceptional case in trying times comparable to the Biblical story of Deborah, a female judge over Israel—thus, they could reconcile themselves to Elizabeth's accession. A Protestant reformer closer to home sounded a much more extreme cry against women monarchs. In 1558, John Knox published his infamous work, *The first blast of the trumpet against the monstrous regiment of women*, in which he decried that it was both unnatural and against the ordinances of God for women to rule over men.[4]

So from the very beginning as well as throughout her reign, Elizabeth had to deal with those who questioned her authority to rule either due to her sex or her right as a secular ruler to make decisions in religion. This dissertation argues that in order to silence her critics on both sides and to succeed in defending both her position as her country's sovereign and later "Supreme Governor" of her country's Church,[5] Elizabeth constructed a political persona, or "body politic" that was both sustainable and defensible in humanist terms.

This political persona of a learned and devout prince would allow her to solidify and legitimize her power in the same language that the powerful men of England spoke and understood. She projected this scholarly image to add weight to her commands as she navigated the issues of politics, foreign diplomacy, and religion. As a political humanist, Elizabeth now moved from the life of the putative patroness of religious education—the *vita contemplativa*—to the more civic-minded *vita activa* of her male contemporaries.

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[3] Robert M. Healey, "Waiting for Deborah: John Knox and Four Ruling Queens," in *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (Summer, 1994), pp. 371-373.
[4] John Knox, *The first blast of the trumpet against the monstruous regiment of women*, (Geneva: J. Poullain and A. Rebul, 1558).
[5] Elizabeth I, *Elizabeth's Supremacy Act, Restoring Ancient Jurisdiction* (1559), 1 Elizabeth Cap. 1.

She demonstrated this persona throughout her early reign by her own rhetoric, writings, and encounters with individuals and Parliament. This chapter will now take a chronological look at the events of the early part of Queen Elizabeth I's reign during the years of 1558 to 1572 examining her works in context of the historical events in which they occurred.

## Elizabeth I and sixteenth-century rhetoric

One account of Elizabeth first hearing about her sister's death states she was sitting under at tree at Hatfield reading the New Testament in Greek.[6] After Sir Nicholas Throckmorton approached her with Mary's ring as a sign of her new sovereignty, Elizabeth is to have exclaimed in Latin the words of Psalm 117: "This is the Lord's doing and it is marvelous in our eyes."[7] While there is some scholarly disagreement over whether or not this account is true, this fits well with the early modern idea of the realization that one could shape a public image.[8] Similarly, in an account of Elizabeth's procession to London as Queen, Elizabeth expressed solidarity with the Hebrew prophet Daniel asserting:

> And I acknowledge that Thou has dealt as wonderfully and as mercifully with me as Thou didst with Thy true and faithful servant Daniel, Thy prophet, whom Thou deliveredst out of the den from the cruelty of the greedy and raging lions. Even so I was overwhelmed and only by Thee delivered.[9]

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[6] For a near contemporary account of this see Robert Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia*, or *Observations on the late Queen Elizabeth, Her Times and Favorites.*. (London, 1641), p. 5.
[7] The Latin in Naunton is "A Domino factum est istud, et est mirabile in oculis meis." Ibid.
[8] See Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning.* David Starkey is one scholar who disputes the validity of such an exclamation. See Starkey, *Elizabeth: Struggle for the Throne*, p. 239.
[9] Richard Mulcaster, "Richard Mulcaster's Account of Queen Elizabeth's Speech and Prayer During Her Passage Through London to Westminster the Day Before Her Coronation," [January 14, 1559], as cited in *CW*, p. 55.

These early anecdotes surrounding Elizabeth's accession did more than simply add a little color to the events of the early days of her reign. They projected Elizabeth's chosen image of ruler who had been uniquely chosen and favored by God and saved through all adversity.

J. L. McIntosh argues that Elizabeth recognized the need to shape and present a powerful image even as a young princess. McIntosh states that it was Elizabeth's own household as princess that "was instrumental in maintaining her political profile during her imprisonment. Her servants insisted that government officials acknowledge her status as heir to the throne through such seemingly prosaic things as food service and household decor."[10] So even without a sixteenth-century equivalent of the paparazzi, Elizabeth realized that her every action as a female royal came under more than the usual intense scrutiny attendant upon the person of the sovereign. This realization led her to utilize the humanist tool of rhetoric throughout her reign, which often included draping herself in Biblical imagery, in order to present an image of herself as both England's prince and a scholar to the world. This was a life-long realization of Elizabeth's as she stated in a 1586 speech to Parliament:

> And all little enough, for we princes, I tell you, are set on stages in the sight and view of all the world duly observed. The eyes of many behold our actions; a spot is soon spied in our garments; a blemish quickly noted in our doings.[11]

Elizabeth's reliance on rhetoric was not unusual for a political humanist of her time. In his famous book, *The arte of rhetorique,* Thomas Wilson, gave this definition:

> Rhetorique is an art to set further by utterance of wordes, matter at large, or (as Cicero doeth saie), it is a learned, or rather an artificiall declaracion of the mynde,

[10] McIntosh, *From Heads of Household to Heads of State,* p. 188.
[11] BL, MS Lansdowne 94, f. 84r. Also cited in *CW,* p. 194.

> in the handelyng of any cause, called in contencion, that maie through reason largely be discussed.[12]

Wilson further stated: "Three thynges are required of an Orator: to teache, to delight, and to persuade."[13] Other popular manuals of rhetoric included Leonard Cox's *The art or crafte of rhetoryke* (1532), George Gascoigne's *A hundreth sundrie flowres bounde vp in one small poesie* (1573), and George Puttenham's famous *The arte of English poesie* (1589). Puttenham wrote that the art of poetic speaking could be traced all the way back to a divine origin. He stated "utterance also and language is given by nature to man for perswasion of others, and aide of themselves, I meane the first abilitie to speake."[14]

These manuals affirmed the then Christian belief, amongst both Protestants and Catholics, that rhetoric was originally given to man by God, but it was lost at the Fall of Adam and Eve with much other great knowledge. So it was the duty of scholars to attempt to recover the knowledge that was lost—most often through the study of classical sources. Most of this exposure to classical ideals of rhetoric was accomplished through formal schooling. Peter Mack writes that a large majority of the education in the English grammar schools of the time connected humanistic learning to the classical model of rhetoric.[15] He also relates that in the sixteenth century most of the members of Parliament attained an university education where they were exposed to and studied the speeches of Cicero as well as Aristotle's thoughts on logic.[16] Due to this immersion in the classics,

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[12] It is of note that Wilson would later become a member of Elizabeth's Privy Council. Thomas Wilson, *The arte of rhetorique for the vse of all suche as are studious of eloquence, sette forth in English*, (London: 1553), p 5.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Putteham, *The Arte of English Poesie*, p. 5.
[15] Peter Mack, "Elizabethan Parliamentary Oratory," in *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 64, no. ½. (2001), p. 23.
[16] Ibid., pp. 23-24.

MP's (members of Parliament) participated in the political humanism of the day by adhering to a classical model of oratory as outlined in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*.[17]

## Elizabeth's humanist influences

When it came to influences for speeches, Elizabeth did not have much of a role model from previous English monarchs. At times, she appealed to the memory of her late father, Henry VIII, attempting to wrap herself in both his power and authority.[18] However, despite Henry's long political shadow, he rarely made speeches in Parliament.[19] While Elizabeth's brother Edward made some public speeches, he never addressed Parliament in person. This was most certainly due to both his young age and the shortness of his reign.[20] Elizabeth's contemporary female monarchs, her sister Mary I and cousin Mary Stewart, did not make any public speeches to their Parliaments. So, while the use of rhetoric for projecting power was not unusual for humanists or politicians of the day, it was unusual for English monarchs. In many ways Elizabeth established the model of the sovereign addressing Parliament taking most of her cues from the Parliamentary language of the day.

Parliamentary records of the sixteenth century reveal two major types of orations—a long formal speech, often recorded word for word, and shorter summarized accounts of responses to these types of speeches.[21] These longer more formal speeches consisted of a discernible pattern which greatly resembled the four-part classical oration:

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[17] Mack, "Elizabethan Parliamentary Oratory," p. 35.
[18] See especially her "Armada Speech to the Troops at Tilbury," BL, MS Harley 6798, art. 18, f. 87v.
[19] See "King's Speech in Parliament," [December 24, 1545], no. 1031 in *L&P*, vol. 20 part 2, pp. 518-519.
[20] J. G. Nichols, ed., *Literary remains of King Edward the Sixth. Edited from his autograph manuscripts, with historical notes and a biographical memoir, by John Gough Nichols*. 2 vols. (New York: B. Franklin, 1964).
[21] Mack, "Elizabethan Parliamentary Oratory," p. 26.

*exordium* (introduction and division), narration (three points or less), proof and refutation, and conclusion.[22] In addition to this structure, Parliamentary speeches were replete with highly-adorned prose, classical proverbs, and numerous historical and Biblical illustrations and proofs that the orator used to underscore and strengthen his major points. In England, Parliamentary orations had two major classical sources which affected the style and delivery of these speeches. Janet Green describes these styles as "one complex, often ambiguous, almost euphuistic [Cicero], and one simple and direct [Seneca]."[23] The complex and longer style exists in recorded speeches and the brief and direct style primarily exists only in journal summaries of the events of the day in Parliament.[24]

Cicero, (106 to 43 B.C.) a Roman statesman, poet, and philosopher, was generally considered the greatest of the Roman orators. It was his style of rhetoric that dominated the political landscape of sixteenth-century England, especially in regards to Parliamentary speeches.[25] For example, in Elizabeth's first Parliament, the House of Lords debated the very weighty issue of the supremacy question—should Elizabeth be named the head of the English church. In this opening Parliament, the Viscount Montague spoke against the idea of the separation from the Roman see and utilized the highly adorned classical model of the time (Ciceronian). He began his speech stating:

> My lords, loath I am to speake and much afraide, waying reverently the matter nowe in hande, both for the weight thereof, and also remembering the person whom yt seemeth to touche therewith, not willing to impugne the judgment of others which have spoken therin whom otherwise I honour and love, considering

[22] Ibid., p. 36; See also Cicero, *Rhetorica ad Herennium,* I.3.4.
[23] Janet M. Green, "I My Self: Queen Elizabeth I's Oration at Tilbury Camp," in *Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 28, No. 2, (Summer, 1997), p. 422.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Mack, "Elizabethan Parliamentary Oratory," p. 36.

> also myne owne insufficiency in all respectes in whom I doubt not either certeyne wisdome and knowledge, nor zeale to the true religion of Christe.[26]

In this exordium, Montague introduced his speech in a very common way expressing his professed humility at this task of addressing such a serious cause. He then followed the standard pattern by dividing his argument into different sections—this time three points. He stated: "Nowe, then, to the first of my three causes which is the matter, and in deed [sic] religion."[27] Montague also relied on "historical proofs" to help strengthen his argument about the danger of separating from Rome. He also utilized his classical education in the style of a political humanist by placing citations from the Vulgate in the middle of his speech for effect. He declared:

> Neither maye I, therefore, nor doo knowe any cause to the contrarie, but remayne constaunt *a vita fide partum* [by a life bearing faith] and confesse God and his truthe before man, lest he deny me before his father in heaven; and so *quum veniet dies domini, peream*. [when the day of the Lord comes, I will be destroyed].[28]

The use of classical or Biblical illustrations were a major component in the Parliamentary speeches. For example, when Parliament was debating the possible execution of the Duke of Norfolk for treason in 1572, Thomas Dannet, a member of the House of Lords, cited a saying of Plutarch urging the Queen: "to beware of such sirens as seke to enchant her Highnes' eares and wisdome with the poisoned sound of mercie and mansuetude [meekness]." He then underscored his reservations with a Latin proverb: "First, to show leniency to the wicked is as showing cruelty to the good."[29] Later in that same speech, Dannet quoted an anecdote from classical history concerning the Romans and Samnites in Livy's writings as a historical proof to help persuade Elizabeth that "the

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[26] Hartley, 1: 7.
[27] Ibid., p. 8.
[28] Ibid., p. 9.
[29] "Principis in facinorosos lenitas, quid est aliud quam in bonos crudelitas." Ibid., p. 295.

middle way which her Maiestie holdeth, if she do not justice, can not [sic] be but dangerous to her."[30] He finished his warning with another Latin excerpt, this time from Livy, stating that the Queen's desire to show mercy to the Duke: "will neither furnish friends nor take away enemies."[31] In this speech, Dannet, in the style of a political humanist, utilized his own classical education to strengthen his argument with use of classical proofs and sayings.

So when Elizabeth entered the world of Parliamentary politics, it was essential to be able to speak the language that the male politicians understood and respected—the language of an educated political humanist. Thomas Wilson recognized the value of rhetoric for political means as well. He cited the classical story of Pyrrhus, King of the Epirus, to demonstrate how more was won by the art of the tongue than by skill in battle. He wrote:

> And so it came to passe, that through the pithye eloquence of this noble Oratoure, divers stronge castels and fortreffes were peacablye geuen up into the hands of pirrhus, whyche he shoulde hauve founde verye harde and tedious to wynne by the sworde.[32]

Elizabeth realized that in order to govern effectively, she had to be able to speak the language of her male MP's.

Therefore, Elizabeth consciously chose a style of presentation that was understood by her politically-active contemporaries and relied heavily on her own humanist education to make her points and project her own image as a scholarly prince. Contemporary understanding of gender roles and "natural" gender-specific characteristics

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[30] Hartley 1: 297.
[31] "neque enim amicos parat, neque inimicos tollit." Ibid., p. 295.
[32] Wilson, *The arte of rhetorique*, p. 4.

provided MP's with license to criticize her as a woman. Therefore, Elizabeth constructed her "body politic" in the style of a learned and devout prince and utilized her education as a weapon of offense and defense in the hope of taking gender out of consideration.

This dissertation argues that it was Elizabeth's classical education that prepared her to enter this world of Parliamentary politics. While the specifics of Elizabeth's own educational curriculum are difficult to exactly pin down, there is little doubt that, like the educated members of her society, it must have also included training in rhetoric—including the writings of both Cicero and Seneca.[33] In a letter from 1550, Roger Ascham, one of her early tutors, attests to this training by writing that Elizabeth had "read with me almost all Cicero."[34] Given Ascham's interest in teaching rhetoric and his book on the subject *Toxophilus,* it is reasonable to assume that his instruction would have also included the *Rhetorica ad Herrennium*. In *Toxophilus* Ascham used the classical trope of a dialogue between two men discussing archery in order to express his ideas about the need for eloquence in speech. One of his characters, *Philologus* (lover of words), stressed that the perfect archer was like the perfect orator, Cicero.[35]

Cicero's writings were well-known in the early sixteenth century in England. There were numerous copies of his works in print in both Latin and English with an edition of Cicero's *De Officiis* printed in London as early as 1534.[36] In order to produce this persuasive style of speech, Cicero recommended that the student of rhetoric use the study of philosophy to add style and eloquence to highlight the ideals being expressed.

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[33] Mary Thomas Crane, "Video et Taceo: Elizabeth I and the Rhetoric of Counsel," in *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, Vol. 28, No. 1, The English Renaissance. (Winter: 1988), p. 4.
[34] Ascham, "Ascham to Sturm," [April 4, 1550], pp. lxiii-lxiv.
[35] Roger Ascham, *Toxophilus,* (London: Edward Whitechurch, 1545), pp. 1-3.
[36] *The thre bookes of Tyllyes [Cicero's] offyces both in latyne tonge [et] in englysshe, lately translated by Roberte Whytinton poete laureate*. (Imprinted at London: 1534).

Cicero also wrote extensively on the subject on the construction of the oration. He argued that the speaker should begin the oration with an elaborate introduction and fanfare.

Cicero's recommendation was to have an *exordium* (introduction and division), *narration* (up to three points), *proof and refutation*, and *conclusion*.[37] He further detailed three specific types of proofs for use in speeches: "logical," "ethical," and "pathetic."[38] As will be discussed, Elizabeth employed all three types in her orations. The orator used "logical" proofs to appeal to the rightness of the speaker's cause or the reasonableness of his/her audience. The orator used the "ethical" proofs which focused more on the speaker him/herself and concentrated on establishing a credible character or reputation. In other words, the audience believed the argument being stated because of the character of the individual giving the speech. Finally, "pathetic" proofs were used as a dramatic device that appealed directly to the pathos or emotions of the audience. These could be in many forms including an appeal to *amor patriae*, or even religious fervor. The use of each of these proofs depended on both the occasion of the speech and the effect that the speaker wished to have. Elizabeth primarily appeared to favor the use of the ethical and pathetic.[39]

The second major influence on Parliamentary rhetoric of this time came from the Roman orator Seneca. His thoughts on public speaking along with his predecessor Cicero formed the foundation of sixteenth-century rhetoric in England.[40] While Seneca

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[37] Mack, "Elizabethan Parliamentary Oratory," p. 36. See also Cicero, *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954), Bk. I.3.4.
[38] Green, "I Myself," p. 423. See also Cicero, *De Oratore*, E.W. Sutton, ed. and H. Rackham, trans., (Cambriege: Loeb Classical Library, 1953), Bk. 2.27, 114-115.
[39] For a good discussion of Cicero's thoughts on proofs see also James M. May, "The Ethica Digressio and Cicero's *Pro Milone*: A Progression of Intensity from Logos to Ethos to Pathos," in *The Classical Journal*, Vol. 74, No. 3 (Feb. - Mar., 1979), pp. 240-246. Ibid., p. 424.
[40] Wilson, *The arte of rhetorique*; For a good discussion of the sources of sixteenth century rhetoric see Lee A. Sonnino, *A Handbook to Sixteenth-Century Rhetoric*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968).

essentially built on the structure advocated by Cicero, he argued that the speech of government should be characterized by both brevity and directness. He wrote: "Speech which utters service in the truth ought to be simple and plain." [41]

There is ample evidence that Elizabeth was exposed to the teachings of Seneca in her humanist studies. In 1566, she gave a copy of her own translation of Seneca's letter 107 to John Harrington, who was her godson and a member of her Privy Council.[42] She also translated the second chorus of Seneca's Hercules Oetaeus at an unknown time during her reign.[43] There is also at least one other comment from a contemporary of hers about another one of Elizabeth's translations of Seneca sometime around 1579.[44] Clearly, Elizabeth had an informed knowledge of both the poet and his thoughts on a variety of matters, quite possibly including his views on rhetoric. Most classical humanist education at this time included the teachings of Seneca.[45] There were also several printed editions of his works in circulation in England during the early part of Elizabeth's reign.[46]

Elizabeth's approach to rhetoric demonstrated a close affinity with both classical models of the time which relied upon these classical orators. She hinted at her education in the classics in a speech in Latin to the faculty of Oxford in 1566, where she stated:

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[41] Seneca, *Epistulae Morales*, Richard Gummere, ed. and trans. (Cambridge: G.P. Putnam and Son's, 1953), book 1xl.4.
[42] *Nugae Antiquae*, ed. Thomas Park, 2 vols., (London: 1804), 1:109-14. See also Elizabeth I, *Elizabeth I: Translations, 1544-1589*, pp. 409-421.
[43] Elizabeth I, "The second chorus of Hercules Oetaeus," in *Queen Elizabeth I: Selected Works*, pp. 287-295.
[44] See "Sir Thomas Heneage to Hatton," [August 12, 1579] in *Sir Harris Nicolas, Memoirs of the Life and Times of Sir Christopher Hatton* (London: 1847), p. 127.
[45] See especially Ascham's thoughts on Seneca in Roger Ascham, *English Works: Toxophilus, Report of the Affairs and State of Germany, The Scholemaster.*
[46] See for example, Seneca, *A frutefull worke of Lucius Anneus Seneca* [Impressus Lo[n]don : 1523].

> Certainly, I admit that my parents desired most diligently that I was prepared rightly in the study of the humanities [*bonis literis*]; and, indeed, I dwelt daily in a variety of many languages.[47]

While this dissertation will argue that Elizabeth spoke in the language of Parliament to project her power, she did so in her own unique manner. Elizabeth's style was innovative from her contemporaries in that her orations were more compact and brief, as some Parliamentary orations might last several hours. Janet Green writes that Elizabeth's "main purpose in speaking was to set forth the royal will and message, and for this, she did not need a great deal of talking."[48]

The question of authorship of her speeches or letters presents some questions in regards to Elizabeth's intentions. This will be addressed where there is evidence of multiple authors. However, this dissertation asserts that Elizabeth's participation in her speeches or letters was at least at the level of consenting to their delivery or presentation. Elizabeth utilized all the tools at her disposal to project an image of a strong prince through her use of her own style of the contemporary political humanism.

## The early days of Elizabeth's government

On November 20, 1558, Elizabeth made her first speech of her reign exemplifying Seneca's model for an oration. In this speech, she addressed Sir William Cecil and other lords of the realm at Hatfield two months before her coronation on January 15, 1559.[49] She divided this oration into two parts and in the first addressed Cecil separately:

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[47] "sane fateor parentes meos diligentissime curasse ut in bonis literis recte instituerer, et quidem in multaram linguarum varietate diu versata fui." Fullwood Francis, *The church-history of Britain from the birth of Jesus Christ until the year M.DC.XLVIII* endeavoured by Thomas Fuller. (London: 1655), p. 77.
[48] Green, "I My Self," p. 423.
[49] TNA, SP Domestic, Elizabeth 12/1/13, copy; also cited in *CW*, pp. 51-52.

> I give you this charge, that you shall be of my Privy Council and content yourself to take pains for me and my realm. This judgment I have of you: that you will not be corrupted with any manner of gift, and that you will be faithful to the state, and that without respect of my private will, you will give me that counsel you think best, and if you shall know anything necessary to be declared to me of secrecy, you shall show it to myself only. And assure yourself I will not fail to keep taciturnity therein, and therefore herewith I charge you.[50]

This speech demonstrates influence from Seneca's thoughts on orations in several ways. First, it is quite brief and direct without excessive adornment.[51] She also did not include any classical proverbs or allusions. Elizabeth simply stated what she expected of Cecil as her servant. This speech was also an example of an epideictic (using a speech for praise or blame) or demonstrative oration.

While this speech had affinity with the Senecan approach, it also demonstrated her familiarity with the teachings of Cicero. This initial speech actually was two speeches in one—one given immediately to Cecil which was short and direct, and the other given to the Lords of realm, which was a bit more adorned in its presentation.[52] She began the second part of this speech with what would prove to be her favorite classical technique, the *comparatio*—or the comparison of things dissimilar—and included an "ethical proof." She stated:

> My lords, the law of nature moveth me to sorrow for my sister; the burden that is fallen upon me maketh me amazed; and yet, considering I am God's creature, ordained to obey his appointment, I will thereto yield, desiring from the bottom of my heart that I may have assistance of His grace to be the minister of His heavenly will in this office now committed to me. And as I am but one body naturally considered, though by His permission a body politic to govern, so I shall desire you all, my lords, (chiefly you of the nobility, everyone in his degree and power), to be assistant to me, that I with my ruling and you with your service may

[50] TNA, SP Domestic, Elizabeth 12/1/13, copy; *CW*, p. 51.
[51] Seneca, *Epistulae Morales*, Bk. 1xl.4.
[52] TNA, SP Domestic, Elizabeth 12/1/13, copy; also cited in *CW*, pp. 51-52.

> make a good account to almighty God and leave some comfort to our posterity in earth. I mean to direct all my actions by good advice and counsel.[53]

In this first speech, Elizabeth referenced the humanist virtue of giving and receiving of counsel. Within the scholarly world, there has been some amount of disagreement on just how Elizabeth gave and received counsel from her male courtiers. Mary Thomas Crane has argued that Elizabeth primarily used gender as a tool in her use of "rhetoric of counsel." Crane states that Elizabeth only appeared to take counsel from her male courtiers, but in reality she used this system as a way to govern and project her own political power.[54] She further argues that Elizabeth used gender to assume many roles in the area of giving and receiving of advice: "from patriarchal advisor to silent and obedient woman."[55] Anne McLaren has also made a highly gendered argument about Elizabeth's giving and receiving counsel. She argues that Elizabeth adopted a providential model of authority that was legitimized by the giving and receiving of counsel from men. In this way the monarch became more than just the queen and included her closest male counselors.[56]

Natalie Mears has disagreed with both of these previous views arguing for a new interpretation of Elizabeth's use of counsel that relies neither on gender nor special providence. Instead Mears argues that familiarity formed the basis for Elizabeth's seeking of counsel from her closest advisors. She writes: "it was, ultimately, issues of trust and personal intimacy with the monarch, backed by social and familial networks that defined

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[53] *CW*, p. 52.
[54] Crane, "Video et Taceo," p. 1.
[55] Ibid., p. 2.
[56] Anne McLaren, *Political Culture in the Reign of Elizabeth I: Queen and Commonwealth, 1558—1585*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 3.

Elizabethan politics, not institutions or institutional status."[57] Mears notes that during this time royal courtiers saw themselves as an active part of the collaborative process of government but recognized that ultimately the monarch had the final say.[58] Therefore, Mears argues that Elizabeth relied primarily on "household service, familial connections and similarity of outlook," in order to help her choose and interact with her counselors.[59] This dissertation agrees with Mears that Elizabeth based her choice of counselors on familiarity. However, this dissertation further asserts that Elizabeth recognized the issues of gender of the day and consciously shaped her political image in the style of the political humanism of her male contemporaries. Therefore, she realized her choice of advisors would affect how those in power viewed her. Thomas Elyot gave this advice in his *The Book Named Governor* writing that "the power of counsel is wonderful, having authority as well over peace as martial enterprise."[60]

In this first speech to the Lords of her realm, Elizabeth mentioned the queen's two bodies. She stated: "And as I am but one body naturally considered, though by His permission a body politic to govern…"[61] Elizabeth's early use of this phrase demonstrated that she was aware from the beginning that she must present a political and public image to her nobility and subjects. In this speech, Elizabeth used a "pathetic proof" to evoke nostalgia by her appeal to the memories of her late sister, brother, and

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[57] Natalie Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2005), p. 71.
[58] Ibid., p. 102.
[59] Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse*, p. 79.
[60] Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Book Named the Governor*, ed. S. E. Lehmberg (London: Dent, 1962; repr. 1975), p. 275. For a good discussion of the humanist ideal for good counsel see John Guy, "The Henrican Age," in *The Varieties of British Political Thought: 1500-1800*, ed. J.G.A. Pocock, et al, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, August 13, 1996,) pp. 13-46.
[61] *CW*, p. 52.

even her father, Henry VIII. She stated that many of the lords present: "have been of long experience in governance and enabled by my father of noble memory, my brother, and my late sister."[62] Elizabeth cited her pedigree as a proof of her royal credentials. She exemplified the style of the epideictic by expressing praise to the Lords whom she addressed. She thanked these Lords for their dedicated service to her family in the past expecting that they will give her the same amount of devotion and service. In this way she also used another "pathetic proof" appealing to the emotions and patriotism of those present by a nostalgic look back at the previous monarchs of her family.

Elizabeth was confronted with the taking the reins of government during a very precarious time. Many of her initial concerns dealt with the relationship with her former brother-in-law, Phillip II, the King of Spain. On September 30, 1562, Elizabeth authored a letter to Phillip dealing with the brewing diplomatic issues between England and France.[63] During this time England had a dispute with France over the return of the land of Calais to England. Furthermore, Elizabeth's paternal cousin, the young Mary Stewart, Queen of Scots, continued to style herself as the rightful English Queen.

The editors of Elizabeth's *Collected Works* argue that despite the attribution to Elizabeth as author and its clear reflection of her policy, the letter's style seems to have more in common with her leading minister William Cecil.[64] Regardless of the original author, this letter represented a very public way of asserting her political persona by writing to foreign monarchs and appearing to be in control of her own foreign policy.[65]

"Elizabeth" stated in this letter:

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[62] TNA, SP Domestic, Elizabeth I 12/1/13, copy; also cited in *CW*, p. 52.
[63] TNA, SP Foreign, Elizabeth I 70/41/503, ff. 239r-242r; also cited in *CW*, pp. 112-115.
[64] Ibid.
[65] *CW*, p. 113.

> we are advised upon good considerations, not doubting but, both for your sincere and brotherly friendship and for your wisdom, ye will interpret and allow of our actions with such equity as the causes do require.[66]

This letter and its style asserted very important ideas about Elizabeth's political humanism and her projection of her own power. This letter mentioned that she was "advised upon good considerations" before communicating with Phillip. The obtaining of advice from learned counsel was an expected action that a sixteenth-century monarch would take if relying upon classical models. For example, Sir Thomas Elyot wrote: "the end of all doctrine and study is good counsel…wherein virtue may be found."[67] Throughout this early letter to the King of Spain, Elizabeth petitioned Phillip for his help in regards to England's problems with France.[68] She asserted her desire to live in peace, but did not back down from her claim that Calais was rightfully England's.[69]

## Marriage and the succession

Throughout the course of Elizabeth's early reign, she had to respond to Parliament's expectation that she marry or name a successor. How Elizabeth handled this matter this early in her reign would be a major factor in setting the tone for her relationship with Parliament and how she projected her political image. On February 10, 1559, Elizabeth responded to one such a request from the House of Commons.[70] In this speech, she answered their petition in a Ciceronian manner addressing each of their points. Her *exordium* began:

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[66] Ibid., pp. 112-113.
[67] Elyot, *The Book Named the Governor*, p. 238.
[68] TNA, SP Foreign, Elizabeth I 70/41/503, ff. 239r-241r; also cited in *CW*, p. 113.
[69] Ibid.
[70] BL, MS Lansdowne 94, art. 14, f. 29v; also cited in *CW*, pp. 56-58.

> As I have good cause, so do I give you all my hearty thanks for the good zeal and loving care you seem to have, as well towards me as to the whole state of your country. Your petition, I perceive, consisteth of three parts, and mine answer to the same shall depend of two.[71]

Her response exemplifies the classical and Parliamentary model of beginning with an *exordium* and then going straight into the major points of the speech.[72]

Elizabeth then proceeded to refute their petition using a series of proofs in the Ciceronian style. First, she used an "ethical" proof of appealing to God's wisdom and guidance in her choice of the single life. She stated: "I happily chose this kind of life in which I yet live, which I assure you for mine own part hath hitherto best contented myself and I trust hath been most acceptable to God."[73] In this way Elizabeth appealed to her own virtue to defend her position of not marrying immediately. She then offered another proof of why she has refused to name a successor—the intrigues that surrounded her as Mary's heir presumptive. She stated that during the time of her sister's reign, a "prince's indignation, was not little time daily before mine eyes."[74] For, if she had suffered Mary's ultimate sanction, she would have suffered death. In this way she utilized proofs that appealed to reason and emotion from her own experience that often naming a successor creates more instability than by not naming one.

In the second part of her speech to them she congratulated them on the style of their request. She declared:

> For the other part, the manner of your petition I do well like of and take in good part, because that is simple and containeth no limitation of place or person. If it had been otherwise, I must needs have misliked it very much and thought it in you a very great presumption, being unfitting and altogether unmeet for you to require

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[71] Ibid.; also cited in *CW*, p. 56.
[72] See Mack, "Elizabethan Parliamentary Oratory," p. 36. For an example, see Hartley, 1: 502.
[73] BL, MS Lansdowne 94, art. 14, f. 29v, also cited in *CW*, p. 56.
[74] See Prov. 16: 14 in the Vulgate. Ibid., pp. 56-57, fn., 7.

> them that may command, or those to appoint whose parts are to desire, or such to bind and limit whose duties are to obey, or take upon you to draw my love to your liking or frame my will to your fantasies.[75]

Here, she used the form of a *declamatio* by praising them for their efforts to give her advice. She agreed that they have the responsibility to offer advice, but her response also demonstrated her use of comparatio, or comparison of contraries. She praised parts of it, but asserted to Parliament that she did not have to heed their counsel. Alison Heisch states that in this speech: "Elizabeth was trying on her power, talking about how she would react 'if it had been otherwise,' explaining the relationship between queen and Commons which she expected or hoped to have."[76]

To sum up her arguments against rushing into just any marriage, Elizabeth quoted a proverb: "For a *guerdon* [reward] constrained and a gift freely given can never agree together."[77] This was a common tool of Parliamentary rhetoric to help add weight to an argument or add extra ornamentation to an oration. For example in a 1585 Parliamentary oration, an unnamed MP stated: "I hard ones an old Parlyment man saye ones, that statutes many tymes are made to catch crowes and take pigeons."[78] While it was not unique to draw upon a proverb to make a point, Elizabeth's choice is particularly interesting. I believe that Elizabeth consciously chose her proverb because of the larger context of the story from which it came. This quote was from a French poem entitled

[75] BL, MS Lansdowne 94, art. 14, f. 29v; also cited in *CW*, p. 57.
[76] Heisch, "Queen Elizabeth I," p. 34.
[77] BL, MS Lansdowne 94, art. 14, f. 29v; also cited in *CW*, p. 57.
[78] Hartley, 2: 39.

*Belle Dame sans Mercy*, written by Alain Chartier.[79] However, during the sixteenth century, it was attributed to and found in the printed works of Geoffrey Chaucer.[80]

This poem told the story of a man trying to convince a hesitant woman to marry him. This is intriguing as Elizabeth chose to quote from this particular poem to answer a petition from the Commons demanding that she consent to an immediate marriage. Elizabeth may have identified with this fictional woman as the woman did not agree to the marriage. Perhaps, Elizabeth quoted this story to Parliament expressing her thought that hastily construed marriages do not fare well. Elizabeth had seen that first hand with her own mother and her step-mothers. So she may have used this poem to sum up her conclusion that: "In the end this shall be for me sufficient: that a marble stone shall declare that a queen, having reigned such a time, lived and died a virgin."[81] Elizabeth did, however, leave the issue of marriage open stating:

> Nevertheless, if God have ordained me to another course of life, I promise you to do nothing to the prejudice of the commonwealth , but as far as possible I may, will marry such a husband as shall be no less careful for the common good than myself.[82]

Here Elizabeth appealed to a "pathetic proof" and the political humanist virtue of *amor patriae* (love of country). Elizabeth told Parliament that her deference was due to her concern for the greater good of England above any selfish motives of her own. Cicero promoted this classical virtue of love of country above all other emotional attachments in his work *De Officiis* stating:

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[79] Alain Charitier, *La belle dame sans mercy et les poésies lyriques*, (Lille : Giard, 1949). For discussion of authorship see William W. Kibler "The Narrator as Key to Alain Chartier's 'La Belle Dame sans mercy'" in The French Review, Vol. 52, No. 5 (Apr., 1979), pp. 714-723.
[80] "Guerdon constrained, a gift done thankfully, These twain can neuer accord, nor neuer shall." Geoffrey Chaucer, *The workes of Geffray Chaucer*, (London: 1542), p. 522
[81] BL, MS Lansdowne 94, art. 14, f. 29v; also cited in *CW*, p. 58.
[82] *CW*, p. 59.

> Parents are dear, children are dear, relatives, family members; but one's country encompasses all of our loves; for who that is good may hesitate to meet his own death, if it might be useful or necessary.[83]

This invocation of the civic duty of *amor patriae* was certainly not unique to Elizabeth. Parliamentary members and even her sister, Mary I, often used this as an "ethical" and "pathetic" proof to underscore a point.[84]

On April 10, 1563, Elizabeth made use of the simple and direct style of Seneca in a speech to Parliament responding to another petition that she marry or name a successor.[85] In this speech Elizabeth answered the Lords' petition in a direct point by point manner. She stated:

> The two petitions that you presented me, expressed in many words, contained in sum as of your cares the greatest: my marriage and my successor, of which two I think best the last be touched, and of the other a silent thought may serve.[86]

In a Senecan fashion, Elizabeth criticized Parliament's use of "many words." She stated that their long petitions were unnecessary and in this instance could have been summed up succinctly in two points: that she marry, and that she name her successor. Furthermore, this speech is very characteristic of the Renaissance use of the classical declamatio—or a speech that has practical and immediate relevance to the time and not simply to express the greatness of the orator.[87] She also made use of the epideictic style in that she did use the speech for the process of blame. She did not like their request and so used her speech to tell them her reasons. Elizabeth also used her familiar trope of

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[83] Cicero, *De Officiis*, ed. and trans. Walter Miller, (London: William Heineman, 1921), 1.57.
[84] Mary I, "Queen Mary to the Nobility of England," as cited in *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies of Great Britain*, vol. III, p. 287.
[85] BL, MS Additional 32379, f. 21r; also cited in *CW*, pp. 78-80.
[86] Ibid.; *CW*, p. 79.
[87] See Marc van der Poel, "The Latin Declamatio in Renaissance Humanism," in *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (Autumn, 1989), pp. 471—478.

contraries in this speech. She stated: "For though I can think it best for a private *woman* yet I do strive myself to think it not meet for a *prince*" (Italics mine).[88] Here, Elizabeth used a *comparatio* of the queen's two bodies as she mentioned being both a "woman" and a "prince."

Elizabeth used a very direct and organized Senecan style to deal with the parts of the petition of Parliament with which she had issues. She first addressed the issue of marriage. While she was somewhat ambiguous, she did tell the Lords that she was not totally adverse to the idea and responded that "if I can bend my liking to your need, I will not resist such a mind."[89] She then addressed the issues of the succession by quoting the Gospel of Luke. She replied that she hoped: "I shall die in quiet with *Nunc dimittis*."[90] In this way Elizabeth put the succession issue in God's hands and dismissed the concern of Parliament.

However, this oration is especially important as it demonstrated how Elizabeth went about constructing a speech. In the original (as noted in *ACFLO*), one can see a large number of cross-outs and emendations of the speech, which are in Elizabeth's hand.[91] Alison Heisch writes that Elizabeth often had the initial desire to respond to certain irritating requests hastily in anger, but would sometimes carefully change the tone with extra consideration over time.[92] This is evident in the manuscript of this 1563 speech. For example, Elizabeth initially began the oration with a statement critical about

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[88] BL, MS Additional 32379, f. 21r; also cited in *CW*, p. 79. For a good discussion of Elizabeth's use of contraries see, Janet Green, "Queen Elizabeth I's Latin Reply to the Polish Ambassador," in *Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 31, No. 4 (Winter: 2000), p. 993--998.
[89] Ibid.; *CW*, p. 79.
[90] Luke 2:29-32. "Nunc Dimittis" is sung at Compline in the evening and often at funerals. Ibid., p. 80.
[91] BL, MS Lansdowne 94, art. 15B, f. 30r. Also cited in ACFLO, pp. 34-35.
[92] Ibid. See also Heisch, "Queen Elizabeth I: Parliamentary Rhetoric and the Exercise of Power," p. 37.

the size of the petitions of Parliament. She called them "gret" and then changed the sentence to: "the two huge scroles that you made gave in many words."[93] The cross-outs reveal the process by which, eventually, Elizabeth toned down the speech to: "The two peticions that you presented me in many wordes exprest conteined thes two thinges in some as of your cares the gretest my marriage and my successan."[94] While this is less offensive and hasty in construction, it still is quite direct in its indictment of the members' "many wordes." Certainly, in this speech there is not just the evidence of Senecan thought in its directness, but also in the several attempts Elizabeth undertook to construct the best sounding answer. Seneca cautioned an orator to think long and hard about constructing a reply.[95]

Elizabeth's next speech was given to the House of Commons in 1563 in response to another petition that she marry and name a successor to the throne.[96] This written petition was conveyed to the Queen in person at her residence at Whitehall, and her own response was delivered soon thereafter. While this manuscript of the speech is a copy of a lost original, the editors of her *Collected Works* assert that Cecil's handwriting can be recognized on the page noting that Thomas Williams was the Speaker of Parliament at the time.[97] In this copy the name "Williams" begins the speech and was underlined, perhaps, to add emphasis or to record the tone of the speech which may have very well

[93] BL, MS Lansdowne 94, art. 15B, f. 30r. Also cited in , pp. 34-35.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Seneca, *Epistulae Morales*, Bk. 1 x13.
[96] TNA, SP Domestic, Elizabeth 12/27/36, ff. 143r-144r; also cited in *CW*, pp. 70-72.
[97] Ibid.; also cited in *CW*, p. 70.

been one of anger.[98] Elizabeth began her reply in a Ciceronian manner using proofs to structure her argument. She asserted:

> Williams, the weight and greatness of this matter might cause in me, being a woman wanting both wit and memory, some fear to speak and bashfulness besides, a thing appropriate to my sex. But yet the princely seat and kingly throne wherein God (though unworthy) hath constituted me maketh these two causes to seem little in mine own eyes.[99]

Here, Elizabeth once again employed a *comparatio* contrasting "being a woman" with the "princely seat and kingly throne" God had given her as their sovereign. This supports this dissertation's contention that when Elizabeth was pushed to respond to a direct petition, she utilized her classical learning to project her "body politic" in language her male contemporaries would understand.

She continued stating that to appropriately answer Williams' concern, she must first seek advice. Elizabeth identified her source of counsel as:

> a philosopher whose deeds upon this occasion I remember better than his name who always when he was required to give answer in any hard question of school points would rehearse over his alphabet before he would proceed to any further answer therein, not for that he could not presently have answered, but have his wit the riper and better sharpened to answer the matter withal.[100]

Elizabeth did not mention the philosopher specifically by name, but she most probably was referring to a familiar story told by Plutarch in his *Moralia*.[101] Her reply to Williams took this classical advice into consideration, as she wanted to wait on giving him a direct answer. She stated that she must first:

> Defer mine answer till some other time, wherein I assure you the consideration of my own safety (although I thank you for the great care that you seem to have

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[98] *CW*, p. 70, fn., 1.
[99] Ibid.
[100] TNA, SP Domestic, Elizabeth 12/27/36, ff. 143r-144r; also cited in *CW*, p. 71.
[101] Plutarch cites a story where Athenodorus, a philosopher, tells Augustus Caesar to proceed in this manner. See Plutarch, *Moralia*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), 3:233.

> thereof) shall be little in comparison of that great regard that I mean to have of the safety and surety of you all.[102]

So Elizabeth stated that for her own personal safety and for the safety and welfare of the kingdom, an obvious appeal to the common theme of *amor patriae*, she must defer her answer till a more appropriate time.[103]

While it is often difficult to ascertain how the Queen's responses were received by Parliament through the written record, one thing is abundantly clear. Despite Elizabeth's continued and often angry stance that she would not immediately answer either the succession or marriage issue, Parliament did not relent. Regardless of Elizabeth's hesitations in this matter, it was a valid concern of both the MP's and the country in general that the royal succession be secured.

In November of 1566, Elizabeth found herself having to respond to another petition that she marry and name a successor.[104] In her response, which she delivered to a delegation of sixty Lords and Commoners, she took a Ciceronian approach. This speech exists in a shorter more hostile version as well as a longer version that seems a bit more tempered. Elizabeth's modern editors attribute these variances to Elizabeth jotting down what was said in version one immediately after speaking most probably remembering her words more harshly than were actually said. The longer version ("Version 2") and the one used here, from a manuscript at Cambridge, was based on a firsthand account by one of the members of the House of Commons.[105] In this instance I am going to primarily

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[102] TNA, SP Domestic, Elizabeth 12/27/36, ff. 143r-144r; also cited in *CW*, p. 71.
[103] For contemporary example of *amor patriae* in a Parliamentary speech see Hartley, 1: 507.
[104] TNA, SP Domestic, Elizabeth I 12/41/5. f. 8v. See also *CW*, pp. 93-94.
[105] *CW*, pp. 94-98.

discuss version 2 of this speech as it is quite longer than the very short version 1 (only 13 lines).

In Version 2, Elizabeth referred to the petitioners as "unbridled persons whose heads were never snaffled [controlled by a bit] by the rider," obviously alluding to herself as the rider and to the members of Parliament as the untamed horse which will not yield to her commands. Elizabeth went on in her speech making use of "ethical" and "pathetic proofs" in her defense:

> Was I not born in the realm? Were my parents born in any foreign country? Is there any cause I should alienate myself from being careful over this country? Is not my kingdom here? Whom have I oppressed? Whom have I enriched to others' harm? What turmoil have I made in this commonwealth, that I should be suspected to have no regard to the same? How have I governed since my reign? I will be tried by envy itself. I need not to use many words, for my deeds do try me.[106]

Parliamentary orators often made use of the "ethical proof" as did Elizabeth to substantiate and highlight their claims using the character of the speaker as the defense.[107]

In this speech, Elizabeth defended her stance of refusal to name an heir or rush into an immediate marriage. She mentioned that the petition of Parliament consisted of two main parts: "in my marriage and in the limitation of the succession of the crown."[108] She then proceeded to answer their petition into two parts stating in the first part that she has already previously agreed that she would marry, "although not of mine own disposition." As Elizabeth felt she had already consented to their request in theory, she expressed her dissatisfaction that Parliament did not realize this. She responded: "I did

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[106] *CW*, p. 95.
[107] See Sir Walter Mildmay, "Sir Walter Mildmay's speech against Mary Queen of Scots," [November 3, 1586] in Hartley, 2: 223.
[108] *CW*, p. 95.

send them answer by my Council that I would marry..But that was not accepted or credited, although spoken by their prince."[109]

She continued her defense of her position in a lengthy argument utilizing various types of Ciceronian-style proofs. Elizabeth returned to the humanist approach of rhetoric of counsel mentioning that she had already consulted many different persons in her government about whether or not to settle the succession issue. She stated that some of her advisors would have her limit the succession to "twelve or fourteen..and the more the better."[110] After this consultation, Elizabeth questioned the wisdom of such a move citing evidence from both her studies and recent history.[111]

Near the end of her speech, Elizabeth resorted back to her favorite literary device of the comparison of opposites. She stated: "all men are mortal; and though I be a *woman* yet I have as good a courage answerable to my place as ever my *father* had."[112][emphasis mine] She employed this "pathetic proof" in which she appealed to the memory of her father and his bravery. Once again Elizabeth contrasted being a "woman" with the courage of her "father," Henry VIII. This is another example of her public presentation of the "body politic." Elizabeth stood upon her humanist learning as making her preeminently qualified to rule anywhere in the known world with or without a husband. She stated at present it was not "convenient, nor never shall be without some peril unto you and certain danger unto me"[113] for her to marry. Elizabeth again refused to acquiesce to Parliament's demands to name a successor or immediately entertain a marriage

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[109] *CW*, p. 95.
[110] Ibid., p. 96.
[111] Ibid., pp. 96-97.
[112] Ibid., p. 97.
[113] Ibid., p. 98.

proposal. As for the issue of safety in dealing with such a delicate issue, Elizabeth assured the members of Parliament that as their divinely-appointed queen it was her responsibility to deal with such matters and not theirs. She ended this speech by stating a well-known proverb that "it is monstrous that the feet should direct the head."[114] In Elizabeth's mind the issue was now settled.

In an attempt to stop these petitions, Elizabeth issued a verbal order on November 9, 1566, banning any more Parliamentary discussion on the issue.[115] However, the members immediately started debating as to whether or not that actually violated the law of free speech in the Houses of Parliament. Eventually, Elizabeth relented on this order and on November 24, 1566, she sent another order by Cecil to lift the ban on this discussion.[116] Shortly thereafter on November 29, Parliament sent the Queen a subsidy bill by which they hoped to compel Elizabeth to name her successor in order for her to receive the promised funding.[117] This demonstrated the persistent concern of Parliament to have the Queen answer their question despite her refusals. Elizabeth returned the bill to them with her own handwritten remarks at the bottom of the page of this bill stating:

> Shall my princely consent be turned to strengthen my words that be not of themselves substantives? I say no more at this time, but if these fellows were well answered and paid with lawful coin, there would be fewer counterfeits among them.[118]

On January 2, 1567, Elizabeth ended this session of Parliament with a speech in the style of Cicero.[119] She began her oration stating that she did not "love so evil

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[114] Ibid. Could also be an illusion to Eph 1:22-23.
[115] TNA, SP Domestic Elizabeth I 12/41/16, f. 33r., copy; also cited in *CW*, p. 100.
[116] TNA, SP Domestic Elizabeth I 12/41/30, f. 61v; also cited in *CW*, p. 101.
[117] BL, MS Lansdowne 1236, art. 27, f. 42v.; also cited in *CW*, pp. 102-103.
[118] Ibid.
[119] BL, MS Cotton Charter IV, 38 (2), formerly Cotton Titus F.I, fol. 92r.; also cited in *CW*, pp. 105-106.

counterfeiting and hate so much dissimulation" that she will not allow Parliament to depart until she has demonstrated to them their "harms and cause you shun unseen peril."[120] In other words, she did not wish to allow Parliament to adjourn without giving them one more word of admonishment concerning their actions on the succession issue. She divided her response into two parts addressing separately what she felt were the primary issues that Parliament had debated. Elizabeth disputed their concern over the succession issue by stating that her answer for them to wait on this issue was proved right by Parliament's current handling of this matter.[121] However, she offered to excuse the whole matter stating "this be the first time that so weighty a cause passed from so simple men's mouths as began this cause." Elizabeth's arguments here were most certainly exaggerated, and wrong, as Parliament had debated the succession issue many times before during previous monarchs' reigns.

Here, she used sarcasm to excuse their petition and assert her prerogative as Queen over their petitions. Finally, she addressed the issue of her commands to bar debate on the succession issue. While she had already relented on this, she asked the question: "who is so simple that doubts whether a prince that is head of all the body may not command the feet not to stray when they would slip?" She used a comparatio contrasting "prince" and "Parliament" with "head" and "feet." She also appealed to the "ethical proof" of her own character stating that her concern has only been to keep Parliament on the correct path in their relationship. Elizabeth ended the speech with the

[120] *CW*, pp. 105-106.
[121] Ibid., p. 105. All subsequent citations are from this source.

assurance that despite this disagreement and her anger, they were still in their "prince's grace."

In dealing with the succession and other issues, Elizabeth relied upon her own classical education to present her royal will before Parliament. She was able to use the simplistic style of Seneca when appropriate and also to utilize the more complicated proof-laden style of Cicero when she felt that was warranted. What is consistent is that she made frequent use of her education in the political realm to project, defend, and weave her political power and promote her political and religious agenda in the style of a political humanist. Elizabeth used her education to speak in the realm of politics—a realm dominated by men.

## Elizabeth as scholar and patroness of learning

During this early part of her reign, Elizabeth engaged in the humanist activity of translation. As the most visible and influential patroness of learning in England, her scholarly activities carried great influence in both promoting her own image as well as the education of her realm. In 1563, Elizabeth's *Sententiae* was published as a compilation or listing of proverbs, words of wisdom, thoughts from ancient authorities, church fathers, and other notable humanists like Erasmus.[122] Mueller writes that there is at least some evidence that might suggests Elizabeth began collecting these proverbs when a princess originally dedicating them to her father.[123] Mueller also argues that in these verses one can begin to see a distinct shift in the nature of the sources she has quoted as

[122] Elizabeth I, *Sententiae* as cited in *Elizabeth I: Translations, 1544-1589*, eds. Janel Mueller and Joshua Scodel, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), pp. 331-394.
[123] Mueller and Scodel, *Elizabeth I: Translations, 1544-1589*, p. 332.

being more representative of texts on good governance and the sources that Elizabeth concentrated on after 1560.[124]

This concentration on classical political texts affirms Elizabeth's assertion that after she came to the throne, she focused on "the study of that which was meet for government."[125] Mueller contends that this work served to promote an image of a learned prince to the world stating: "The *Sententiae* declared to the educated elite, both in England and abroad, that Elizabeth, still relatively new to her throne, was a learned, God-fearing monarch, receptive to wise counsel and dedicated to her realm's well-being."[126]

Elizabeth translated the proverbs into humanistic Latin and divided them into six different sections—on rule, on justice, on mercy, on counsel, on peace, and on war—all dealing with matters of political rule. Generally, her modern editors state that Elizabeth did a good job of translation, when the original source is known. However, often Elizabeth took a bit of free hand to make her "quotations briefer, of broader import, and germane to her political concerns."[127] She began each section with a quotation from the Bible (Latin Vulgate) and took most of her quotations from it.[128] Among classical non-Christian sources, Elizabeth quotes Cicero the most and Seneca the second most.[129] Elizabeth's arrangement makes her purpose clear that she was trying to demonstrate how she valued and sought wise counsel and advice for government. Elizabeth's excerpts from the *Sententiae* help to formulate a solid foundation of both intellectual and moral authority for her power and reign. For example, she began her section "On Rule" with six

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[124] Ibid., p. 331.
[125] *CW*, p. 96.
[126] Mueller and Scodel, *Elizabeth I: Translations, 1544-1589*, p. 332.
[127] Ibid., p. 337.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Ibid., pp. 340-341.

difference paraphrases from Romans chapter 13 that equated disobedience to her rule as disobedience to divine will.[130]

This idea of the governments being ordained by God and therefore making all people subject to them was challenged initially by Protestants such as the Marian exile John Ponet who authored his *Short Treatise of Politic Power* in 1556.[131] His work argued that subjects were not bound by God's law to follow an unlawful leader. Along with the Lutherans in 1524, Ponet's work was an early example of the later sixteenth-century Protestant resistance theory. Interestingly, Protestants cited Romans chapter 13 as their justification for disobedience while Elizabeth currently employed it here for her justification for obedience.

She further highlighted the value she placed on education by including the citation of Demetrius of Phalerum who stated: "Let the king procure and read books and writings about his kingdom, for things about which their friends do not dare to admonish kings are written down in books."[132] She also quoted Seneca stating: "it is a duty, not an exercise of royalty to rule."[133] Elizabeth also included the statement that the king should "not consider the commonwealth to be his, but consider himself to belong to the commonwealth."[134] This civic virtue of *amor patriae* was something that Elizabeth often highlighted as a justification for her actions.

Elizabeth also stressed the importance of the classical ideal of rhetoric of counsel in her listings, devoting an entire section to it. Elizabeth began her section, on counsel,

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[130] Elizabeth I, *Sententiae*, p. 346.
[131] John Ponet, [1556] *A shorte treatise of politike pouuer*…facsimile, (Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1972).
[132] Elizabeth I, *Sententiae*, p. 349.
[133] Ibid., p. 351.
[134] Ibid.

with eighteen straight quotations or paraphrases from the wisdom books of the Bible.[135] She then turned to thirty-seven different sayings of both pagan and Christian authors to continue to make her point.[136] She cited a variety of sources that counseled slowness on decision-making—a hallmark of her reign. For this point, she referenced the philosopher Aristotle who had stated in his *Ethics*: "one should perform quickly what has been decided, but take counsel slowly."[137] Even in her section dealing with war, Elizabeth returned to the ideal of counsel: "Of little value are arms in the field, unless there be good counsel at home."[138] Elizabeth utilized this classical ideal of rhetoric of counsel to demonstrate to the world that in the style that her contemporaries would understand that she valued the wisdom and advice of others even if the final decision was her own.

In the section, "On Peace," Elizabeth included the thoughts of Plato who wrote: "Nothing is more pernicious to the city-state than division, and nothing better than oneness."[139] She also quoted St. Augustine to lift up the value of unity writing: "by concord city-states are built, but they are destroyed by discord;" and "Concord in the city-state is what harmony is in music."[140] Certainly, this value of harmony in the city-state resonated with the value of the civic humanists. It also served to possibly influence Elizabeth's own thoughts and actions towards the religion of her people. From very early on, Elizabeth valued at least the appearance of outward conformity with her subjects as with the style and manner of the services of her country's church.

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[135] Elizabeth I, *Sententiae*, pp. 369-371.
[136] Ibid., pp. 371-379.
[137] Ibid., p. 371.
[138] Ibid., p. 386.
[139] Ibid., p. 187.
[140] Ibid.

As previously stated in Chapter 1, humanists had originally encouraged women to engage in translation as they felt it was safe and did not involve original composition.[141] Elizabeth's own translations here indicate, however, that there is a lot of freedom in how someone translates a text and often clearly identifiable biases behind his/her choice of words. Elizabeth most probably had Erasmus in mind as her guide for this work as he also published a book of *Sententiae* in England as early as 1540.[142] Another prominent humanist, Juan Vivès, also had a collection published in England in 1544.[143]

Elizabeth's other extant translation from this time is Seneca's Letter 107 from his collection of moral essays in *Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales*. The only surviving copy is found in the *Nugae Antiquae* of Sir John Harrington.[144] Prefacing this copy of her translation is the notation:

> This letter was given by Queen Elizabeth, to her servant, John Harrington, in token of remembrance of her Highness' painstaking and learned skill, 1567, and which he did highly prize and esteem in such sort.[145]

John Harrington was one of Elizabeth's godchildren and she sent him this translation when he was only six years old. Perhaps she gave this to him to encourage his learning and express her esteem for him. Despite the fact that it exists in only one copy, there is much internal evidence that supports Elizabeth's authorship. As Elizabeth's modern editors note specific word and phrase choices seem to indicate the Queen's authorship.[146]

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[141] Wayne, "Some Sad Sentence: Vives' Instruction of Christian Women," p. 20; See also Erica Longfellow, *Women and Religious Writing in Early Modern England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004; and *Women and Literature in Britain: 1500-1700*, ed. Helen Wilcox, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
[142] Erasmus, *Flores aliquot sententiarum ex variis collecti scriptoribus*, (London: Robert Clay, 1540).
[143] Juan Vivès, *Introduction to vvysedome*, (London: Thomas Bethlehem, 1544).
[144] Elizabeth I, *Elizabeth I: Translations, 1544-1589*, pp. 409-421.
[145] Ibid., p. 409.
[146] Ibid., p. 410.

For example, Elizabeth utilized the phrase "subtle scanning," as a translation of *subtilitas*. This somewhat free translation also appeared in Elizabeth's speech to Parliament in 1585.[147]

However, the subject matter of the letter is probably the most intriguing and compelling evidence for Elizabeth's authorship. This letter of Seneca, a favorite of Elizabeth's in her style of speaking, detailed the central credo of the philosophy of Stoicism, which was to endure all things in this life with a sense of mental equilibrium. At this time in England, the tenets of Stoicism were also very popular among the English intellectuals when synthesized with their existing Christian beliefs.[148] Certainly, one can argue that these sources may have influenced Elizabeth when she chose her own motto, *Semper Eadem*, (always the same).[149]

In her translation of Seneca's letter, Elizabeth is generally accurate. While staying mostly true to the original text, Elizabeth felt a free enough hand to find "idiomatic English equivalents for Seneca's brief clauses with their sharp turns of phrase and striking antitheses."[150] For example, she took the Latin sentence: "*effugere ista non potes, contemnere potes*" (to shun these things you cannot, [but] to despise them you can)" and translated it: "To shun these things, we cannot; to despise them lieth in our power."[151] Elizabeth also took a few of the overt paganisms of Seneca's letter and "baptized" them into Christian form. For example, Elizabeth: "substitutes "our Maker" for "Jove" and

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[147] Elizabeth I, *Elizabeth I: Translations, 1544-1589*, p. 409.
[148] See Earl Miner, "Patterns of Stoicism in Thought and Prose Styles, 1530-1570," in *PMLA*, vol. 85, No. 5 (Oct., 1970), pp. 1023-1034.
[149] It is of note that this motto was also one of her mother's. Elizabeth I, *Elizabeth I: Translations, 1544-1589*, p. 410.
[150] Ibid., p. 411.
[151] Ibid., p. 412.

"God" for Seneca's "fate" and "the gods."[152] This is interesting because later in Chapter 4 when I discuss her translation of Boethius' *Consolatio Philsophiae*, I note that she does not change the pagan to the Christian. Here, I believe this goes to the question of audience. Most likely, in this instance, Elizabeth was more careful writing to her six-year old godson wanting to impress upon him the importance of both humane learning and right religion especially given his youth.

In her role as patroness of academic learning, Elizabeth often addressed groups of erudite individuals. It was just as important for Elizabeth to present a powerful and stable image to those in academia and religion as it was in Parliament. In 1564, Elizabeth made her first trip to Cambridge University as Queen. This was still at an early time in her reign and it was important for her to demonstrate that she was both knowledgeable and competent. She addressed them in Latin *ex tempore*, and several different English versions of this speech exist most probably so it could have a wider circulation among the masses. As no autograph of the original Latin exists, I will examine the English copy of the speech preserved in the archives of the British Library, as the editors of *Collected Works* have put forward a persuasive case that this version maintains a style that reads like someone originally spoke it.[153]

Following the classical Senecan model, Elizabeth divided her speech into two sections addressing the stimuli for her to speak on this occasion. She cited these reasons as the: "propagation of good letters, which I much desire and most ardently hope for" and

[152] Elizabeth I, *Elizabeth I: Translations, 1544-1589*, p. 413.
[153] BL, MS Sloane 401, f. 38v; also cited in *CW*, p. 87, fn. 1

"your expectation of all these things."[154] She began with an *exordium* which expressed both her reason for addressing this learned group and her professed humility about the task. She began with the familiar trope of contraries stating:

> Although feminine modesty…prohibits the delivery of a rude and uncultivated speech in such a gathering of most learned men, yet the intercession of my nobles and my own goodwill toward the university incite me to produce one.[155]

In this manner, like her Parliamentary contemporaries, Elizabeth used her *exordium* to ingratiate herself to her learned audience.[156] Next, she contrasted the "modesty" of her gender with the great desire of her advisors and her love for the university. Here, Elizabeth mentioned her gender but expressed the dual vision of herself as she viewed her "modesty" as a virtue and not a deficit.

She also continued the familiar use of the epideictic style to praise her learned group stating that she felt that the "propagation of good letters" or humanistic learning was something which she wanted them to continue to promote with her blessing.[157] She then included several classical quotes in her speech to support her first reason for speaking. She drew upon the advice of the Athenian statesman, Demosthenes, declaring:

> No path is more direct, either to gain good fortune or to procure my grace, than diligently in your studies which you have begun, to stick to your work; and that you do this, I pray and beseech you all.[158]

She then compared herself to Alexander the Great who was amazed when he saw so many monuments in honor of his accomplishments. She then stated she hoped to "do some famous and noteworthy work."[159]

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[154] BL, MS Sloane 401, f. 38v; also cited in *CW*, pp. 87-88.
[155] Ibid., p. 87.
[156] See also Sir Christopher Hatton, "Sir Christopher Hatton's opening speech," [February 4, 1589] as cited in Hartley, 2: 414.
[157] BL, MS Sloane 401, f. 38v; also cited in *CW*, p. 87.
[158] Demosthenes, *On Military Organization*, secs. 21-22, as cited in *CW*, p. 88.

Elizabeth then mentioned that she wanted to imitate the achievements of Alexander . She did not describe what specific major work she would like to do, but stated that she wanted it to be "by which not only may my memory be renowned in the future, but others may be inspired by my example, and I may make you all more eager for your studies."[160] Here she stated that she wanted to accomplish this: "if Atropos does not sever the thread of life more quickly than I hope." She used this classical illustration of Atropos, who in Greek mythology was the fate who decided when a person had lived long enough. Then at the end of her very brief speech, she made an ostensibly self-deprecating remark about sparing her learned company from her own "barbarousness" in the Latin language hoping that they will drink from the forgetful "river of Lethe."[161]

In 1566 Elizabeth made a seven-day journey to Oxford and made a speech to the faculty in Latin. It is translated in a tiny volume which appears to be in the hand of John Bereblock, fellow of Exeter College and Dean of Oxford in 1566.[162] This speech was only a small part of what was recorded about the seven days surrounding Elizabeth's visit to Oxford. In a near contemporary account of the visit recorded in *Historia et Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis*, Anthony Wood reported that Elizabeth was met by various professors including Giles Lawrence, the professor of Greek. The professor addressed the Queen in a brief speech in Greek, and, afterwards, Elizabeth answered him with a

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[159]BL, MS Sloane 401, f. 38v; also cited in *CW*, p. 88.
[160] Ibid.; also cited in *CW*, p. 87.
[161] Ibid.
[162] Louise Durning, ed., *Queen Elizabeth's Book of Oxford*, trans. Sarah Knight and Helen Spurling (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2006); See also *CW*, pp. 89-91. The quotations from the speech are all from *CW*, pp. 89-91.

response in the same language.[163] According to this account, Elizabeth did not address the faculty in Latin until the very end of her visit.

Elizabeth's Latin speech occurred on September 5, 1566. For this speech, I will be discussing the later Latin copy which is in the hand of John Bereblock.[164] In her brief remarks to the faculty, Elizabeth took a Senecan approach in both its style and delivery. Elizabeth began her speech with the following exordium:

> Qui male agunt oderunt lucem et idcirco quia ego conscia sum mihimet male acturae casuam meam apud uos puto hoc tempus tenebrarum mihi fore aptissimum.
>
> Those who do bad deeds hate the light, and, therefore, since I am aware that I may deliver my own cause poorly in your presence, I believe for me a time of darkness will be the most suitable.[165]

Elizabeth continued with her favorite trope of contraries contrasting the "light" (*lucem*) with the "dark" (*tenebrarum*) in her opening. She also began in the usual and standard disingenuous tone for beginning a speech.[166] What is most interesting about Elizabeth's *exordium* was that she did not evoke a gendered stereotype of self-deprecation, but instead employed the standard and formal classical rhetorical ideal fitting the argument of this dissertation about the presentation of her "body politic."

Given the caliber of her learned audience, Elizabeth utilized this kind of *exordium* which ingratiated herself to them as a non-threatening and modest scholar. It is entirely consistent with the argument of this dissertation that she did not mention her gender as she was presenting her "body politic" as their prince. In her opening Elizabeth took a

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[163] Wood, Anthony à, *Historia et Antiquitates universitatis Oxoniensis duobus voluminibus compreheniae,* (Oxonii : E. Theatro Sheldoniano, 1674).
[164] Bodleian Library, MS Additional A. 63, ff. 16v-17r. See also *ACFLO*, pp. 125-126.
[165] Translation mine. Latin text available in *ACFLO*, p. 125.
[166] See also Hartley, 1: 33.

biblical quote from John chapter 3 and used it to make a bit of a disparaging joke about herself.[167] She went to state that she was unsure if she should speak before these learned men. She stated: "For, if I speak, I may reveal to you how undeveloped I may be in learning." (*Si enim loquar, patefaciam vobis quam sim literarum rudis*).[168]

After the *exordium*, she continued on to the middle part of her speech which she divided into two major sections in the classical style. The two divisions took the form of a declamatio dealing jointly with both the issues of praise and blame. Elizabeth's speech had been preceded by a disputation on the issue of whether or not one should take up arms against an unjust prince.[169] Certainly, one might conjecture as to whether or not these students would have dared to have such a discussion before the speech of a male monarch, such as Henry VIII. Elizabeth did not let this slight pass and stated in the blame/praise section that: "since I am Queen I am not able to give my approval" (*quatenus sum Regina probare non possum*) referencing the discussion on overthrowing a divinely appointed ruler.[170]

In the section of her speech for blame, she continues to cast it upon herself in regards to her own learning. She stated that:

> Sed alterum illud vituperare ad me proprie pertinent, quia cum omnibus notum sit me aliquam operam impendisse bonis disciplinis et longius addiscendis.
>
> But the other thing, that is, to find blame, extends to me rightly, since you have noted all things, that I have devoted quite a bit of effort to good studies and even longer to learning.[171]

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[167] "Those who do evil, hate the light." (Omnis enim qui male agit, odit lucem) Jn. Ch. 3:20.
[168] My translation. Bodleian, MS Additional 1. 63, ff. 16v-17r, copy; also cited in *ACFLO*, p. 125.
[169] *CW*, fn. 2, p. 90.
[170] Bodleian, MS Additional 1. 63, ff. 16v-17r, copy; also cited in *ACFLO*, p. 126.
[171] Ibid.

She utilized a *comparatio* stating that the efforts of her teachers were comparable to a farmer "placing a fruitless and infertile work into the earth" (*sterilem et infecundam operam suam posuerunt*).[172] This statement could also have the double meaning that she was childless as well. In this speech, Elizabeth consciously used contraries to express her professed inadequacy to address such a learned audience.

Her speech is essentially unremarkable in the analysis of the Latin. Generally, she chose simple words to express her thoughts and kept to an English word order except in cases of verbs which in Latin usually come at the end of clauses or sentences. Mueller and Marcus state that this copy is most probably the earliest, but still might have some evidences of later embellishments, perhaps, in the correction of any mistakes.[173]

## Elizabeth as supreme governor of religion

Despite the many challenges Elizabeth faced during her early reign, she experienced several political gains in the reform of the English religion. Elizabeth had negotiated with Parliament to pass a compromised Act of Supremacy (1559), an Act of Uniformity (1559), and much later a succinct statement of faith for her Church in the Thirty-Nine Articles (1571). She had also survived the first of her Papal excommunications (1570) when Pope Pius V formally excommunicated her on the grounds of heresy.[174] Elizabeth realized how important her image continued to be in these dangerous times, and how it secured and anchored both her political and religious authority.

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[172] Bodleian, MS Additional 1. 63, ff. 16v-17r, copy; also cited in *ACFLO*, p. 126.
[173] Ibid.; also cited in *ACFLO*, p. 125.
[174]It is of note that Pius' bull excommunicates Elizabeth on the grounds of heresy and usurpation of the head of the English Church. Pope Pius V, "Regnans in Exclesis," February 25, 1570, in *Bullarum Diplomatum et Privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum Taurinensis Editio*, vol. VII ed. Francisco Gaude, Rome, 1860, p. 551.

To help promote her "body politic" of a pious and divinely-sanctioned prince, Elizabeth engaged in the activity of writing of prayers. Elizabeth's prayers were published as two separate editions in her lifetime. In 1563, a small collection of her prayers was published in an edition entitled *Practiones Privatae. Regiae E.R.*[175] This activity was not unusual for lettered women of the time. In fact, by 1582, the demand was so great for the publication of devotionals by women that Thomas Bentley edited a collection of female devotional writers entitled *The Monument of Matrones*.[176] What distinguishes Elizabeth's prayers from those of other learned women was that Elizabeth held the position of ultimate secular authority as sovereign of England and governor of its church. As such, she was able to compose erudite prayers to help manipulate and project her image as a Protestant humanist prince. This desire to promote a scholarly and pious image is also found in Elizabeth's successor, James I. In 1620, he published the religious works *A Meditation upon the Lord's prayer*, and *A Meditation upon the 27, 28, 29 verses of the XXVII chapter of Saint Matthew*.

It is interesting that the publication of Elizabeth's first collection of prayers coincided with her recovery from her very severe bout of small pox.[177] Certainly, this would have been a frightening time for the English Parliament and people wondering who would succeed Elizabeth if she died. Perhaps, this prayer book was a way for Elizabeth to publicly express her thanks to God as well as reassure the English people that she was still in control. Throughout these prayers Elizabeth referred to herself as "thy handmaid" or "maidservant" very intentionally placing herself in the role of a dutiful

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[175] *Precationes privatae. Regiae E.R.* (London: T. Purfoot, 1563).
[176] Thomas Bentley, *The monument of matrons* (London: Printed by H. Denham,1582).
[177] See Elizabeth I, "Private Prayers of Queen Elizabeth at Court, 1563," in *CW*, p. 135.

Christian servant.[178] This is an inconsistent but understandable presentation of her "body politic." When Elizabeth places herself in relation to God, she very specifically uses the feminine descriptions. This also further evokes an image of the Virgin Mary which supports Levin's argument that Elizabeth could project power through both her masculine and feminine presentations.[179]

Elizabeth dedicated one entire prayer to thanking God for his healing of her affliction. In this prayer, she continued subtly to reference the idea of the divinely-sanctioned monarch in the style of the *Magnificat* and its tradition.[180] She stated:

> Behold here, most merciful Jesus, a subject not unworthy of Thee with respect to Thy power and likewise Thy mercy. Behold me, Thy handmaid, whom Thou hast heaped with immense and infinite benefits from my beginning years onward; who, descended from a king, raised to the dignity of a kingdom, Thou hast placed in the highest rank of honor among mortals, not by any means because of my merit, but rather because of Thy freely bestowed goodness and kindness toward me.[181]

In this prayer she also subtly references the idea of the divine right of kings. In 1597, James VI articulated this belief in the divine right of kings more fully in *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*. However, this was a theme that Elizabeth drew upon often to present her political image—the divinely sanctioned monarch. .

Here, Elizabeth used the idea of God's providence as a subtle and pointed reminder (and political tool) to Parliament and her subjects that she ruled over them because of God's mandate. She further attacked the critics of her realm as opposed to God's will in another one of her prayers. She stated that she would not be able to govern

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[178] This phrase occurs in "Prayers 3, 4, 6, 9, 13, and 15," in *CW*, pp. 136, 138-139, 142, 146, and 150. Luke. 1: 46-55.
[179] Carol Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King.*
[180] Luke 1: 46-55.
[181] *CW*, p. 139.

effectively "if Thou, most merciful Father, didst not provide for me (undeserving of a kingdom) freely and against the opinion of many men."[182]So while this prayer book served the purpose of, perhaps, genuinely expressing her gratitude to God, it also served, as most of Elizabeth's public acts did, both to underscore and defend her political power.

Elizabeth's prayers in this collection highlighted both her education and social status. She stated:

> Thou hast willed me to be not some wretched girl from the meanest rank of the common people, who would pass her life miserably in poverty and squalor, but to a kingdom Thou hast destined me, born of royal parents and nurtured and educated at court. When I was surrounded and thrown about by various snares of enemies, Thou has preserved me with Thy constant protection from prison and the most extreme danger; and though I was freed only at the very last moment, Thou hast entrusted me on earth with royal sovereignty and majesty.[183]

While continuing to stress the theme of the divine sanction behind to her rule, Elizabeth also established that she, indeed, received an education worthy of her rank and status.[184] She did, however, call her parents "royal" when her mother Anne Boleyn, while of nobility through the Howard line, was definitely not royal. Adding to this exaggeration Elizabeth was also not systematically nor with any degree of consistency "nurtured and educated at court." Furthermore, she wasn't released from prison "at the last moment" but rather at least a full year before the death of Mary Tudor. This is an interesting misrepresentation of her past, but demonstrates how she consciously tried to shape her public image in regards to what she perceived as deficiencies of her birthright and

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[182] *CW*, p. 142.
[183] Ibid., p. 141.
[184] For references to Elizabeth's belief in her divine right to rule see Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia*; and *CW*, p. 52, 90, 98, and 137.

youth.[185] This also is an example of a *comparatio* in that she contrasted the prison with her rise to sovereignty to heighten the dramatic effect.

Elizabeth further highlighted her education by affirming her blessings including that she had:

> prudence even beyond other women, and beyond this, distinguished and superior in the knowledge and use of literature and languages, which is highly esteemed because unusual in my sex.[186]

In fact, Elizabeth's education and knowledge of languages was not that common even amongst educated men of this time.

## Mary Stewart and the Northern Rebellion of 1569

Perhaps, the most pressing issue that Elizabeth had to confront during the early years of her reign came from one of her own relatives— her cousin Mary Stewart. Upon the death of Elizabeth's predecessor, Mary Tudor, Mary Stewart had claimed that she was the rightful heir to the English throne due to Elizabeth's illegitimate descent as the offspring of Henry VIII's schismatic marriage to Elizabeth's mother, Anne Boleyn. Therefore, in her eyes and in many of those of her fellow Catholics, Mary Stewart was the legitimate sovereign of England and Elizabeth was a bastard usurper. In many respects, Mary had a strong claim. During the months of September and October of 1561, Mary Stewart had sent her ambassador to Elizabeth to press Elizabeth to name her as the presumptive heir.[187] Elizabeth responded to these requests in the style of a political humanist to assert her authority and legitimacy to rule.

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[185] See Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning.*
[186] *CW*, p. 141.
[187] BL, MS Royal 18.B.VI, ff. 236r-265r; also cited in *CW*, pp. 60-70.

There are two manuscripts that are extant that deal with these initial negotiations between Elizabeth and William Maitland, the ambassador to England from Scotland. These manuscripts purport to be the recollections of Maitland most probably written after the fact.[188] Here, the issue of accuracy of the accounts is a concern. Certainly, one could question Maitland's motives about the way in which he remembered his encounters with Elizabeth. At the time of his writing England and Scotland were at least nominally at peace despite the fact that the Queen of Scotland had yet to ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh (1560).[189] However, the image that his recollections paint of Elizabeth is consistent with the other writings and speeches of Elizabeth during this time. In these writings Maitland portrayed Elizabeth as a prince who avoided being pinned down for an answer and who defended herself through the means of classical responses.

In this discourse he and Elizabeth discussed the "Treaty of Edinburgh" (1560), which was agreed upon by France and England but not yet by Scotland. Elizabeth protested to Maitland that Mary Stewart had continued to style herself the "The Queen of England" even though this treaty stated that she would relinquish any rights to that title. Elizabeth also dodged the answer to Maitland's request that she name an heir, possibly even Mary Stewart. Elizabeth countered Maitland's request with a series of Ciceronian-style proofs to reason out why this was not a good idea. She emphatically stated: "Princes cannot like their own children, those that should succeed unto them."[190] In this series of conversations recorded by Maitland, Elizabeth referenced historical proofs to demonstrate the precarious nature of naming one's successor too soon. She particularly

[188] BL, MS Royal 18.B.VI, ff. 236r-265r; also cited in *CW*, pp. 60-70.
[189] Ibid; also cited in *CW*, p. 61.
[190] Ibid.; also cited in *CW*, p. 65.

highlighted her own experience as the heir presumptive during Mary I's reign when she was viewed with much intrigue and skepticism. Then she appealed to God himself stating that the naming of a successor was comparable to trying to explain the mystery of the sacrament. She declared:

> What it is I have not much considered, for the succession of the crown of England is a matter I will not mell in; but as in the sacrament of the altar some thinks a thing, some other, whose judgment is best God knows. In the mean time *unusquisque in sensu suo abundant* [each one exceeds in his own feeling], so I leave them to do with the succession of the crown of England.[191]

This Latin proverb is almost a direct quote of Romans 14:5 in the Vulgate where the Apostle Paul is talking about making judgments on right things.[192] Here Elizabeth may have used this verse of Scripture to highlight the fact that everyone is convinced of the rightness of their cause despite how much they disagree. This use of Biblical and classical quotations to help substantiate a point or add proof in a speech was very common during this time.[193]

In her conversations with the Scottish ambassador, Elizabeth continued with a Ciceronian style and divided her answer into three distinct sections. She answered that to name Mary Stewart as her heir would be dangerous, quoting the Biblical book of Eccleisasticus stating: "It is dangerous to touch the pitch, lest by chance one be stained by it."[194] In the second section, she stated: "Secondly: ye think that this device of yours should make friendship betwixt us, and I fear that rather it should produce the contrary

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[191] Ibid.
[192] Rom. 14:5.
[193] See for example "Speech on nominating an heir and a bill of succession," [January 1567] as cited in *Proceedings in the Parliament of Elizabeth I*, vol. I, p. 137; and Richard Onslow, "Proceedings and Speeches at the close of Parliament," [January 2, 1567], Ibid., p. 170.
[194] See Ecc. 13:1. BL, MS Royal 18.B.VI, ff. 263r-265r; also cited in *CW*, p. 65.

effect.'"[195] In this section she used historical proofs to strengthen her argument that naming a successor can actually produce negative consequences of insecurity and not stability. Demonstrating her knowledge of history, Elizabeth referenced the examples of Charles VII of France and how his son Louis XI openly rebelled against him during his reign. She also related how Louis XI had to keep Charles VIII as an exile to prevent him from usurping power. Finally, she mentioned that King Francis I and his son Henry also lived in open hostility during their lifetimes.[196]

In the third section of her response, Elizabeth included what she believed to be the most serious consideration—the fickleness of her own subjects. She stated that the English people seemed to adore the one to come next more than the ruler they had currently. She declared:

> But the third consideration is the most weighty of all. I know the inconstancy of the people of England, how they ever mislike the present government and has their eyes fixed upon that person that is next to succeed; and naturally men be so disposed: *Plures adorant solem orientem quam occidentem* (More of the people do adore the rising than the setting sun).'"[197]

In this same speech to Maitland, Elizabeth mentioned the "historical proof" of her own tense position as heiress presumptive under her sister, Mary. Finally, she appealed directly to her classical learning to highlight further the folly of this course of action. She cited a well-known saying of Plutarch: "*Plures adorant solem orientem quam occidentem* [More of the people do adore the rising than the setting sun.]'"[198] In so doing, Elizabeth used a Ciceronian approach to answer this ambassador with logical proofs from history and classical sources to bolster her argument. When confronted with someone who

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[195] Ibid.
[196] BL, MS Royal 18.B.VI, ff. 263r-265r; also cited in *CW*, pp. 65-66.
[197] Ibid., p. 66.
[198] Ibid.

disagreed with her and pressed her for action, Elizabeth responded in the style of a political humanist to answer the arguments of this politician and in turn to project and sustain both her own political power and royal will.

However, Elizabeth did seek counsel with her own trusted advisors and inner circle regarding this issue. On September 23, 1564, Elizabeth wrote to her chief advisor, William Cecil, a brief letter entirely in Latin concerning the delicate and disconcerting matter and actions of Mary Stewart. By this time Elizabeth's frustration in this matter was evident in her letter. Elizabeth wrote:

> In eiusmodi Laberintho posita sum de responso meo reddendo
> Reginae Scotiae ut nesciam quomodo illi satisfaciam quum neque toto
> esto tempore ili nullum responsum dederim nec quid mihi dicendum
> nunc sciam inuenias igitur aliquid boni quod in mandatis scriptis
> Randoll dare possvm et in hac causa tuam opinionum mihi indica.
>
> In such a kind of Labyrinth I am placed by my answer that must be given to the Queen of Scotland that I do not know in that I may satisfy as I may not have given neither any answer to her for all this time nor may I know now what to say myself. Therefore, may you discover something good that I can impart in the written commands to Randolf [English ambassador to Scotland] and indicate to me your opinion in this matter.[199]

Elizabeth's Latin note is mostly unremarkable in both its arrangement and word choice. It is in proper Latin and reads easily almost as if she were speaking it. It also lacks any direct classical quotes or proverbs. Perhaps, the only reference to antiquity, besides the language choice, is that she described herself as being in a labyrinth. This does evoke the classical imagery of the structure designed by Daedalus for King Minos of Crete to house the Minotaur. This might suggest that much like those who entered Minos' labyrinth, Elizabeth felt that no matter which way she turned, danger awaited her around an unclear

[199] Translation mine. TNA, SP Scotland, Elizabeth I, 1564, 52/9/48, f. 113v. Also cited in *CW*, p. 131.

path. It is interesting that in this instance Elizabeth chose to return to Latin as a medium for letter writing for the first time since she abandoned it for English under the reign of her brother in 1548.[200] While this note did demonstrate her continued ability to write prose in Latin, she most probably used this medium to keep the bearer from reading it.

To further deal with this issue, Elizabeth authored several letters to Mary Stewart herself. On February 24 1567, Elizabeth sent Mary a letter concerning the issue of the murder of Lord Darnley, Mary's second husband and Elizabeth's cousin.[201] In this letter, Elizabeth demonstrated the classical ideal of the statesman giving advice to those in power.[202] Elizabeth expressed her concern for Mary to pursue the murderer of her husband. She was also concerned with the rumors that Mary was actually befriending James Hepburn, the fourth earl of Bothwell, who was implicated in the murder. Therefore, Elizabeth gave unsolicited advice and counsel to her cousin recommending that Mary should not:

> fear to touch even him [Bothwell] whom you have closest to you if the thing touches him, and no persuasion will prevent you from making an example out of this to the world: that you are both a noble princess and a loyal wife.[203]

Elizabeth ended with:

> Praying the Creator to give you grace to recognize this traitor [Bothwell] and protect yourself from him as the ministers of Satan, with my very heartfelt recommendations to you, very dear sister.[204]

In this letter, Elizabeth styled herself not simply as her fellow monarch's and cousin's friend, but also as her counselor. In many ways this letter probably expressed Elizabeth's

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[200] See Chapter 2.
[201] TNA, SP Scotland, Elizabeth I 52/13/71, ff. 137r-138v; also cited in *CW*, pp. 116-117.
[202] Crane, "Video et Taceo," p. 1
[203] TNA, SP Scotland, Elizabeth I 52/13/71, ff. 137r-138v; also cited in *CW*, pp. 116-117.
[204] Ibid.; also cited in *CW*, p. 117.

concern that Mary not make a hasty decision that would make the Tudor line look poorly as well as cause even more friction between the two monarchs. At this time, Mary Stewart was technically the unofficial heir to the throne so Elizabeth most probably did not want the next legal heir to discredit herself. Yet, her letter also served to reinforce the fact that Elizabeth refused to sit quietly while such events are occurring without resorting to the weapon of choice for a political humanist—the rhetoric of counsel.[205]

Later in that same year, on June 23, Elizabeth authored another letter to Mary after she had ignored Elizabeth's advice and actually married Bothwell.[206] Elizabeth began her letter in classical style with a Latin proverb: "*amicos res opimae pariunt, adversae probant*" (Times of abundance gives birth to friends, adversity proves them).[207] Her use of Latin proverbs was a common choice in letters and speeches of the day to underscore a point or evoke a strong sentiment.[208] For this example Elizabeth chose to quote Publius Syrus.[209] She could have been quoting this familiar humanist source or she may also have found this quote in a compendium of the day.[210] Either way it demonstrated that to make an effective point, Elizabeth relied upon her classical education as did her male counterparts in Parliament and academia.

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[205] John Guy "The Henrican Age," as cited in *The Varieties of British Political Thought: 1500-1800*, p. 14.
[206] TNA, SP Scotland, Elizabeth I 52/13/71, ff. 137r-138v; also cited in *CW*, pp. 117-119.
[207] Ibid.; also cited in *CW*, p. 117.
[208] See Edward VI, "Prince Edward to the king's majesty,"[June 10, 1546] as cited in *Letters of the Kings of England*, vol. II, p. 10.
[209] The Latin in this source reads "amicos res opimae parant, adversae probant." This is in contrast to Elizabeth's use of "amicos res opimae pariunt." This is most probably a minor mistake on Elizabeth's part as the verbs pario and paro are almost identical in meanings. See Publius Syrus, *Sententiae, Sententiae Falso inter Publilianus Receptae*, ed. R.A.H. Bickford-Smith, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1895), line 23.
[210] See for example Decimus Magnus Ausonius et al. *Dicta Sapientum. The sayenges of wyse men of Greece in Latin with the English folowyng.* (London, 1527).

Elizabeth gave more counsel and criticism to Mary suggesting that her choice of Bothwell as her husband was both hasty and unwise. Elizabeth stated:

> Madame, to be plain with you, our grief hath not been small that in this your marriage so slender consideration hath been had that, as we perceive manifestly, no good friend you have in the world can like thereof, and if we should otherwise write or say we should abuse you. For how could a worse choice be made for your honor than in such haste to marry such a subject, who besides other and notorious lacks, public fame hath charged with the murder of your late husband, beside the touching of yourself also in some part, though we trust that in that behalf falsely.[211]

Elizabeth again assumed the role as the elder humanist statesmen both in trying to convince Mary of her friendship with her as well as to project her extreme dissatisfaction with her recent decision. Certainly, this resonated with Elizabeth's political humanism in that she was concerned with the reputation that her actions would have if not done for the common good.

Eventually, the Scottish nobility rebelled against Mary Stewart forcing her to abdicate the Scottish throne in favor of her infant son, James VI.[212] In May of 1568, Mary fled to England and was detained by Elizabeth's forces being placed initially in Carlisle Castle, then Bolten,[Bolton] and, much later just before her execution, Tutbury Castle.[213] Even though Mary was technically a prisoner of Elizabeth, she did not cease her political maneuverings to assert what she viewed as her rightful claim to the English throne.

In 1569, all of these events culminated in a major challenge to Elizabeth's rule in what was known as the "Northern Rebellion" of 1569. This involved Thomas Percy, the seventh earl of Northumberland, and Charles Neville, the sixth earl of Westmoreland. This was an attempt to restore Catholicism in England and put Mary Stewart, who was

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[211] TNA SP Scotland, Elizabeth I, 52/13/71, ff. 137r-138v; also cited in *CW*, p. 117.
[212] Doran, *Elizabeth I and Foreign Policy: 1558-1603*, p. 20.
[213] Ibid.

currently under house arrest in England, on the throne as the rightful sovereign of England.[214] This rebellion was quelled by Elizabeth's supporters led by her cousin, Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon.[215] Hunsdon won the victory over the forces of Leonard Dacres despite being outnumbered by nearly two to one.

On February 26, 1570, Elizabeth sent a letter to Hunsdon to congratulate him on this victory.[216] She divided the letter into two parts: the letter itself and a postscript which in the original was most likely in Elizabeth's own hand.[217] She thanked him for his victory and expressed how she wished to reward his efforts with more than simply words stating: "But we mean also in deeds by just reward to let the world see how much we esteem and can consider such a service as this is."[218] In the postscript Elizabeth ended the letter with a quotation from Scripture and a final word of thanks:

> And that you may not think that you have done nothing for your profit, though you have done much for your honor, I intend to make this journey somewhat to increase your livelihood, that you may not say to yourself, *perdidtur quod factum est ingrate* (It is wasted because it was done for an ungrateful person).[219]

In this letter of congratulations, Elizabeth's exemplified the classical civic virtue of the exchange of *beneficia* (privileges and favors).[220] This idea of the public giving and receiving of favors due to important works and deeds was viewed by the ancient philosophers as a vital part of society. The lack of concern for *beneficia* was considered both ungrateful and disruptive to the fabric of a civil society. The Roman writer Seneca

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[214] For a discussion of the background to this rebellion see Krista Kesselring, *The Northern Rebellion of 1569: Faith, Politics and Protest in Elizabethan England*, (Hampshire, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
[215] TNA, SP Addenda 1566-79, 15/17/113; also cited in *CW*, pp. 125-126.
[216] Ibid..
[217] Ibid.
[218] Ibid., p. 126.
[219] Ibid.
[220] For a good discussion of this classical virtue see Miriam Griffin, "De Beneficiis and Roman Society," in *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 93, (2003), pp. 92—113.

wrote extensively on this subject in his work *De Beneficiis*.[221] Cicero also stressed the civic importance of this virtue stating that gratitude was "the most extensive alliance clearly visible men to men and all people to all things."[222] This outward appreciation and demonstration of gratitude was an accepted practice in sixteenth century England. Elizabeth's brother, Edward VI, recognized the importance of rewarding virtuous service to his trusted courtiers and advisors.[223] So when Elizabeth displayed the knowledge of the civic virtue of the exchange of *beneficia,* she was not only following classical models, but also those set before her by her humanist brother. Once again, these visible efforts helped to secure the allegiance of her subjects and establish her as a the projection of her "body politic" as a political humanist.

It was during the aftermath of the Northern Rebellion that Elizabeth authored her second collection of published prayers entitled *Christian Prayers and Meditations in English, French, Italian, Spanish, Greek, and Latin*.[224] Elizabeth's prayer book covers 172 pages and begins with prayers in English, three French prayers, three Italian, three Spanish, two Latin, and finally ends with three Greek prayers.[225] The variety of languages included alone could have served to reinforce the idea in the mind of her subjects that this, indeed, was a learned prince. There is also much internal evidence that attests to her authorship. These clues include the fact it was published during her reign, the use of her royal arms in the publication, an illustration showing her in penitent prayer with the

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[221] Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, ed. John Basore, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935), Bk. I.iv.2.
[222] Cicero, *De Officiis*, Bk. 1.51.
[223] See Edward VI, "Edward VI to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,"[November 26, 1551] as cited in *Letters of the Kings of England*, pp. 46-48.
[224] Elizabeth I, *Christian Prayers and Meditations in English, French, Italian, Spanish, Greek, and Latin.* (London: J. Day, 1569). See also *CW*, pp. 143—163.
[225] *CW*, pp. 143—163.

words Elizabeth Regina, and the references to the writer in the prayers are feminine. Mueller writes that "the frequent anglicisms are characteristic of Elizabeth's habitual practice."[226] The publication of a collection of such a variety of foreign language prayers under her name served to project her political persona of the learned and pious humanist politician who serves God as well as the state.

Since Elizabeth was dealing with the aftermath of a rebellion, the timing of this prayer book makes sense as Elizabeth would most certainly want to reestablish in the minds of her countrymen that she was their God-appointed prince. For example, in the preface to the prayer book, she explicitly stated: "O Lord, good God, Thou hast made me to reign in the midst of Thy people."[227] In this prayer she gave the credit and authority to God for her rule despite any rebellion. She continued this theme in her "Prayer to make before consulting about the business of the kingdom:"

> Thou sustainest and preservest under the guidance of Thy providence the state and government of all the kingdoms of the earth, and that to Thee it belongs to preside in the midst of princes in their councils.[228]

In her "Third prayer for the administration of justice," Elizabeth stated that she wore the crown of England because it "all has been a gift of Thy Fatherly goodness to me."[229] She also acknowledged that the crown she wore was one that God himself has placed upon her head.[230]

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[226] *CW*, pp. 143—144, fn. 1.
[227] "Preface," as cited in *CW*, p. 147.
[228] *CW*, p. 150.
[229] Ibid., p. 154.
[230] Ibid.

Elizabeth also included a prayer of her own subjects on behalf of her.[231] In this prayer, the supplicants should acknowledge that God was, indeed, the source of her rule and that they should support her as the very representative of Christ's rule on earth:

> Remembering always that sovereign rule is not hers, but that the governance of the whole kingdom has been given to her as heir to the kingdom, or rather as servant, by Thee as sovereign, on condition that she revere Thee absolutely, defend the virtuous, and seek vengeance on the wicked and lawless. Grant at the same time to us who are her subjects, mindful that she holds power from Thee, that we may be subjects not only in outward servitude, but in the inward service of our hearts, and may receive all her commands with zeal and with humility.[232]

These prayers served to reinforce the idea that her rule is both legitimate and true because it came from God himself. In the context of the unsuccessful Northern Rebellion of 1569, this prayer book also served a stern warning against other such uprisings.

Elizabeth further touched on humanist ideals by continuing to highlight throughout her prayers the virtue of the giving and seeking of advice from wise councilors. For example, Elizabeth asked that God would "Give us also prudent, wise, and virtuous councilors, driving far from us ambitious, malignant, wily, and hypocritical ones."[233] She continued this theme by asking: "Grant me, O Lord, help, counsels and sufficient ministers, just and capable, full of piety and of Thy most holy fear.."[234] Elizabeth also asserted that "Thou hast granted councilors, grant unto them to use counsel rightly."[235] In this way her "personal" prayer book depicted Elizabeth as the pious prince asking God for help in selecting the proper humanist advisors of the time. Elizabeth asked that these advisors guide her and her kingdom in the right ways of government.

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[231] *CW*, p. 161.
[232] Ibid.
[233] Ibid., p. 147.
[234] Ibid., p. 149.
[235] Ibid., p. 160.

Elizabeth's prayers in her 1569 prayer book also resonated heavily with Protestant leanings and beliefs. For example, Elizabeth alluded to the Catholic attempts to put down the Protestant reformations by stating: "Satan making every effort to put the earth into confusion and especially to hinder the course of Thy Gospel."[236] Later, in the same prayer she expressed her desire to be a part of the general reform of Christianity by stating: "May it generally please Thee to make deliverance and restoration of Thy Churches throughout the earth."[237] Elizabeth overtly stated her Protestant leanings writing that she desired to be:

> Thy instrument for replanting and establishing in this part of the world, where it hath pleased Thee that I reign in the name of Thy kingdom, Thy worship, and most holy religion.[238]

The image conscious Elizabeth did not solely justify her rule through the humanism of her education. She also attempted to legitimize her own power through her Protestant beliefs. In a very real sense, she wanted her rule to be inseparable from England's Protestantism. Certainly, this made sense after the Northern Rebellion was quelled. Catholicism had been reestablished in a few northern cities during that uprising. Therefore, Elizabeth wanted to assert that England's faith was indeed Protestantism. It is interesting that shortly after this edition was published, Pius V issued his famous bull *Regnans in Excelsis* (1570) formally excommunicating Elizabeth for the first time and absolving her subjects of any allegiance to her.

In these prayers Elizabeth presented the image of a divinely-sanctioned humanist prince whose God-given task was not simply to rule but also to restore the true faith to

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[236] *CW*, p. 146.
[237] Ibid., p. 149.
[238] Ibid., p. 154.

the people and the Church of England. She, in many ways, presented herself as someone chosen to alienate her subjects from their old beliefs. Elizabeth asked God to:

> Give me the grace to cleanse my people of all sects, heresies, and superstitions, so that Thy Churches under my charge may thrive and grow from day to day in truth of Thy Gospel to all justice and sanctity. May it generally please Thee to make deliverance and restoration of Thy Churches throughout the earth, to send workmen to Thy harvest..."[239]

Elizabeth used words such as "cleanse" and "restoration" to highlight the fact that she felt that she believed she had a divinely-appointed responsibility to make sure that "right" religion was preached in her realm—and by right religion she meant a Protestant faith.

Elizabeth presented herself to her subjects in the role of a religious reformer stating:

> God, my father and Protector, greatly do I feel myself a debtor to Thy Mercy for having called me early by the preaching of the Gospel of Jesus Christ to the true worship and sincerity of Thy religion, to the end that with the authority which Thou hast given me and with the zeal for which I am indebted to Thee, I might be made Thy instrument for replanting and establishing in this part of the world, where it hath pleased Thee that I reign in the name of Thy kingdom, Thy worship and most holy religion.[240]

This picture of Elizabeth as a humanist monarch charged by God to protect right religion in her realm served to secure and anchor her political power.

Elizabeth continued to discuss her desire to reform the religion in England in her "Second Prayer as a Christian and a Queen" stating:

> I pray Thee, my God and good Father, that as in part by Thy Grace I have served Thee in this according to Thy holy will, so may it please Thee to remove all impediment and resistance of unbelief from my people, and to inspire me from well to better yet, goodwill and ardent zeal; giving me efficacious means, apt and sufficient instruments, so that I may be able to do as I desire, uprooting every wicked seed of impiety, to spread, plant, and root Thy holy Gospel in every heart,

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[239] *CW*, pp. 148-149.
[240] Ibid., pp. 153-154.

> increasing throughout this Thy earthly kingdoms, that heavenly one of Jesus Christ, to whom be evermore honor and glory. Amen.[241]

Elizabeth ended her book with a prayer that continued her stated desire to implant some version of the Protestant faith in England:

> Father most high, who hast laid out the universe with Thy Word and adorned it with the Holy Spirit, and who hast appointed me as monarch of the British kingdom, favor me by Thy goodness to implant piety and root out impiety, to protect freely willed religion, to destroy superstitious fear by working freely to promote divine service, and to spy out the worship of idols; and further, to gain release from the enemies of religion as well as those who hate me—Antichrists, Pope lovers, atheists, and all persons who fail to obey Thee and me. With all these things, omnipotent Lord, favor me, and after death my kingdom will be the kingdom of heaven. Amen.[242]

In this final prayer she once again very clearly equated opposition to her rule to disobedience to God. She also made clear that her aim and mission was "to implant piety and root out impiety" and "to destroy superstitious fear."[243]

Elizabeth expressly justified her power and rule by her humanist scholarship. However, she combined this scholarship with her need to promote "true religion"—the Protestant faith. Despite Hunsdon's victory over the rebels in the North, this was still a politically tense time for Elizabeth. She needed to follow up that victory with the presentation of an image that reconfirmed her sovereignty to her subjects in matters of both religion and state. Therefore, the publication of this particular prayer book is probably best seen as a vehicle for the reassertion of that political authority through the highlighting of both her religious piety (Protestant) and her humanist learning.

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[241] *CW*, p. 154
[242] Ibid., p. 162.
[243] Ibid.

During the next Parliament after the rebellion, Elizabeth made a brief oration to open the session. While it was not unusual for Elizabeth to address Parliament at its closing, this is the only instance that she addressed Parliament at its opening. As Mary Stewart still remained in England, perhaps this was a visible method for Elizabeth to assert to her subjects that she was still very much in control.[244] Her speech was more formality than anything and was essentially a benediction:

> My right loving lords and you all, our right faithful and obedient subjects, we in the name of God, for His Service, and for the safety of this state, are here now assembled to His glory I hope, and pray that it may be to your comfort and the common quiet of us, yours, and ours, forever.[245]

This speech is obviously short leaving out many of the essential parts of an oration based on classical models. However, this speech did serve a royal and political purpose. In the midst of the times in which Parliament met, Elizabeth demonstrated by her royal presence to Parliament and the world that she was in control of both England and Parliament. While there was little to contest this, her presence may have been a way to assert once again her sovereignty.

During this time, Elizabeth also continued the humanist activity of writing poetry. Puttenham linked poets to politicians and lawmakers in his work the *Arte of Poesie.*[246] English classical education had from the beginning stressed that the composition of poetry was closely linked to eloquence in speaking and politics.[247]

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[244] See J. Neale, *Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments: 1559-1581*, (New York: St Martin's Press, 1958), pp. 177-180.
[245] BL, MS Cotton Titus F.I, f. 129v; also cited in *CW*, pp. 108-109.
[246] Putteham, *The Arte of English Poesie*, p. 5.
[247] Ibid. See also Cicero, *De Orator*, iv.17.

Elizabeth's brother, Edward VI, and her successor James I also composed poetic verses.[248]

This poem of Elizabeth's dates to 1571 and dealt with her own concerns when she was faced with the confrontation of the issue of her cousin Mary Stewart's flight into England. This was one of Elizabeth's most famous and frequently published poems during her reign.[249] In this poem, Elizabeth expressed her profound anguish and anxiety over having to deal with Mary's continued implications in plots against her. Elizabeth wrote:

Their dazzled eyes with pride,
Which great ambition blinds,
Shall be unsealed by worthy wights
Whose foresight falsehood finds.

The daughter of debate
That discord aye doth sow
Shall reap no gain where former rule
Still peace hath taught to know.[250]

This poem is significant as to how it fits into the development of political humanism during this time. David Norbrook argues that shortly before the reign of Mary I poetry was used openly to express frustration and dissent in matters such as politics and religion. However, he argues that this style of protest changed drastically when Mary became Queen. He cites such changes as are seen in Tottel's *Miscellany*, which was published in 1557 as evidence of this shift.[251] In this book of poetry, the rebel Wyatt is presented as more of a courtly lover than an aspiring rebel with Protestant leanings.

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[248] For Edward VI's poetry see chapter 1of this dissertation.
[249] This poem appeared published in Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie*, Harrington's *Nugae Antquae*, as well as several other manuscripts. *CW*, p. 133, fn. 1.
[250] *CW*, p. 134.
[251] David Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 51.

Norbook asserts that during this time the English focused less on "transient political issues" and more on "eternal human truths" due to an abundance of caution.[252] However, Scott Lucas takes a much different approach arguing that the poetry of this time, including the *Mirror for Magistrates*, must instead be understood in its own particular context. [253] Lucas argues that what Norbrook sees as poetry concentrating on other more "eternal truths" was actually political dissent in disguise. Therefore, Elizabeth's poem may be understood to be expressing a veiled but present political statement.

## Conclusion

Elizabeth's works during her early reign reveal many things about the political image that she wanted to construct and project both to her advisors and her people. Over the course of the years 1558 to 1572, Elizabeth's reign was faced with many threats and challenges to her rule as an unmarried female Protestant monarch. Despite challenges from Parliament as well as many religious leaders of her day, Elizabeth was able to construct a "body politic" of a learned and devout prince to legitimize and project her royal power and will. She also sought to combine this humanism with her desire to change the official religion in England to a form of Protestantism.

The next chapter in this dissertation will continue this exploration of Elizabeth's works. In so doing I will examine how she modified and adapted her style as a political humanist participating in the political discourse of the day.

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[252] Ibid.
[253] Scott Lucas, *A Mirror for Magistrates and the Politics of the English Reformation*, (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, June 30, 2009).

# Chapter 3:
# Elizabeth's Middle Years as Queen (1573-1587)
## Introduction

This dissertation has argued that the first fifteen years of the rule of Elizabeth I were crucial in instituting the political foundations for her reign. Early on, many of her detractors might have adopted a "wait and see" attitude expecting her reign to be as short as either her brother's (six years) or her sister's (five years). While Elizabeth's longevity was certainly a part of her success in establishing a firm hold of both her government and church, this dissertation argues that Elizabeth's use of her education and her use of her political humanism was instrumental in sustaining her power throughout this middle part of her reign.

These middle years continued to be a constant time of tumultuous challenges and problems for Elizabeth's government. Many of these problems were international in scope and involved the intricacies of both religion and politics. In France, the Protestant faction had gone from a situation of strength to outright persecution. This culminated in the massacre of the Huguenots in the streets of Paris on St. Bartholomew's Day in 1572.[1] There was also continued political instability in the Netherlands signaling the threat of war with Spain as the Dutch Protestants looked to England for both aid and protection. To the north, Scotland was in the beginnings of a potential civil war between the Catholic supporters of Mary Stewart and the Protestant supporters of her son, James VI.[2]

This chapter will proceed with a chronological look at select works of Elizabeth I set within their major historical contexts covering the middle years of her reign: 1573 to

[1] Doran, *Elizabeth I and Foreign Policy: 1558—1603*, p. 25.
[2] Ibid., p. 26.

1587. In so doing, I will argue that Elizabeth continued to project her "body politic" in the style of a developing political humanist who was gaining confidence in both her authority and the projection of that authority inside and outside of her realm.

## Marriage and the succession

Because of her increasing age and the fact that Mary Stewart was the next legal heir to Elizabeth, Parliament continued to press Elizabeth to either marry or name a successor. Certainly, Parliament wanted to provide security for England through the use of a royal marriage to help cement a political alliance. Most monarchs and governments of this time sought out marriages to help solidify political alliances. Carol Levin has argued that Elizabeth's attitudes towards this the issue of a royal marriage were more complicated than her claim that she simply preferred the single state.[3] Levin writes "For while Elizabeth claimed virginity as her ideal state, and eventually resisted all demands on her to marry, she also loved proposals and courtships. These were not only politically valuable to her, they also seem to have had some deeper emotional resonance."[4] This dissertation will examine Elizabeth's handling of the marriage and succession issue with an eye to how she projected her "body politic" in the process.

Certainly, as Levin argues marriage proposals had certain political advantages. To counter Spanish hostility and the claim of Mary Stewart to her throne, Elizabeth's advisors sought an early alliance with the French. When an initial match with the Duke of Anjou, the later King Henri III of France, did not work out, Elizabeth's advisors turned to

[3] Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*, p. 39.
[4] Ibid.

his younger brother.[5] This was Francois Hercule, the Duke of Alençon, referred to as Monsieur in many of the Queen's letters. Despite an age difference of twenty-one years, (he was 17 and Elizabeth was 38) this proposal of marriage was seriously undertaken by all the parties involved.[6]

Elizabeth wrote a letter to her trusted advisor and then ambassador to France, Francis Walsingham, on July 23, 1572 to discuss this match.[7] What most concerned Elizabeth in this letter was the ambassador's proposal that the French Queen-Mother wished her youngest son, the Duke of Alençon to be considered as a suitor for Elizabeth's hand in marriage. Elizabeth stated that Walsingham should very delicately refuse the offer on the basis of the age difference.[8] Elizabeth stated that if she accepted the match of such a young suitor after the refusal of so many other worthy candidates, "the absurdity that the general opinion of the world might grow to concerning this our choice."[9] The image conscious Elizabeth made it clear that she did not wish to be portrayed as fickle or silly in the eyes of her fellow monarchs.

Yet, an interesting turn of events occurred shortly after Elizabeth dictated this letter but just before it had been sent. The royal family of France sent the Duke of Montmorency, the French ambassador, some additional letters and instructions detailing their great interest in pursuing this match. Now, Elizabeth felt she had to amend her previous comments in her first letter that she sent to Walsingham and had to formulate a new political strategy in light of these letters. Therefore, on July 25, 1572, Elizabeth

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[5] Doran, *Elizabeth and Foreign Policy*, p. 37.
[6] Ibid., pp. 38-39.
[7] BL, MS Additional 30156, ff. 326r-329v; also cited in *CW,* pp. 205-209.
[8] Ibid; also cited in *CW,* p. 207.
[9] Ibid.

authorized the composition and dispatch of her second letter to Walsingham with revised instructions on how to proceed in light of the recent developments.[10] These two letters demonstrated not only the familiar and intimate style of Elizabeth in dealing with her own advisors but also some of her political maneuvering. Following the advice of Seneca, Elizabeth continued to practice her political strategy of delay when pressed to answer a question quickly.[11]

Elizabeth began this second letter to Walsingham with the same standard greeting.[12] In this letter, however, the question of Elizabeth's authorship comes into play. Since the only extant copy is from the seventeenth-century, it is difficult to ascertain just how familiar and intimate this letter actually was.[13] During the sixteenth century, monarchs often sent letters to ambassadors that were composed by their staff of advisors. At times, they might pen a post script in their own handwriting for extra instructions or to demonstrate a greater sense of familiarity. If Elizabeth had personally hand-written this letter rather than simply dictating and signing it after approving of its content, this would be a major departure from the practice of the time. Most likely this letter was composed by someone such as Cecil or another member of her privy council as this appears to have been her customary pattern.[14] At times, Elizabeth would add more intimacy to a letter by penning a personal postscript. For example, in a 1572 letter to George Talbott, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Elizabeth put a postscript and signature in her own hand demonstrating a

[10] BL, MS Additional 30156, ff. 329v-332v; also cited in *CW*, pp. 209-212.
[11] Seneca, *Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales,* book 1. XL.3.
[12] BL, MS Additional 30156, f. 329v.
[13] *CW*, p. 209, fn. 1.
[14] G. B. Harrison, ed., *The Letters of Queen Elizabeth I,* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1968), pp. ix-x.

greater sense of intimacy and familiarity.[15] Despite the fact that a majority of Elizabeth's letters were probably written as a compilation of her advisors, they still projected her royal will and image.

In her letter to Walsingham, Elizabeth proceeded to give him advice on how to deal with the situation of these new French letters essentially reversing her previous stance against the marriage—at least outwardly. She continued to tell Walsingham that she still felt that:

> when we think of this matter we find no other principal impediments but in the difference of the ages and the cause of religion. And as to this latter, which is the difficulty about religion, we do not think that such but, the form and substance of our religion being well made known to the duke, there is no such cause to doubt but by God's goodness the same may be removed to the satisfaction of us both.[16]

Elizabeth then proposed that Walsingham present the King and Queen-Mother of France with her request for the Duke to come to England so he and Elizabeth could meet personally.[17]

In Elizabeth's second letter to Walsingham, her counter request gives some insight into her strategy in a delicate political situation. England and France had just signed the Treaty of Blois settling many of their difficulties.[18] Elizabeth took the strategy of delay with her proposal to the French that the Duke come to England and that they meet face to face first. She realized that the French most likely would object to this request on the basis of two reasons:

> Because it is likely they will object that either this purpose of his coming over to us cannot be granted for respect of the honor of the king…; or that they shall

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[15] Lambeth Palace Library, MS 3197, f. 41r.
[16] BL, MS Additional 30156, ff. 329v-332v; also cited in *CW*, p. 210.
[17] Ibid.; also cited in *CW,* p. 211.
[18] Doran, *Elizabeth I and Foreign Policy: 1558-1603*, p. 31.

> doubt that this is by us in this sort propounded as thereby to increase our own reputation without intent to marry him.[19]

Elizabeth then gave Walsingham direct instructions on how to reply to any concerns that the French King and Queen-mother might have over the issues of religion and the proposed meeting between the two. If the King and Queen-mother rejected the proposed meeting on the grounds of lack of precedent, Walsingham should attest that: "this special cause can have no former example to rule this, but this all ought to be followed with all manner of means and respect set aside." If they rejected the offer because they were afraid that this would somehow dishonor the Duke, Elizabeth stated that Walsingham should assure the French King and his mother that the meeting could be in secret according to their own discretion. If they expressed the fear that Elizabeth had no intention of marriage at all, Elizabeth stated that Walsingham should attest that:

> we have no meaning hereby to gain any particular estimation to ourselves, but do plainly and simply seek hereby to procure the satisfaction of our own mind in this difficulty as touching his person, wherein no other of our own dare deal with us, nor we can otherwise be satisfied.

Elizabeth also left instructions if the King and Queen-mother were worried that a rejection after the proposed meeting might damage the Duke's honor. To counter this, Elizabeth stated that "the matter of religion may utterly be so left in suspense as the breaking off, if any so should follow either on his part or ours, may to the world be thereto imputed." In other words, if either one of them decided against the match after the meeting, each group of advisors could attribute it to religious reasons saving face for

[19] BL, MS Additional 30156, ff. 329v-332v; also cited in *CW,* p. 211. All subsequent citations are from this source, pp. 211-212.

everyone. In this way Elizabeth left detailed instructions for any possible answer to her request relying on Walsingham's judgment on which way to proceed.

However, the question of motives is an important one in this situation. Susan Doran argues that Elizabeth's maneuvering in this matter was totally political and diplomatic without any interest in the possibility of a marriage with the Duke. She writes: "For her part, Elizabeth allowed the matrimonial talks to continue in order to salvage something of the friendship accorded at Blois."[20] Doran states that Elizabeth had to deal with the possibility of pushing the French towards Spain with a refusal and the possibility that the French might reinforce the pro-Marian party in Scotland.[21] While the extant letters between Elizabeth and Alençon suggest that there was at least some genuine affection between Elizabeth and the Duke, Doran states that this whole affair was a "master-piece of protracted dalliance."[22]

Elizabeth's actions in this matter to preserve the friendship between France and England, did demonstrate the civic virtue of *amor patriae*. However, it also fits quite well into Levin's assessment of Elizabeth's ambiguous and at times contradictory views on marriage.[23] So, regardless of Elizabeth's true intentions, this "dalliance" served a purpose for both Queen and country.[24]

When the French match did not progress, the Lord Speaker, Robert Bell, presented another petition asking Elizabeth to consider marriage. While his speech on this matter is not extant, we do have the benefit of both the reply of Elizabeth's Lord

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[20] Susan Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony: the courtships of Elizabeth I*, (London: Routledge, 1996), p.138.
[21] Ibid., pp. 138-139.
[22] Ibid., p. 130.
[23] Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*, p. 39.
[24] Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony*, p. 130.

Keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon,[25] as well as that of Elizabeth herself.[26] The MP's were most probably concerned that if Elizabeth died without an heir of her own, Mary Stewart, a Catholic, was the next legitimate heir. As Parliament drew to a close, Elizabeth's Lord Keeper, Sir Nicolas Bacon, addressed the members and their concerns, but Elizabeth interrupted his lengthy speech to speak for herself. As monarch, Elizabeth made it a habit to close Parliament personally with an oration,[27] which was a departure from previous monarchs save for the occasional speeches of her father, Henry VIII.[28]

Elizabeth's speech had many features of the Ciceronian style.[29] She began this speech with an *exordium* which included the standard device of professing counterfeit humility at the task of addressing such a group of persons.[30] She stated:

> Do I see God's most sacred, holy Word and text of holy Writ drawn to so divers senses, being never so precisely taught, and shall I hope that my speech can pass forth through so many ears without mistaking, where so many ripe and divers wits do ofter bend themselves to conster [construe the meaning] than attain the perfect understanding? If any look for eloquence, I shall deceive their hope; If some think I can match their gift, which spake before, they hold an open heresy.[31]

In classical and Parliamentary style Elizabeth expressed false modesty stating that she had no hope of matching any of the eloquence of the speakers of this session.

After the *exordium*, Elizabeth divided her oration into two major sections as a classical speaker would: one dealt with the prosperity of her reign and the other was her

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[25] Sir Nicholas Bacon, "Lord Keeper's speech at close of session," [March 15, 1576} as cited in Hartley 1: 462-470.
[26] Hartley 1: 471-475.
[27] Elizabeth made closing speeches in 1567, 1576, 1585, 1593, and 1601.
[28] Henry VIII was not prolific in his speeches before Parliament, but did on December 24, 1545 make a rare speech to close the session. See M. A. Tierney, ed., *Dodd's Church History of England*., Vol. I. (London: Charles Dolman, 1839), pp. 451-4.
[29] *CW*, p. 167-171.
[30] For an example of this see Sir Ralph Sadler, "Sir Ralph Sadler's Speech on the Succession," [1562], as cited in Hartley, 1: 87.
[31] *CW*, p. 168.

answer to the Speaker's petition that she seek a marriage. While she addressed two different issues in this speech, she united both of them with the theme of whether or not she should trust man's wisdom (in this case Parliament's) or God's. This is another example of Elizabeth's prolific use of the classical device of the *comparatio*. Elizabeth set the stage for her answer by appealing to the proof of the success and peace of her reign as evidence of the soundness of her policies. However, she was careful to attribute her success to "divine providence."[32] This was a strategic way of equating her own successful strategies to the overt evidence of God's favor. Elizabeth continued with the "pathetic proof" of the "assured zeal amongst my faithful subjects," reminding Parliament that the people held her in great esteem. She contrasted her popularity with how difficult it was for a prince to govern "so long time without great offense, much mislike, or common grudge?"[33] Elizabeth maintained that she still had the good will of the people which in her mind proved her methods and policies as correct and divinely-sanctioned.

The first part of Elizabeth's *comparatio* was Parliament's advice to align England internationally with foreign nations through the use of a royal marriage. She stated that she had often been advised to:

> link myself in league and fast alliance with great princes to purchase friends on every side by worldly means, and there repose the trust of my assured strength where force could never want to give assistance. Was I to seek it, to man's outward judgment this must needs be thought the safest course.[34]

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[32] *CW*, p. 168.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid., p. 169.

Elizabeth then linked this with the second part of her *comparatio* which she stated was what she sought instead. Instead of the "safest course," Elizabeth stated her goal was to seek "truth without respect, reposing my assured stay in God's most mighty grace with full assurance."[35] In this way, she utilized a "pathetic proof" of both God's providence as well as her own diplomatic skill in the matter. She ended her statement to them: "Thus I began, thus I proceed, and thus I hope to end." To justify her answer, Elizabeth stood upon the "historical proof" of the past seventeen years of her reign as evidence that she had made the right choices.

In the second part of her speech, Elizabeth utilized another *comparatio* contrasting the seeking of foreign alliances (which she thought was bad advice) with Lord Speaker Bell's current petition that demanded she now seek a marriage (which she also felt was bad advice). Elizabeth reminded the Speaker and members that she would not give into what she deemed as man's wisdom. She stated:

> If I were a milkmaid with a pail on mine arm, whereby my private person might be little set by, I would not forsake that single state to match myself with the greatest monarch.[36]

This is an especially interesting choice of illustration as it mirrors a story from classical antiquity. Elizabeth may very well be referring to one of the fables written by the Greek story-teller Aesop.[37] She also may have been using this as a *comparatio* to remind Parliament that she was not a "milkmaid" but their "prince."

In her reply, Elizabeth further mentioned that the Speaker had reminded her to take note of her own mortality for the good of the nation. However, Elizabeth countered

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[35] *CW*, p. 169.
[36] Ibid., p. 170.
[37] See "The Milkmaid and her Pail," in *Aesop's Fables,* ed. Jerry Pinkney, (New York: SeaStar Books, 2000), p. 35.

in a Ciceronian fashion with the appeal to the "pathetic proof" of her seeking God's will. She reassured her audience that she firmly believed that she would take care of England's security as she had in the past. In this speech, Elizabeth used what she saw as the effectiveness of her policies—the seventeen years of her reign—as an "historical proof." She further warned her audience that their efforts to plan for her succession could actually compromise the nation's current prosperity and safety. She declared:

> But let good heed be taken lest in reaching too far after future good, you peril not the present, or begin to quarrel and fall by dispute together by the ears before it be decided who shall wear my crown.[38]

Elizabeth then ended her speech with a familiar classical and self-deprecating reference wishing that they would all drink of "Lethe's flood" so that they might forget all of what was said.[39]

During this time, Alençon led a military expedition into the Netherlands as a buffer to any possible Spanish attack of the French.[40] He then sought England's aid for his endeavors, quite possibly thinking that Elizabeth's personal affection for him would override any doubts she might have. In 1583, he sent several letters to Elizabeth seeking immediate aid. Elizabeth responded to his repeated requests in a letter on September 10, 1583.[41] She began with some introductory thanks for his "letters entirely full of affection and assurance of the continuance of the same forever."[42] After this brief and warm introduction, she went to what she perceived as the main crux of his letters and possibly

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[38] *CW*, p. 170.
[39] Ibid., p. 171.
[40] At this point in time Francois Hercule, the Duke of Alençon, had assumed the title of his brother, Henri III, and was now known as the Duke of Anjou. However, to avoid confusion , I will continue to reference the older title in regards to Hercule.
[41] *CW*, pp. 259-260.
[42] Ibid., p. 259.

his affection—the desire for English aid to his military expedition. She stated that after his ambassador delivered Monsieur's good wishes:

> he tired me with language that seemed very strange to me: that you desired to know what will be the aid you will give for the preservation of the Netherlands, saying to me that you are assured by the King that he will aid you the same as I do. My God, Monsieur, how unfortunate you are to believe that this is the way to preserve your friends, by always debilitating them! Whoever they are who have given you the advice on this have thought to make a spot on our friendship, or to break it altogether in order by the same means to achieve their designs and reclaim you to their desire.[43]

Elizabeth responded in the expected style of a monarch when dealing with a junior in terms of age and rank. She criticized both his request and the logic behind that request. Certainly, given the copious correspondence between Alençon and Elizabeth, the duke may have thought he could influence her to support his efforts.

Elizabeth then went on to ask him why he did not first seek aid from his own brother, the King of France. She wrote:

> Do you not remember at all, Monsieur, against how many friends I have to prepare? Must I think so much of those afar while I neglect the closest? The king, our brother—is he so feeble a prince that he is not able to defend you without another neighbor who has enough on her back, or so weakened as to open a path for assailants? You will not esteem me so unworthy of reigning that I may not fortify myself, indeed, with the sinews of war while waiting too long for courtesy from those who seek my ruin.[44]

With the phrase "sinews of war" Elizabeth most probably was referencing a classical quote from Cicero's writings: "the sinews [source of strength] of war are unlimited funds."[45] Here, she may have been giving Alençon a hint that she did not in this case have

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[43] *CW*, p. 259.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Cicero's *Fifth Philippi*, Chap. 5 as cited in Ibid., fn. 4.

"unlimited funds." Elizabeth further asserted that she believed that Henri III actually had planned to "do nothing, thinking that I would have little reason for not giving."[46]

In the next section of this letter, Elizabeth stated that she realized many different persons were giving Alençon advice making it difficult for him to know which way to proceed. As an experienced monarch, Elizabeth recognized the value of having competent counsel. She wrote:

> As for you, Monsieur, I see you are so environed with contrarious persuasions and such differing humors—doubting so much and assuring yourself of nothing—that you do not know where you should well turn, as you have sufficient reason not to. Would to God I were skilled enough in judgment to give you counsel—the best and most assured counsel—and that I had the understanding, as I have the will, to do it. Then rather would I bring it to you than send it.[47]

While Elizabeth professed her own inability to give him any kind of counsel, in the very next sentences of her letter, she proceeded to do just that. Obviously, she utilized this professed humility as a method to help drive her point home. Elizabeth styled her sole piece of advice in a classical manner—a proverb. She wrote: "he is well worthy of falling who enters into nets: do not only take advice, think shrewdly—that is enough."[48] While Elizabeth often seemed to create her own proverbs, she may very have had Proverbs 29:5 in mind when writing here—"a man who will say flattering and counterfeit words to his own friend spreads out a net for his feet."[49] In possibly freely adapting a Biblical proverb, Elizabeth was following a common humanist convention relying upon sage sayings from ancient wisdom such as the Bible or Greek and Roman philosophy. [50]

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[46] *CW*, p. 259.
[47] Ibid., p. 260.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Prov. 29: 5, Vg.
[50] See for example, James I, "James I to Lord Bacon,"[1618] as cited in *Letters of the Kings of England,* vol. II, p. 151.

Near the end of her letter, Elizabeth used another proverb to describe herself in faux self-deprecating terms: "so long I will never cease honoring, loving and esteeming you like the dog, who often beaten, returns to his master."[51] Here, she most probably was referring to a common proverb of the day found in many forms: "I have redde, I know not where, these verses. A woman, an asse, and a walnut tree, Bring the more fruit the more beaten they bee."[52] Elizabeth ended her letter with another proverb stating: "God keep you from glozing [flattering] counsels and permit you to follow those who respect you more than themselves."[53] This advice was very reminiscent of the advice she once offered to her younger brother, Edward VI, when she compared his flattering counsels to squawking crows.[54] Elizabeth's advice also echoed the words of the Italian humanist, Baldassare Castiglione, who counseled that a good courtier was one who was "no lyar, no boaster, nor fonde flatterer."[55]

During this time of dealing with international alliances and possible marriage proposals, Elizabeth engaged once again in the humanist activity of translation. In 1579 Elizabeth presented her eighteen year old godson, John Harrington, with a translation of a letter from Cicero to a friend named C. Scribonius Curio concerning a political favor. This letter is found in Cicero's work *Epistulae ad familiares.*[56] According to Elizabeth's modern editors, there is much internal evidence for Elizabeth's authorship of this

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[51] *CW*, p. 259.
[52] G. Pettie, 1581, tr. *S. Guazzo's Civil Conversation* III. 20. A similar type parable is later referenced in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* "a Spaniel, a woman, and a walnut tree, the more they're beaten the better still they be." James Halliwell, introduction to *Shakespeare's A Midsummer Night's Dream,* (London: William Pickering, 1841), pp. 77-78.
[53] *CW*, p. 260.
[54] Bodleian, MS Add. C. 92 (formerly MS Arch. F.c. 8), f. 12v.
[55] Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*,[1561], trans. Thomas Hoby, (London: William Seres, 1561), p. 64.
[56] Elizabeth I, "Cicero's *Epistulae ad Familares* 2.6," as cited in *Elizabeth I: Translations, 1544-1589,* p. 425.

translation including the use of Elizabeth's favorite expressions such as "this my great care," "careful for," and "never so."[57] These phrases are unique constructions that are seen throughout the writings and speeches of Elizabeth, thus making this translation have an authentic feel to it.

Elizabeth may have chosen this translation as a gift as it echoed many tenets of political humanism. In this letter, Cicero asks his friend, Milo, to become consul of Rome. Cicero mentioned how Milo's acts were for the "people and the multitude" demonstrating the civic virtue of service for the good of the state.[58] In this letter, Cicero also highlights the civic virtue of *benificia* (favors) and *officia* (services). For instance, in this letter he writes:

> For it is a grief to an honest nature to ask anything where he hath well deserved, lest he should seem to demand rather than desire, and to ask a recompense rather than a benefit.[59]

Elizabeth had previously referred to the classical notion of favors and services in a letter to her cousin, Lord Hundson.[60] Elizabeth's choice of this letter echoed her stated allegiance to the classical principle of rewarding those who served well.

While Elizabeth was generally accurate in this translation, she still felt free enough to interpret many of the words and phrases to fit more closely with her own private ideas and thoughts. For example, Elizabeth rendered the Latin phrase: "*id agendum est"* (this must be done) as "Let this be our greatest care."[61] Elizabeth also translated certain of Cicero's words and phrases a bit more liberally, perhaps, to make

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[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid., p. 435.
[59] Mueller and Scodel eds., "Cicero's *Epistulae ad Familares* 2.6," p. 434.
[60] TNA, SP Addenda 1566-79, 15/17/113; also cited in *CW,* p. 126.
[61] Mueller and Scodel eds., "Cicero's *Epistulae ad Familares* 2.6," p.425.

this letter represent her own true thoughts and feelings about the context of the times. Elizabeth writes about "friendship" where Cicero speaks of "services" (*officia*) and of a "loving" mind where Cicero speaks of a "generous" (*ingenui*) one."[62] In so doing, Elizabeth tended to idealize and underscore the idea of the benefits of mutual friendship more than Cicero did.

The context of this gift may very well give a clue to why Elizabeth might have translated with such a free hand. In 1579, Elizabeth was still engaged in negotiations and correspondence with "Monsieur" (the Duke of Alençon). Her editors state that the timing of the Cicero translation may reflect the tension that Elizabeth felt in her own personal attempt to reconcile the two different worlds of her own relationship with Alençon and the sphere of political alliances between their countries.[63] In Cicero's original letter, he wrote to someone whose relationship depended on mutual benefits in the realm of politics. Here, Elizabeth may very well have been using her favorite technique of *comparatio* as she took the original ideal of a political friendship, Cicero and Milo, and through her own somewhat free translation compared it to the current friendship of herself and Alençon. Perhaps, Elizabeth was seeking to interweave in translation what she could not politically.

Levin also argues that Elizabeth's choice to remain single was not because of "some sexual or psychological inadequacy" but was a deliberate "political strategy, and one with considerable merit."[64] Levin argues that "unmarried, Elizabeth avoided the role of wife and the risk of being perceived as the inferior partner in the marriage

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[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*, p. 65.

relationship."[65] This also fits well with this dissertation's argument that Elizabeth desired to present a strong image of a learned prince and not a secondary "princess" in order to legitimize and defend her rule.

## Religious reforms

During the time of her middle reign, Elizabeth had to confront the issue of just how far to reform the Church of England. While Elizabeth had made some early strides in the reformation of English religion—an Act of Supremacy (1559), an Act of Uniformity (1559), and later a succinct statement of faith for her Church in the Thirty-Nine Articles (1571), there was still much that was debated. It was during this time of continued discussions on the reformation of religion that Elizabeth engaged in the humanist activity of writing poetry, much of which consisted of prayers.

Perhaps the most politically significant poem from this time comes in the form of a single verse exchange, or answer poem, between Elizabeth I and Paul Melissus, the poet laureate of the court of the Emperor Maximillian II.[66] This form of poetic exchange became popular between suitors, political allies and foes, or simply poets wishing to draw some attention to their own ideas. This was where the author wrote a poem to someone and then he/she responded back in similar verse. Puttenham advocated that poetry was a proper medium for political discussions as he stated poets were the first lawmakers. He wrote:

> And for that they [Poets] were aged and graue men, and of much wifedome and experience in th' affaires of the world, they were the firft lawmakers to the people, and the firft polititiens, deuifing all expedient meanes for th'eftablifhment of Common wealth, to hold and containe the people in order and duety by force

[65] Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King,* p. 65.
[66] *CW*, pp. 301-302.

> and vertue of good and wholefome lawes, made for the preferuation of the publique peace and tranquillitie.[67]

The poetic exchange between Elizabeth and Melissus was written around the year 1577. This was during Melissus' journey to England to seek support from Elizabeth for the efforts of the then Protestant, Henry of Navarre, in France.[68] Melissus had previously authored two Latin poems of praise to Elizabeth in 1575 and later six more in 1580. As this was poetic dialogue used for political purposes and negotiations, it fit well within Puttenham's recommended uses of poetry. While this style of poetic dialogue was new to Elizabeth, it was typical of the times.[69]

In this poetic exchange, Elizabeth responded in verse to Melissus' poem from 1577. Melissus later took her single reply and published it together with his verse as one poem.[70] In his opening, Melissus wrote:

Not books alone I give and consecrate:
Myself I offer, goddess to your genius.
Known as a German man of Frankish stock,
I place myself beneath your royal yoke.
Make me your bondsman, lady and be mistress
To a freeborn slave who ever sings your praises.
Could freedom be of such great worth to any
That he'd refuse such patron's noble chains?[71]

Elizabeth responded:

Welcome your song, most welcome your gift, Melissus—
More welcome its sweet image of your spirit.
But what cause moves you so, what urge impels you,
That you, a free man, wish to be a slave?
Tis not our custom poets to mure up,

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[67] Puttenham, *Arte of Poesie*, p. 9.
[68] *CW*, pp. 301-302.
[69] See Arthur Marotti, *Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance Lyric* , (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995).
[70] *CW*, pp. 301-302.
[71] Ibid.

Or cause them suffer the least loss of rights.
Rather that you would be freed, your patroness
Loosing the bonds that held you as a servant.
But you are prince of poets, I, a subject
To a poet when you choose me as the theme
Of your high song. What king would shame to cherish
A poet who, from demigods, makes us gods?[72]

Melissus may have hoped that his verses of praise might sway Elizabeth to giving a more attentive ear to his plea for the support of the French King Henry of Navarre.

One of the most convincing pieces of supporting evidence that Elizabeth used her humanist education, specifically poetry, to project her power and image comes in the form of a sonnet from James VI of Scotland. Recently, Peter Herman has brought to light this sonnet that James VI wrote to Elizabeth I in 1586.[73] Herman states that around the time of 1570, that the "rhetoric of love became deeply entwined with the rhetoric of politics" in the court of Elizabeth I.[74] He writes that James VI realized this and, therefore, penned a personal sonnet in order to ingratiate himself with Elizabeth politically. However, Herman argues that this sonnet actually had the reverse effect because James' use of symbols and imagery "implicitly figures her as an *inferior*, the bow to James' archer, the water to James' smith, the subservient wife to James as husband."[75] Despite the failure of James' sonnet or Melissus' poem to influence Elizabeth, their actions demonstrate that they understood that to deal politically with Elizabeth was to appeal to her humanist education.

During this time, Elizabeth also wrote several prayers. In these prayers she presented herself as the divinely-sanctioned monarch seeking to establish "true" religion

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[72] *CW*, p. 302.
[73] Herman, "Authorship and the Royal 'I'," pp. 1495-96.
[74] Ibid., p. 1499.
[75] Ibid., p. 1501.

in England. These extant works consist of one prayer to solemnize the Treaty of Bristol,[76] and six prayers collected in a tiny book dating from 1579-82.[77] Most certainly, Elizabeth realized that any of her literary works would be collected and published during her reign. Therefore, any of her humanist writings must be understood in appealing to a wide audience of both the English people as well as foreign governments. After the passage of the 1559 Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy, the *Book of Common Prayer* was made the formal standard for worship books in churches. However, private books of prayer and devotion were certainly popular as over eighty prayer books were published during Elizabeth's reign.[78] Therefore, Elizabeth's publication of a set of prayers was not unusual and served to promote her desire image of a learned and devout Queen.

In this group of prayers, the issue of authorship must be discussed. While it is impossible to know for certain that Elizabeth herself penned these prayers in the languages of English, French, Italian, Latin, and Greek, it is reasonable to assume that her royal humanist education included study in these languages. Regardless, as they purport to be from the Queen, they continue to project the image of the learned and devout prince.

Throughout these prayers she concentrated on three major themes: casting herself in the role of God's handmaid, projecting the idea of her role in reforming the Church of England, and affirming the value of the classical ideal of rhetoric of counsel. As discussed in the previous chapter, Elizabeth's predilection to cast herself in the image of

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[76] *CW*, pp. 310-311.
[77] BL, Facsimile 218, sigs. 3r-36r; also cited in *CW*, pp. 311-321.
[78] Colin B. Atkinson and Jo B. Atkinson, "Anne Wheathill's *A Handful of Holesome (though Homelie) Hearbs* (1584): The First English Gentlewoman's Prayer Book," in *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 27, No. 3, (Autumn, 1996), p. 659.

God's handmaid began early in her reign. Here, Elizabeth returned to that iconic imagery and enhanced it.

In the first English prayer, Elizabeth began with a supplication for God to "hear the most humble voice of Thy handmaid."[79] In her Latin prayer Elizabeth again referenced this imagery stating:

> Da mihi ancillae tuae cor docile, vt sciam quid acceptum sit coram te: mitte de celo spiritum sapientiae et illius ductu cor meum rege.
>
> Give a responsive heart to me thy handmaid, so that I may know what is acceptable in your presence: Send from heaven the spirit of thy wisdom and rule my heart with its leading.[80]

Elizabeth used this metaphor to cast herself not only as someone who was divinely-sanctioned by God, but also as someone who constantly sought after his will for her people. She wrote: "Thy word is my teacher."[81] In her Greek prayer, Elizabeth continued with this representation writing:

> But whenever I consider again Thy mighty hand, the magnitude and the continuance of Thy help given unto me, I again take up my meditations and in these I become more lighthearted—they make me hope.[82]

She then stressed how God had preserved her from her enemies in order to rule: "Thou hast raised me to the royal throne of this sovereignty and dost not cease to preserve me in it." She then asked that God "be an ally and partaker with me, directing in peace the life of my people and myself."[83]

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[79] *CW*, p. 311.
[80] Translation mine. Latin text from *ACFLO*, p. 49.
[81] *CW*, p. 317.
[82] Ibid., p. 319.
[83] Ibid.

Elizabeth ended her prayer book with a second English prayer that highlighted both the theme of being God's handmaid as well as her special role in preserving the English Church. She began this prayer:

> O Lord God, Father everlasting, which reignest over the kingdoms of men and givest them at Thy pleasure, which of Thy great mercy hast chosen me Thy servant and Thy handmaid to feed Thy people and Thine inheritance.[84]

Elizabeth credited God's will with her rise to the throne making any kind of criticism against her or her claim to the throne a direct criticism of God's will. She stated in this same prayer: "I acknowledge, O my King, without Thee my throne is unstable, my seat unsure, my kingdom tottering, my life uncertain."[85] She acknowledged that God's judgments awaited those who opposed his will, and with that—her rule. She ended this prayer with an obvious reference to Psalm 50 stating:

> Create therefore in me, O Lord, a new heart and so renew my spirit within me that Thy law may be my study, Thy truth my delight, Thy Church my care, Thy people my crown, Thy righteousness my pleasure, Thy service my government, Thy fear my honor, Thy grace my strength, Thy favor my life, Thy Gospel my kingdom, and Thy salvation my bliss and my glory.[86]

This reference served to bring forth the powerful image of Israel's King David, one who was "a man after [God's] own heart."[87]

This effort to wrap herself in the iconic imagery of Biblical figures such as King David did not originate with Elizabeth. John King in his work, *Tudor Royal Iconography,* noted that Henry VIII had portrayed himself in the image of Old Testament Kings David and Solomon. Edward VI had also embraced this kind of religious representation. However, this seemed to be more of a Protestant preoccupation in the Tudor line as

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[84] *CW,* p. 319.
[85] Ibid., p. 320.
[86] Ibid., p. 321.
[87] 1 Sam. 13:14.

Elizabeth's sister, Mary I, did not use any of this kind of imagery.[88] Since this was something her father and brother had embraced before her, it was not surprising that the Protestant Elizabeth used this same kind of iconography.[89]

Building upon the handmaid theme, Elizabeth made many references in her prayers to the specific nature of the reformed theology of the English Church as well as her role in directing that reformation. She expressed these sentiments directly in her prayer at Bristol, marking the signing of the Treaty of Bristol between England and Spain in 1574.[90] Near the end of this prayer, Elizabeth stated:

> And that as I do acknowledge to have received the government of this Church and kingdom of Thy hand, and to hold the same of Thee, so grant me grace, O Lord, that in the end I may render up and present the same again unto Thee a peaceable, quiet, and well-ordered state and kingdom, as also a perfect reformed Church, to the furtherance of Thy glory.[91]

This statement not only demonstrated her confidence in her leadership of the Church of England, but also the direction she wished to take that Church. She stated specifically "a perfect reformed Church."[92] While she might have been referring to "reformed" in the generic sense of the word, this is unlikely. She most probably was referring to the Reformed theology of French Calvinism of the sixteenth century. This has credence because in the 1560's a possible English-German alliance failed to materialize as the

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[88] Mary I did however reference Virgin Mary imagery. See Helen Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary,* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1995).
[89] John King, *Tudor Royal Iconography: Literature and Art in an Age of Religious Crisis*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989); See also Robert Bast, *Honor Your Fathers: Catechisms and the Emergence of a Patriarchal Ideology in Germany, 1400-1600,* (Leiden: Brill Academic Press, October 1997).
[90] *CW*, p. 310-311.
[91] Ibid., p. 311.
[92] Ibid.

Germans believed Elizabeth was more sympathetic to the reformed wing of French Calvinism than the theology behind the Augsburg Confession.[93]

In the first English prayer of her prayer book of 1579-1582, Elizabeth affirmed her role of bringing the reformed faith to England. She stated that she saw herself as God's "instrument to set forth the glorious Gospel of Thy dear Son Christ Jesus."[94] Also in this prayer, she echoed many Biblical illusions to the Psalms, especially Psalm 50, continuing her comparison between David's unique relationship with God and her own.[95] Elizabeth went further in her French prayer in her separation from Catholicism labeling it "damnable superstitions."[96] She then equated the enemies of her realm with the enemies of God. She stated that they were: "adversaries to Thy truth and who rise up against Thy Christ, always plotting treason like workers of iniquity."[97]

Elizabeth also made some very overt references to her understanding of the theology of forgiveness. In her Italian prayer, she mentioned that no one would be able to stand in the presence of Christ unless his/her offenses were: "freely pardoned and the perfect entire righteousness of Thy Christ imputed to him."[98] She also mentioned that God had "ample treasures of Thy mercy."[99] She then referenced the idea of grace stating: "Therefore, my Lord, make me feel Thy grace and divine favors more than ever."[100] While these remarks by themselves may not seem to say much, together they resonate with the basic tenets of reformed theology. She mentioned God's grace, how it was

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[93] Doran, *Elizabeth I and Foreign Policy: 1558-1603*, p. 29.
[94] *CW*, p. 313.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid., p. 314.
[97] Ibid., p. 315.
[98] Ibid., p. 316.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Ibid., p. 317.

imputed to someone, and that it was undeserved and merited by no action of the individual received by only God's special favor.

In Elizabeth's Greek prayer she highlighted four different Biblical characters who had received the grace of forgiveness after repentance. She wrote:

> But this, again I know: that the magnitude of my sins cannot surpass the great patience of my Savior. For Thou didst not slip away from the woman, hardened in sin, who approached Thee in tears; nor didst Thou cast out a tax collector who repented; nor didst Thou chase away a thief who acknowledged Thy kingdom; nor didst Thou abandon him who had been a persecutor and repented; but after their repentances Thou wentest to meet them and didst change their standing into that of Thy friends.[101]

She mentioned four different characters all who had humbled themselves and then were raised up by God without any kind of deserving merit on their own.

Similarly, in the second English prayer of her prayer book, Elizabeth emphasized the role that the written word of God, the Bible, played in a believer's salvation and sanctification. She wrote: "Grant me, O Lord a listening ear to hear Thee and a hungry soul to long after Thy Word."[102] She ended this prayer and the entire prayer book with the classic Reformist rationale: "so shall Thy Gospel be published with zeal."[103] This is highly significant because Elizabeth most likely was referring to the publication of the Bible in the vernacular, the universal clarion call of Protestant reformers throughout Europe. This is supported by the fact that she began and ended her book with prayers in English rather than Latin, the "Catholic" language. In this prayer, Elizabeth preferred English, the vernacular, the language of her people and church. Once again, as she did

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[101] *CW*, p. 319.
[102] Ibid., p. 320.
[103] Ibid.

during the reign of her brother,[104] Elizabeth's work stressed that she valued the vernacular in regards to the religion of her realm.

Within this prayer book Elizabeth also made reference to the classical ideal of rhetoric of counsel and its role in her government. In her French prayer, Elizabeth asked that God:

> Donne bons aduis et conseils a mes conseilliers et fidelite a tous mes seruiteurs et a moy Souci amour constance et Discretion, a receuoir les conseilz de mes fideles seruiteurs.
>
> Give good advice and counsel to my councilors, and faithfulness to my servants and to me care, love, constancy and discretion to receive the advice of my faithful servants.[105]

In her Italian prayer, she stated:

> Fa Signor chio non sia confuse io sento hauere bisogno in questa mia vocatione essendo io debole e sogetta all humana ingnorantia: di consigli saui e pronto soccorsi in ogni tempo massima quando venissi ad essere combattuta d'impetuosi venti e fiere tempest ache soglion essere sogetti I Re Christiani hauendo per inimico il mondo assogettito a quel fiero lion rogente che circondando sempre cerca preda.[106]
>
> Lord, let me not be confounded. Since I am weak and subject to human ignorance, in this my vocation I feel the need of good advice, of wise counsel and ready help at all times, and most when I might come to be attacked by impetuous winds and wild storms to which Christian kings are subject, having as their enemy the world subjected to that roaring lion who goes about ever seeking prey.[107]

Near the end of her Italian prayer, she added that: "Thou, being most wise, canst counsel me in my every difficulty (*come altresi consigliarmi in ogni mea diffcultà*).[108] In expressing this classical ideal of seeking counsel, Elizabeth sought to legitimize and project her power as a political humanist uniting her church and kingdom under one

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[104] See section "A Switch of Language," in chapter two of this dissertation.
[105] Translation mine. *ACFLO,* p. 47.
[106] *ACFLO,* pp. 48-49.
[107] English translation from *CW,* p. 317.
[108] *ACFLO,* p. 49.

crown. Elizabeth's prayers and poetry served to continue to project the image to her people that she was both a learned and devout ruler.

During the Queen's fifth Parliament, which lasted from November 23, 1584 to March 29, 1585, some Puritan members of Parliament, such as Robert Beale, Lawrence Tomson, and Edward Lewkenor, criticized the state of the English church. [109] In his speech, Beale stated:

> The Lamentable face of the Church at this day is not unknown unto you all, how the shires and boroughs from when you come…are served with unlearned and insufficient ministers, and how that many of the learneder [sic] sort, for a refusal to a certain subscription, have been called up from far parts and examined by corporal oaths. Some have been put to silence, some imprisoned without bail, some suspended and deprived from their livings and ministry. All this is practiced contrary to God's word, the laws and customs of England, the Canon laws, and her Majesty's Commission Ecclesiastical, which is used as a cloak for these said abuses.[110]

Because of these accusations, Elizabeth addressed her bishops directly concerning the grievances about the state of reform in England. On February 27, 1585, Elizabeth gave a short oration to the clergy at her residence at Somerset Palace.[111] This speech resonated with some classical Senecan virtues. Elizabeth used the classic form of an epideictic oration focusing on a particular complaint. In her *exordium* she immediately took charge of the matter and set herself in control of the reform of religion in her realm. She then divided her response into several distinct sections dealing with first the complaint and its validity and then how Elizabeth recommended the bishops go about in their reform of religion.

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[109] Neale, *Elizabeth I and her Parliaments: 1584-1601*, p. 13.
[110] Ibid., p. 67.
[111] TNA, SP Domestic, Elizabeth 12/176/68, f. 215v; also cited in *CW*, pp. 177-181.

While Elizabeth stated that she dismissed most of the concerns of Parliament over religion as from persons who "meddle with matters above their capacity not appertaining unto them," she did recognize that a few "wise and discreet men" in Parliament had some just concerns.[112] Elizabeth stated:

> Again, you suffer many ministers to preach what they list, and to minister the sacraments according to their own fancies—some one way, some another—to the breach of unity; yea and some of them so curious in searching matters above their capacity as they preach they wot not what; that there is no hell, but a torment of conscience; nay, I have heard there be six preachers in one diocese the which do preach six sundry ways.[113]

Here, Elizabeth asserted that her bishops had not pushed enough for uniformity which she identified as the highest goal of her domestic religious policy.

Elizabeth used the next section of her speech to focus on how she wanted the bishops to enforce this uniformity. She stated:

> I wish such men to be brought to conformity and unity, that they minister the sacraments according to the order of this realm and preach all one truth; and that such as be found not worthy to preach, to be compelled to read homilies as were set forth in our brother King Edward his time and since. For there is more learning in one of those than in twenty of some of their sermons.[114]

Elizabeth further pressed her bishops not to bow to the influence of noblemen who sought to find like-minded clergy for their own areas of influence. She stated that many of these noblemen: "will be hanged before they will be reformed."[115] Here, Elizabeth underscored her belief that some of the bishops were so stubborn in their beliefs that they would rather suffer death than conform to the Thirty-Nine articles.

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[112] TNA, SP Domestic, Elizabeth 12/176/68, f. 215v; also cited in *CW*, p. 178.
[113] Ibid.
[114] The books of homilies included two books of thirty three homilies or sermons for use during worship services. See *Certain sermons, or homilies appoynted by the Kynges Maiestie*…[1547], Imprynted at London: By Rychard Grafton his moste royal Maiestie. Ibid.; also cited in *CW,* p. 178.
[115] *CW,* p. 179.

To support her contention that the bishops were not implementing the mandated church theology, she mentioned a letter that she had received "written by one that bare her no goodwill."[116] Elizabeth did not reveal the source of this letter, possibly a prominent continental Protestant reformer or writer. She did state that he criticized her reforms in England writing that he felt there was still hope for Catholicism in England as even her own Protestant subjects did not approve of her.[117] This was an obvious reference to the more radical Puritans in Parliament who wished for Elizabeth to reform the English Church even further in the direction of the continental reforms of Europe. She stated: "For I have heard that some of them of late have said that I was of no religion, neither hot [nor] cold, but such a one as one day would give God the vomit."[118]

In this speech, Elizabeth instructed the bishops to be wary of both the Catholics and Puritans in her realm. Summing up her thoughts on the matter, Elizabeth quoted what she called an Italian proverb: "From mine enemy let me defend myself, but from a pretensed friend, good Lord deliver me." This proverb actually came from the story of Antigonus, one of the Generals and successors of Alexander the Great. He was noted to have said: "From my enemies I can defend myself, but not from my friends."[119] While Elizabeth typified the style of Parliamentary rhetoric by her use of a classical proverb, at times she misattributed the source of her quotes demonstrating either a failing memory or lack of concern over the source.

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[116] *CW*, p. 179.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Samuel A. Bent, *Short Sayings of Great Men, with historical and explanatory notes,* (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1882), p. 541.

At the end of this fifth session of the Parliament, Elizabeth addressed the assembly to formally close the session.[120] Her speech was characteristic of a deliberative type of speech as it consisted in the discussion of policies and embraced the tools of both persuasion and dissuasion. She began her *exordium* by assuring Parliament of her goodwill stating: "My silence must not injure the owner."[121] However, two other manuscripts have recorded the line as "your honors" instead of "the owner."[122] Based on this interpretation, the point of Elizabeth's *exordium* was to tell the members that she did not want them to take her silence for lack of appreciation or interest in their efforts so she wished to address them personally. I believe that "your honors" makes more sense in the context and is attested to by more copies of the speech. In this way she began her speech with an "ethical proof" of her good will as a way to ingratiate herself to the audience before turning to the epideictic style of a complaint.

Elizabeth then discussed the matter of the state of religion in England which had been criticized by some of the members. In her response, Elizabeth called true religion:

> the ground on which all actions ought to take root, and being corrupted, may mar all the tree; and that there be some fault-finders with the order of the clergy, which so may make a slander of myself and of the Church, whose overruler God hath made me.[123]

Here, Elizabeth asserted that religion was the basis for every decision regarding the church. This was at the least a public endorsement of the value that she placed upon the issue of the religion of both herself and her subjects.

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[120] BL, MS Additional 15891, f. 148v; also cited in *CW*, pp. 181-183.
[121] Ibid.
[122] *CW*, p. 181, fn. 1.
[123] BL, MS Additional 15891, f. 148v; also cited in *CW*, p. 182.

The setting of this speech dealt with a discussion over whether or not Parliament had the right or responsibility to offer the queen unsolicited advice on church reform—an area Elizabeth was claiming was sovereign prerogative and not for Parliament to "meddle in." The MPs were not claiming that Parliament had supremacy over the church but rather sought to offer advice to the monarch on church reform. In regards to Elizabeth's view on the matter, she asserted that God had made her and not the members of Parliament the "overruler" of the English church. She neatly avoided the more moderate title of "Supreme Governor" that Parliament had given her through her Act of Supremacy in 1559.[124] Instead, after seventeen years of ruling both Parliament and the Church, Elizabeth stated she was the one who made the decisions. Certainly, this demonstrated that Elizabeth had grown in confidence in her political and religious authority. It was also an example of an "ethical proof" which appealed to the character of the speaker as validation of his/her words.[125]

After this ethical proof of her divine sanction, Elizabeth, addressed the members' complaints that many of the English clergy were still corrupt, uneducated, and requiring further reform. Elizabeth stated that these accusations slandered not just the Church but her as well.[126] However, she did acknowledge that some abuses might certainly still exist stating:

> Thus much I must say: that some faults and negligences may grow and be, as in all other great charges it happeneth—and what vocation [is] without? And which if you, my lords of the clergy, do not mend, I mind to depose you. Look you well,

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[124] *Elizabeth's Supremacy Act, Restoring Ancient Jurisdiction* (1559), 1 Elizabeth Cap. 1.
[125] See the following for an example of the use of ethical proofs in Parliament."Reasons for executing the Duke of Norfolk provided by Thomas Digges and Thomas Dannet," [May 31, 1572] as cited in Hartley, 1: 294-298.
[126]BL, MS Additional 15891, f. 148v; also cited in *CW,* p. 182. All further quotations are from this source.

> therefore, to your charges. This may be amended without heedless or open *exclamatio*ns.

Here, Elizabeth asserted that her bishops should not be publically complain about the church but simply, in her view, quietly do their jobs in correcting the "faults and negligences" of her church.

Then Elizabeth employed another "ethical proof" of her own humanist education and scholarship. She stated:

> I am supposed to have many studies, but most philosophical. I must yield this to be true: that I suppose few (that be no professors) have read more. And I need not tell you that I am so simple that I understand not, nor so forgetful that I remember not. And amid my many volumes, I hope God's Book hath not been my seldomest lectures.

With these words, Elizabeth stood upon her education to remind all the members that she would not be bullied intellectually over any matter, especially religion. Here, Elizabeth used the proof of her humanist education to counteract the implication that, as a non-clerical female mortal, she was not qualified to oversee church theology.

Elizabeth then continued with two more proofs to support her argument. She first employed an "ethical" and "historical proof" about her own safety stating:

> I know no creature that breatheth whose life standeth hourly in more peril for it than mine own, who entered not into my state without sight of manifold dangers of life and crown, as one that had the mightiest and greatest to wrestle with.

In so doing, Elizabeth claimed that she had placed her own personal safety and comfort at risk to follow after, once again, what she deemed as God's will for her and England. She

continued that she "regarded it [her state of being queen] so much as I left myself behind my care."[127]

Elizabeth then turned from her appeals to *amor patriae* to a section of blame towards members of Parliament: "And so, you see that you wrong me too much (if any such there be) that doubt my coldness in that behalf."[128] In this instance she may have meant *resoluteness* in religious matters when using the word *coldness*. Then she transitioned into the second section of her speech (as most classical styled orations had three points or less) which dealt with the matter of her own reforms in religion.[129] She began this section with an "ethical proof" concerning her own belief that she had reformed England's religion along the lines that she thought were God's will. She declared: "For if I were not persuaded that mine were the true way of God's will, God forbid that I should live to prescribe it to you."[130] In order to warn them of following what she regarded as their passions in regard to reform, she quoted a Scripture verse: "They that fear the hoary frost, the snow shall fall upon them."[131]

In this instance, however, Elizabeth once again misattributed the source of this quote. Elizabeth cited this quotation as being from the book of Ecclesiastes when in fact it is a direct English rendering of Job 6:16.[132] While Elizabeth continued to rely upon her humanist education to project her image, as she aged she appeared to betray what was either a rusty memory or lack of preparation. It is difficult to know how many of the

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[127] See the following citation for an example of *amor patriae.*Henry Jackman, "Henry Jackman's speech on the bill of subsidy," [March 10, 1589] as cited in Hartley 1: 474.
[128] BL, MS Additional 15891, f. 148v; also cited in *CW*, p. 182.
[129] See Mack, "Elizabethan Parliamentary Oratory," p. 36.
[130] BL, MS Additional 15891, f. 148v; also cited in *CW*, p. 182.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Ibid., fn. 7.

MP's would recognize this verse as actually being from Job instead of Ecclesiastes. However, her frequent errors in quotations demonstrates that Elizabeth at times most probably became overconfident in her scholarship.[133]

Now, Elizabeth compared the multiplicity of Parliamentary voices interpreting the Scriptures to lawyers dissecting the law (*comparatio*). As discussed below, she next told Parliament directly that she wished to direct a middle course for England in regards to religion. Here, she used a *comparatio* setting the "Romanists" (Catholics) on the one side against those who "tolerate newfangeleness" (Puritans) on the other.[134] She stated: "I mind to guide them both by God's holy true rule; in both sorts be perils."[135] While she did not explicitly state any personal thoughts on doctrine at this time, she stressed the inherent danger in allowing private men's opinions to guide the country's decisions. She declared:

> I must pronounce them dangerous to a kingly ruler to have every man according to his own censure to make a doom [judgment] of the validity and piety of his prince's government with a common veil and cover of God's Word, whose followers must not be adjudged but by private men's expositions. God defend you from a ruler so evil will guide you![136]

What is interesting about Elizabeth's justifications for unity in interpreting the Bible was that Henry VIII made similar arguments in his banning of the English versions of the Bible in 1543. In the mid-1530s Henry's government initially allowed English versions to be printed and published, yet in the Parliament of 1542-43 an act was passed stating that allowing English versions of Bible had caused:

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[133] *CW*, p. 181.
[134] Ibid., p. 183.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Ibid.

> Diversitie of opinions, sayings, variances, arguments, tumults, and scismes have been sprung and arisen among his saide subjects within this his realme, to the great inquietacion of his saide people and great displease of his Majestie, and contraye to his Graces true meaning good intencion and moste godlie purpose.[137]

Because of these issues of disunity in interpretation where "private men's expositions"[138] had been helped by a readily accessible version of the Scriptures, Parliament had enacted legislation to outlaw vernacular translations of the Bible based on similar arguments that Elizabeth was now making. This serves to support Brad Gregory's argument in *Salvation at Stake* that the Protestant call for *sola scriptura* was not unifying, but actually a divisive principle.[139]

## Foreign affairs

Elizabeth also utilized her projection of her "body politic" in the style of a classical political humanist when dealing with interactions that reached outside of her realm. On June 29, 1573, Elizabeth wrote a letter to Sir William Fitzwilliam, her Lord Deputy to Ireland, dealing with a matter where Elizabeth felt he had abused his power. She began the letter in the conventional manner [since long before Henry VIII's time]: "Right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well."[140] Elizabeth departed very quickly to the heart of the matter expressing her displeasure towards Fitzwilliam over his pardon for his nephew's friend. This friend had been involved in a murder but was acquitted by the jury as they felt he had done it in self-defense. This was despite the fact that the murder took place a few days later than the original fight. After the Queen's bench later indicted

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[137] 34 and 35 Henry VIII, c. 1 as cited in *The Statutes of the Realm,* Vol. III, p. 894.
[138] BL, MS Additional 15891, f. 148v; also cited in *CW,* p. 183.
[139] Brad Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in the Early Modern Europe,* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2001).
[140] BL, MS Additional 15891, ff. 25r-26r; also cited in *CW,* p. 218.

him for manslaughter, Fitzwilliam stepped in and issued a pardon for his nephew's friend. When the Queen's servant, Sir Edward Fitton refused to honor the pardon, Fitzwilliam had Fitton arrested causing a complaint to reach the Queen.[141]

Elizabeth did not use any proofs in this letter to justify her power or authority. She simply expressed her dissatisfaction with Fitzwilliam and his actions and told him what she wanted to happen to rectify the situation. She stated that the acquittal was a verdict made by a "corrupt jury." She then declared that Fitzwilliam himself must have known it was corrupt as he went ahead and issued a pardon that was:

> so general that all treasons, murders, and other enormities and transgressions of laws be pardoned, and from the friend of the man murdered, all prosecution of law taken away: such that a one as we ourself (for we have seen a copy of it) would be afraid to grant nor have not granted (to our knowledge) at any time since the first day of our reign.[142]

Elizabeth then used a familiar Biblical quotation to justify her response to Fitzwilliam. She stated that his lack of discretion in this matter might cause the "the blood of the man slain" to cry out for revenge upon her and her government clearly referencing the Biblical story of the murder of Abel by Cain.[143]

Several times during her letter, Elizabeth noted that Fitzwilliam's actions would have a negative consequence on the image of the Queen and her government. She stated that his first responsibility was "to have regard to God first and then to our honor and the surety and good government of our realm." She then contrasted two opposites: the honorable actions of Sir Edward Fitton versus Fitzwilliam's behavior. Elizabeth stated that Fitton "honored us in requiring more deliberation and regard than was had, to be had

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[141] BL, MS Additional 15891, ff. 25r-26r; also cited in *CW*, p. 218.
[142] Ibid.
[143] Ibid.; also cited in *CW*, p. 219. All subsequent citations are from this source.

in justice, the which is clean taken away by that rash and unjust pardon." Elizabeth also instructed Fitzwilliam stating: "So should you have showed more care of justice, of our honor, and of the good government of that our realm." Here, Elizabeth rated service to the crown as a virtue to be prized. Elizabeth's sister, Mary I, also often touched upon the issue of the honor due to the prince in her letters. In a letter to the nobility of the realm in 1554 concerning a recent rebellion by the Duke of Suffolk, Mary stated that the honor due to her was second only to God.[144]

In Elizabeth's letter to Fitzwilliam, she stated that she desired a tempered approach but gave him a veiled warning of possible escalation stating: "If this had been done in our father's time….you may soon conceive how it would have been taken."[145] Here Elizabeth implied that she could deal with this matter harshly if she so desired and had both the precedent and authority to do so. But Elizabeth's image was always one of moderation and consistency (*semper eadem*), and she concluded her letter with yet another reference to the image of both her reign and government. She stated:

> Our moderate reign and government can be contented to bear this, so you will take this for a warning, and hereafter have before your eyes not the will or pleasure of our deputy or any other councilor, but first God's honor and then justice and our service, which is always joined to the good government of the realm, not following in any respect any private quarrels or affections.[146]

Elizabeth referenced the civic virtue of the honor and good of one's country above all private matters—*amor patriae.* Elyot wrote his *The Book named the Governor,* [1531] to instruct a prince how to govern for the good of the "public weal."[147]

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[144] See Mary I, "Queen Mary to the nobility of England," [1554] as cited in *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies of Great Britain,* vol. III, p. 287.
[145] BL, MS Additional 15891, f. 26r; also cited in *CW*, p. 220.
[146] Ibid.
[147] Elyot, *The Book Named the Governor,* p. 1.

In August of 1585, Elizabeth authored a letter to James VI of Scotland concerning a skirmish between Scottish and English forces where the Scotts had killed an English nobleman with royal blood, Francis Lord Russell, the oldest son of Francis, second earl of Bedford. It was rumored that this altercation was instigated by one of James' favorite courtiers, the Earl of Arran.[148] After her standard introduction, "Right dear brother," Elizabeth began her foray into the matter with a French proverb: "*Qu' un mal ne vient jamais seul*," (misfortunes never come singly). Elizabeth then proceeded to immediately express her dissatisfaction with this event calling it "the horrible and sudden murder of my most faithful subject."[149]

Elizabeth used the proverb "misfortunes never come singly" to guide the structure of her letter. In her typical classical style, Elizabeth set this "misfortune" against what she called a time of "peaceable concord" between the two countries.[150] She then added to her list of misfortunes her impression that James was not as concerned over this matter as he should be. She stated:

> I perceive by my ambassador that your grief is little less than such a hap deserveth and perceive that you have not spared your well favored to cause him answer such a suspicion.[151]

Elizabeth stated that she believed that this act of violence had damaged their friendship and alliance in the eyes of the English people. She then wrote: "God send us better luck after our league be finished than this bloody beginning may give *Calends* of, else many a red side will follow such demerits."[152] Here, Elizabeth referenced the *Calends,* or the first

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[148] BL, MS Additional 23240, ff. 22v-23v; also cited in *CW*, pp. 263-264.
[149] Ibid.; also cited in *CW*, p. 263.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Ibid., p. 264.
[152] Ibid.

day of the ancient Roman month. However, in this case she most likely used it as an idiom to signify "prelude of things to come." She also stated "many a red side will follow" most probably referring to the appearance of a student's backside if he was whipped for demerits. With these idioms, Elizabeth hinted back at her proverb that one misfortune brings many more with it even many that are not yet seen. She demanded that James investigate this matter, as an affront to her honor and rank, and prosecute the offenders. In his reply of August 13, 1585, James took a conciliatory tone and promised "utter diligence in the foresaid trial."[153]

By the middle 1580's, relations between England and Spain had deteriorated to the brink of outright war. At this time the Duke of Parma had garrisoned Spanish troops in the Netherlands as a staging area for a planned invasion of England. As England had a Protestant ally, although a weak one, in the Netherlands, Elizabeth sought to fortify their country and defend them from any Spanish invasion. Elizabeth eventually appointed Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester, as commander of her forces.[154] Despite being well received by his Dutch hosts, Leicester's command was beset by scandal and inefficiency.[155]

In 1586, Elizabeth wrote several letters to Leicester dealing with the political and military fall out of his actions. Leicester had accepted the title of governor-general of the Netherlands without asking Elizabeth's permission. This made it appear that England was actually seeking to gain land claimed by Spain instead of fortifying an ally, and thus constituted an act of war in Spain's eyes. Because of her anger at Leicester, Elizabeth

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[153] *CW*, p. 265.
[154] Doran, *Elizabeth I and Foreign Policy*, p. 53.
[155] Ibid.

wrote to an intermediary, Sir Thomas Heneage, instead of Leicester. This demonstrated her dissatisfaction with Leicester who was in disgrace and no longer entitled to a letter directly from the queen.

Heneage was one of her most trusted courtiers and later a member of her privy council.[156] Elizabeth constructed this letter in the form of an epideictic, or complaint, and avoided any outward show of proof or argument and simply proceeded straight to her grievance. Elizabeth felt that Leicester should have notified her of any special circumstances and sought her advice before accepting any title of government from the Netherlands. Thus, she wanted her emissary to communicate very plainly her great offense at Leicester's unilateral political move.[157] This letter further demonstrated Elizabeth's classical style in that she divided it into two sections: her complaint, and specific ways for Leicester to redress his actions. She began by telling Heneage that he must tell Leicester that "we hold our honor greatly touched by the said acceptance of that government" and that she had only intended him to:

> direct and govern th'English [sic] troops that we had granted to the States [Netherlands] for their aid and to assist them with his advice and counsel for the better ordering of their civil and martial courses.[158]

As Leicester was now ensconced in power, Elizabeth realized the world and Spain would both cast doubt on her initial intentions.[159]

In the next section of her letter, Elizabeth demanded that Leicester:

> make an open and public resignation in the place where he accepted the same, the absolute government, as a thing done without our privity and consent, contrary to the contract passed between us and their commissioners.[160]

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[156] BL, MS Cotton Galba C.VIII, ff. 22r-26r; also cited in *CW*, pp. 269-273.
[157] Ibid.; also cited in *CW*, p. 269.
[158] Ibid.; also cited in *CW*, p. 270.
[159] Ibid.

Elizabeth continued by demanding that the Earl report on the condition of the forces there, which was why he was sent, and that he immediately correct any abuses in his administration of the military.[161] While in command of the English forces in the Netherlands, Leicester lost two important advisors who defected to the Spanish along with their men, and had mismanaged the Queen's finances to the point that his soldiers were deserting due to lack of pay. Because of these and other failings, the Queen would eventually remove Leicester from command replacing him with Lord Willoughby in 1587.[162] Castiglione cautioned a courtier not to disregard the commands of his prince. He wrote that:

> It is a very perilous thing to deviate from our superior's commands, relying more on our own judgment than on theirs whom we ought in reason to obey; because if our expectation fails and the affair turns out ill, we run into the error of disobedience and ruin that which we have to do without any possibility of excuse or hope of pardon.[163]

To further deal with this Leicester's disobedience, Elizabeth authored another letter on April 27, 1586 to a trusted courtier, William Davison, who was the commander of her troops in the Dutch city of Flushing.[164] Elizabeth wrote:

> wheresoever this our letter shall find you, you shall with all convenient speed return to our cousin of Leicester and to join with him in conference, and with the Council of Estates[of the Netherlands] there, how the said qualification in the point of title may be performed accordingly as we desire.[165]

Elizabeth then divided up her complaint to Davison into two sections. Her first section of the complaint dealt with Davison holding up the delivery of her own letters to the

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[160] BL, MS Cotton Galba C.VIII, ff. 22r-26r; also cited in *CW,* p. 271.
[161] Ibid.; also cited in *CW*, p. 273.
[162] Doran, *Elizabeth I and Foreign Policy: 1558-1603,* p. 53.
[163] Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, p. 120.
[164] BL, Cotton Galba C.IX, f. 200v, copy; also cited in *CW*, pp. 279-281.
[165] Ibid; also cited in *CW,* p. 279.

Netherlands.[166] Elizabeth found this incredulous and demanded his reasoning for this. In the second part of her complaint, she criticized Davison's overt pledge to the Netherlands that England would not make any formal peace with Spain without the agreement of the government of the Netherlands.

Elizabeth addressed this last point of contention more thoroughly in her letter. She stated that Davison was to tell his Dutch hosts that: "they should only have been assured that in any treaty that might fall out between us and Spain, we would have no less care of their safety than of our own." In this letter, Elizabeth wrote a post script herself where she communicated even more of her anger at his actions. She wrote: "We princes be wary enough of our own bargains: think you that I will be bound by your speech to make no peace for mine own matters without their consent?" Elizabeth's letter communicated that England must look after its own interests first (*amor patriae*) and would not allow any other interest stop a treaty that was in the best interest of her realm.

## The case of Mary Stewart

Perhaps the most contentious issue of foreign diplomacy throughout the middle part of Elizabeth's reign was the threat from her cousin, Mary Stewart. Mary had continued to claim that she was the rightful English sovereign during this middle part of Elizabeth's reign. As Mary did have a strong claim to the English throne by right of her legitimate Tudor bloodline, she was surrounded by intrigue for the entire time she was in England.[167] One such plot occurred in 1585, where the English subject Dr. William Parry had planned to assassinate Elizabeth and make Mary Stewart Queen of England. After

[166] *CW*, p. 280. All subsequent citations are from this source.
[167] MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I*, pp. 104-105.

this was discovered, Elizabeth had Mary transferred from a relatively permissive confinement with the Earl of Shrewsbury to a more secured one with Sir Amyas Paulet.[168]

Around June or July of 1585, Elizabeth wrote a letter to Mary's son, James VI of Scotland, to address this matter.[169] In classical style, Elizabeth utilized a proverb to give him unsolicited advice. She stated: "He who seeketh two strings to one bow, they may shoot strong but never straight."[170] This is a proverb found in many forms and places including the writings of two Greek philosophers Propertius and Demosthenes.[171]

As has been stated previously, James VI also utilized proverbs and classical quotes in his letters to help make his points clear. In a letter to the Lords of his treasury, he wrote: "*omnis virtus in actione consistit.*[172] This a direct quote from Cicero's famous work *De Officiis* meaning very literally that "all honor or strength lies in action."[173] What is most interesting and relevant to the purposes of this dissertation, however, is that by in large James was more accurate and scholarly in his use of classical quotations than Elizabeth. James usually quoted very directly and did not mistake or misname the source. James' participation in the virtues of political humanism does add credence to the assertion of this dissertation that Elizabeth I participated in a fashionable form of royal humanism—political humanism. James I projected his power through his humanist learning because it was a language that was understood and valued during the sixteenth century in Europe. Therefore, Elizabeth's desire to project an image of a learned devout

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[168] See *CW*, p. 262, fn. 2.
[169] BL, MS Additional 23240, ff. 15v-16v; also cited in *CW*, pp. 261-262.
[170] Ibid.; also cited in *CW*, p. 262.
[171] Propertius Bk. II.22 and Demosthenes *Or*. 56.1295.
[172] James I, "James I to the Lords of the Treasury," as cited in *Letters of the Kings of England*, vol. II, p. 147.
[173] Cicero, *De Officiis*, 1.268.

prince, no matter how imprecise it was compared to that of James, corresponds well to the *ethos* of the times.

In the very next sentence of her letter to James, Elizabeth warned him about trying to deceive her. She wrote:

> And if you suppose that princes' causes be veiled so covertly that no intelligence may bewray them, deceive not yourself: we old foxes can find shifts to save ourselves by others' malice, and come by knowledge of greatest secret, specially if it touch our freehold. It becometh therefore of all our rank to deal sincerely; lest if we uses it not, when we do it we be hardly believed. I write not this, my dear brother, for doubt but for remembrances.[174]

Here, Elizabeth let James know that she could play the role of the fox to avoid the traps of the "contrarious dealings" of a fellow monarch.[175]

The presence of Mary Stewart in England kept alive the hopes of English Catholics that they might be able to help facilitate the return of England to the Roman Catholic faith. In 1586, these hopes culminated in another plan to remove Elizabeth violently from the throne known as the Babington plot. In this scheme, Francis Walsingham discovered that Anthony Babington had conspired to murder Elizabeth with Mary's knowledge in order that she might take the throne of England. On September 18, 1586, after being convicted of high treason, Babington and six others were executed.[176] Despite being implicated by Babington's confession, Mary was not yet formally tried.[177]

Because of this new evidence, many members of Parliament now called for her execution on grounds of treason. Elizabeth was hesitant to make a move against a fellow monarch and her cousin. However, in 1584 Parliament had passed the "Bond of

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[174] BL, MS Additional 23240, f. 16v; also cited in *CW*, p. 262.
[175] Ibid.
[176] See MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I*, pp. 346-348.
[177] Ibid., p. 348.

Association" in which signatories pledged to punish those who plotted to kill Elizabeth. Thus, on November 12, 1586, Parliament passed formal petitions urging Elizabeth to follow through with the sentence of death upon Mary under the terms of the "Bond of Association".[178]

It was within this context that Elizabeth responded to their petition in a speech that demonstrated Ciceronian influences. There are several copies of this speech which are extant as this was one of Elizabeth's speeches which was published in her lifetime.[179] I am going to primarily examine the second published version of this speech as this version reached the greatest number of people and therefore was most involved in the shaping of how the public perceived her as the monarch. In the petitions urging Mary's execution, Parliament quoted Elizabeth the laws of England. They further stated that as members of her government they were sworn to defend her person which they felt they could not do as long as Mary was still alive.[180] Adding to the fears of Parliament was the fact that in 1584, the Protestant prince William the Silent had been assassinated after Phillip II of Spain had placed a bounty on his head.[181]

Elizabeth delivered her response to the delegation of the Lords and Commons after they had presented their petition to her in her chamber at Richmond.[182] She began this speech with an *exordium* that included an elaborate and intricate statement about how she was grateful to God concerning how he had preserved her reign for twenty-eight years stating:

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[178] Hartley 2: 244-247. Paradoxically, Mary was one of the signatories.
[179] BL, MS Additional 38823, ff. 76r-77r; also cited in *CW,* pp. 190-196. This was published in both English (1586) and French (1587) with Elizabeth's coat of arms. *CW,* p. 190, fn. 1.
[180] Hartley 2: 244-247.
[181] Neale, *Elizabeth I and her Parliaments: 1584-1601,* p. 15.
[182] BL, MS Additional 38823, ff. 76r-77r; also cited in *CW,* p. 190.

> The bottomless graces and immeasurable benefits bestowed upon me by the Almighty are and have been as such as I must not only acknowledge them, but admire them—accounting them as well miracles as benefits, not so much in respect of his divine majesty, with whom nothing is more common than to do things rare and singular, as in regard of our weakness, who cannot sufficiently set forth His wonderful works and graces, which to me have been so many, so diversely folded and embroidered one upon another, as in no sort I am able to express them.[183]

This first sentence fits Cicero's description that the well-spoken orator must add elaborate and ornamented introductions to orations.[184] Elizabeth's *exordium* takes up one more paragraph before even addressing the issue at hand. In this manner, Elizabeth was setting the stage for her response and framed it within the context of God's providence for her and her reign over the course of twenty-eight years. Elizabeth was going to justify her answer based on the success and history of her reign. As Elizabeth was relying upon Cicero's model and the "ethical proof" of her reign, this speech was classic political humanism.[185]

After her Elizabeth's lengthy *exordium,* she began the middle part of her speech, or the *narratio,* in which she discussed the issue at hand—Mary's possible execution. Elizabeth acknowledged that there were some amongst her subjects who had desired to do her harm. Despite this realization, Elizabeth stated that she had no malice in her own heart towards any of them. She stated that malice caused people to make poor decisions. She also stated that she had difficulty at first believing that Mary was involved in a crime against one of her own kin. Because of this, Elizabeth revealed that she had written personally to her cousin asking her to confess and sincerely repent. If Mary would do

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[183] Ibid.
[184] Cicero, *Rhetorica ad Herennium* XV.50.
[185] The more elaborate and ornate *exordia* were usually seen in opening or closing speeches of Parliament. See for instance, Sir John Puckering, "Speaker's Speech at the close of Parliament," [March 23, 1587] as cited in Hartley, 2:211.

this, Elizabeth had assured her of both pardon and forgiveness. Mary never admitted to any complicity in the plot.[186]

Elizabeth then discussed the issue of her own mortality stating that she would gladly accept her own death if:

> other nations and kingdoms might truly say that this realm had attained an ever prosperous and flourishing estate, I would (I assure you) not desire to live, but gladly give my life to the end my death might procure you a better prince.[187]

However, Elizabeth stated that it was better for the sake of England that she did live so that a Catholic Queen (Mary Stewart) would not inherit the throne of England and change the course of religion. Very clearly, Elizabeth expressed once again the civic virtue of *amor patriae.* This again was an "ethical proof" which relied on the character and the experience of the orator to give credence to what was being said. Elizabeth gave even more justification for her ability to make decisions in this manner when she stated:

> I have had good experience and trial of this world: I know what it is to be a subject, what to be a sovereign, what to have good neighbors, and sometime meet evil willers. I have found treason in trust, seen great benefits little regarded, and instead of gratefulness, courses of purpose to cross.[188]

In this manner, Elizabeth was building the case for her own decision based on her experience.

Complicating matters at hand was the fact that Parliament passed an "Act for the Queen's Safety" (1585) which stated that Mary Stewart should be executed if anyone made a plot on her behalf even if she did not actively participate in it.[189] Using this statute as a defense, Elizabeth stated that she might very well have proceeded against Mary

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[186] BL, MS Lansdowne 94, art. 35A, ff. 84r-85r; also cited in *CW,* pp. 190-196.
[187] Ibid; also cited in *CW,* pp. 192-193.
[188] *CW,* p. 193.
[189] Hartley, 2: 92.

using the common law of the land if not for this last statute. But now with this law in effect, Elizabeth stated that any actions against Mary would appear prejudicial in the eyes of the world and not the fair outcome of a well-balanced inquiry or disposition.[190] Elizabeth further asserted that if Parliament had wanted her to deal with Mary by common law they should have tried and indicted her by a decision of a jury.[191] In this manner, Elizabeth gave the members a legal proof that turned their arguments back on them. To be duly executed, Mary must be "tried and convicted" which Elizabeth stated the members had already done before they even convened a jury.[192]

Therefore, in a speech already quoted, Elizabeth rejected their petition stating:

> And all little enough, for we princes, I tell you, are set on stages in the sight and view of all the world duly observed. The eyes of many behold our actions; a spot is soon spied in our garments; a blemish quickly noted in our doings. It behooveth us therefore to be careful that our proceedings be just and honorable.[193]

Elizabeth told the members that she could not move so quickly on such a great matter in what might seem to the world to be done in a dishonorable or fraudulent way.[194] Elizabeth ended this speech stating that since "this matter is rare, weighty, and of great consequence," she needed to give it more study before any appropriate answer could be given.[195]

The next Ciceronian style speech of Elizabeth's middle reign was set within this very same context. This speech was delivered by the Queen twelve days after the last speech quoted above after Parliament pressed her again to follow through with the

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[190] BL, MS Lansdowne 94, art. 35A, ff. 84r-85r; also cited in *CW,* p. 193.
[191] Ibid.; also cited in *CW,* p. 194.
[192] Ibid.
[193] Ibid., p. 195.
[194] See this citation for an example of James' thoughts on the honor of monarchs. James VI, "James VI to Elizabeth I," [July 30, 1598] as cited in *Letters of the Kings of England,* vol. II, pp. 94-95.
[195] BL, MS Lansdowne 94, art. 35A, ff. 84r-85r; also cited in *CW,* p. 195.

execution of Mary Stewart. This speech also exists in different versions as did her previous speech. Again, I will primarily be discussing the version that was printed and circulated.[196] However, I will make mention of and alert the reader to the other manuscripts of the speech when they add any extra information or other notable historical context to the speech.

Elizabeth's second speech in this matter was in direct response to the Parliamentary petition of November 17, 1586, "Considerations for the Queen's Safety."[197] This petition began with a two-fold division of the argument stating: "Twoe thinges fawle in this considerac[i]on, the fact and the person."[198] It then identified the "fact" and the "person" stating:

> For the fact, it is the subversion of religion established, invasion of the realme by forreyn enemyes, inward rebellion and cyvyl warres, and the murthereng of her Majestye's most royall person…Upon the person lyethe the whole weight of this consideracion. She is a qweene of absolute power, and here deteyned a prisoner.[199]

The petition continued with a lengthy description of the case against Mary Stewart using proofs from the time of ancient Rome to recent history.[200]

What is most interesting about Elizabeth's reply to this petition is that she did not directly respond to or counter any of the arguments or proofs within it. In her reply, Elizabeth apparently chose to reply to what she felt was the main issue—her own deliberations over the matter. This was clearly seen in how she began her speech stating: "Full grievous is the way whose going on and end breed cumber for the hire of a

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[196]Ibid., also cited in *CW*, pp. 200-204.
[197] Hartley, 2: 262-265.
[198] Ibid., p. 262.
[199] Ibid., pp. 262-263.
[200] Ibid., p. 263.

laborious journey."[201] In Elizabeth's own manuscript version as well this printed version, Elizabeth set this *exordium* off as if it were "the scriptural text for a sermon."[202] While it reads very much like a citation from classical antiquity, I have not been able to locate an exact quote. She furthered compared her deliberations over this matter to the "hire of a laborious journey."[203] What she meant by "hire" was most likely the "recompense" or the "toll" of the journey. Then she utilized a pathetic proof stating she had: "strived more this day than ever in my life."[204]

This speech, like many of the Queen's, was in the style of an epideictic oration focusing on a complaint. She also addressed those in Parliament who might have seen her delay in answering as anything other than a careful deliberation over a most serious matter. She divided her response into three sections which I have noted in the quotation below. Elizabeth stated:

> [1] But if any there live so wicked of nature to suppose that I prolonged this time only *pro forma,* to the intent to make a show of clemency, thereby to set my praises to the wire-drawers to lengthen them the more: they do me so great a wrong, as they can hardly recompense. [2] Or if any person there be that think or imagine that the least vainglorious thought hath drawn me further therein, they do me as open injury as ever was done to any living creature, as He that is Maker of all thoughts knoweth best to be true. [3]Or if there be any that think that the lords appointed in commission durst do no other, as fearing thereby to displease or else to be suspected to be a contrary opinion to my safety, they do but heap upon me injurious conceits.[205]

Elizabeth further responded to the members of the Lords and Commons that the only reason for her delay was from the "great desire I had that some other means might be

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[201] BL, MS Lansdowne 94, art. 35B, f. 86r; also cited in *CW*, p. 200.
[202] *CW*, p. 200, fn. 2.
[203] Ibid.
[204] Ibid.
[205] Ibid., p. 201.

found out..” in how to deal with this precarious situation.[206] Her threefold division of complaint in this speech mirrored the classical oration which stressed division of thoughts into particular sections, usually three or less.[207]

Elizabeth’s own participation in this speech has been reconstructed by the modern editors of Elizabeth’s *Collected Works* who painstakingly compared Sir Robert Cecil’s copy of the speech with the manuscript that includes Elizabeth’s own revisions and corrections.[208] Elizabeth stated:

> And sins now it is resolued, that my suretie cannot be established, without a princess head, I haue iust cause to complaine that I who haue in my tyme pardoned so manie rebels, winked at so manie treasons, and either not produced them, or altogether slipt them ouer with silence, shold now be forced to this proceeding against such a person.[209]

Elizabeth responded to their petition with an historical and ethical proof of both her own character and her past behavior. Elizabeth argued to Parliament that she had always shown mercy in the past and now felt that moving forward with this execution would contradict her nature and past history. However, this is at best an exaggeration given her history with some Catholics such as Edmund Campion.[210] In Elizabeth’s original version, she wrote that Parliament felt that only “a Princess head,” quite possibly meaning a “prince’s head” as it was common practice not to put in an apostrophe, could rectify the

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[206] BL, MS Lansdowne 94, art. 35B, ff. 86r-88r; also cited in *CW*, p. 201.
[207] Mack, “Elizabethan Parliamentary Oratory,” p. 23.
[208] For Cecil’s version see *CW*, pp. 200-204. For a transcript of the manuscript with Elizabeth’s corrections see , *ACFLO,* pp. 73-78.
[209] BL, MS Lansdowne 94, art. 35B, ff. 86r-88r; also cited in , p. 74.
[210] For a good discussion of the life and death of Edmund Campion see Thomas McCoog, "The Flower of Oxford: The Role of Edmund Campion in Early Recusant Polemics,” in *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (Winter, 1993), pp. 899-913.

situation and guarantee her safety.[211] However, Cecil later emended what would be the printed copy of the speech to read "a princess' end."[212]

While the petition advanced by Parliament did not contain any direct criticism of the Queen's policy or handling of the situation, Elizabeth's reply suggests that she took the continuing discussion of the matter as such. She used Ciceronian-styled proofs to support her argument that she had the wisdom and experience to make the decision and should not be pushed by Parliament. In her speech, she stated:

> When I first took the scepter, my title made me not forget the Giver; and therefore began as it became me with such religion as both I was born in, bred in, and I trust shall die in. Although I was not so simple as not to known how many great princes of the contrary opinion would attempt all they might against me; and generally, what enmity I should thereby breed unto myself. Which all I regarded not, knowing that He for whose sake I did it might and would defend me; for which it is that ever since I have been so dangerously prosecuted as I rather marvel that I am than muse that I should not be, if it were not God's holy hand that continueth me beyond all other expectation.[213]

Once again, Elizabeth asked Parliament to take note of her past decisions and how she felt God provided for England despite their fears. This is a "historical proof" based on her own reading of her reign over the past twenty-eight years. She stated that she had expected to die as a result of the plots against her and, yet, she argued that God had preserved her rule and England's religion.

In Elizabeth's original manuscript she added the phrase "that term themselves Catholic" after talking about those who wished to do her harm.[214] In Cecil's copy, he crossed this out, perhaps, to make this seem less offensive and more diplomatic.[215]

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[211] BL, MS Lansdowne 94, art. 35B, ff. 86r-88r; also cited in *ACFLO,* p. 74.
[212] *CW*, p. 201.
[213] Ibid., p. 204.
[214]BL, MS Lansdowne 94, art. 35B, ff. 86r-88r; also cited in *ACFLO,* p. 75.
[215] Ibid.

Regardless of these emendations, both versions expressed Elizabeth's intention from the very beginning of her reign to change England's religion back to Protestantism and that she had fully expected vigorous opposition. Since she had survived this opposition, she attributed her reign to God's favor and summarily dismissed Parliament's petition as unnecessary and unfounded.

In the presentation of her "body politic," Elizabeth appealed to her classical learning as the foundation for authority on the matter. She declared:

> I was not simplie trained up, nor in my yewth spent my time altogether idly, and yet when I came to the crowne, then entred I first into the scole [school] of experience; bethinking my self of those things that best fitted a king, Iustice, temper, Magnanimitie, Iudgment, for I found it most requisite that a Prince shold be endued with iustice, that he shold be adorned with temperance, I concealed magnanimite to beseeme a Royall estate possessed by whatsoeuer sex, and that it was necessarie that such a person shold be of Iudgment.[216]

In these statements, Elizabeth stood upon the proof of her own classical education. Because of the common roots in the classical tradition, it is not surprising that this list of virtues is also noted by Elyot's in his *The Book named the Governor.*[217]

Elizabeth ended her speech with a quotation of advice from classical antiquity where the Athenian General Alcibiades instructed a companion that he should not give an answer in haste. Instead, Alcibiades recommended that he first quote the alphabet before responding so as to assure a well thought out reply.[218] Elizabeth, once again, was speaking the language of Parliament in quoting classical history to justify her position. She

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[216] BL, MS Lansdowne 94, art. 35B, ff. 86r-88r; also cited in *ACFLO,* p. 76.
[217] Elyot, *The Book Named the Governor,* table of contents, p. xxxvii.
[218] *ACFLO,* p. 76.See also Plutarch, *Moralia,* 3:233.

summed up her response by stating: "And now for your petition. I shall pray you for this present to content yourselves with an answer without an answer."[219]

Despite the Queen's protestations, Parliament and Elizabeth's own inner circle of advisors, understandably, did not relent on this matter. Parliament did convene a trial and found Mary Stewart guilty on the ground of treason against Elizabeth. On December 4, 1587, the public sentence of execution of Mary Stewart on the grounds of treason was proclaimed. Both Parliament and the English people appeared to support this decision.[220] While Elizabeth gave the outward acceptance of her cousin's fate, she still hesitated on carrying out the execution. Even after Elizabeth personally signed the death warrant, she consulted several times with William Davison, her personal secretary.[221] Eventually, Elizabeth's privy council met and voted unanimously to proceed with the execution. On February 8, 1587, Mary Stewart's execution took place at Fotheringay. When Elizabeth was informed of the news, even after having signed the death warrant, she flew into a rage of denial banishing Burghley from her presence and imprisoning Davison in the tower.[222] Eventually, Elizabeth's anger would subside but she would continue to assert to those around her and foreign princes, especially James VI, that she had no complicity in the execution.[223]

Six days after the execution, Elizabeth authored a letter to James VI of Scotland disavowing any foreknowledge that the execution was going to take place.[224] Within that letter she calls his mother's death "that miserable accident" and states she was sending a

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[219] *CW*, p. 204.
[220] MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I,* p. 350.
[221] Ibid., p. 352.
[222] MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I,* p. 352.
[223] BL, MS Cotton Caligula C.IX, f. 212r; also cited in *CW,* pp. 296-297.
[224] Ibid.

favorite of James, Sir Robert Carey to him personally to express her grief and her sorrow over this matter.[225] Apparently, Elizabeth's letter and envoy satisfied James at least outwardly as he responded in a letter to Elizabeth:

> ye purge yourself of your unhappy fact, as on the one part—considering your rank and sex, consanguinity, and long-professed goodwill to the defunct, together with your many and solemn attestations of your innocency—I dare not wrong you so far as not to judge that your honorable behavior in all times hereafter may fully persuade the whole world of the same.[226]

James' own history with his mother and his desire to be the one to succeed Elizabeth on her throne probably accounts for his ability to forgive so quickly.

Elizabeth also corresponded with her former suitor, Henri III, the reigning King of France dealing with the explosive aftermath of the execution of the King's former sister-in-law, Mary Stewart. After her execution by the English, the French King had refused to see Elizabeth's ambassador and had begun stopping English ships and arresting English sailors on the charge of piracy.[227] Elizabeth's letter dealt with her reaction to his actions. While she began with a formal introduction in the letter, she proceeded directly to the main point—how his actions were an affront to her rank and honor as a fellow prince. She declared:

> Is it possible that I, meriting so much in your regard by the entire affection and solid friendship which for a long time I have always held out towards you—beyond the honor that I hold in rank of king—that I should be treated so strangely, indeed, rather as a true enemy, having written to you by my ambassador a thing of great importance most suitable for your quarrel?

In this letter, Elizabeth divided her complaint into two separate sections. In the first part, she protested that Henri III had denied her ambassador an audience with him

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[225] *CW*, p. 296, fn. 3.
[226] BL, MS Additional 23240, art. 20, f. 65r; also cited in *CW,* p. 297.
[227] Bodleian, MS Additional C. 92(formerly MS Arch. F.c. 8, f. 26v); also cited in *CW,* p. 298. All subsequent quotes are from this source.

for two months. She stated "this is a thing never denied to a prince of my standing." She then added to this that the French navy had begun stopping English vessels on the grounds of piracy. Elizabeth labeled this action: "a true act of hostility which I figured not to be from your quarrel nor at your commandment." Here, she feigned disbelief that Henri III could issue such orders. However, she later added that her subjects told her that this was done "by your order, which makes me very astonished at what the cause of it might be." Obviously, Elizabeth realized that his coldness was due to the recent execution of Mary Stewart. However, since Elizabeth was formally on record as denying any complicity in this event, she acted astonished that he might lay any of the blame at her feet. Elizabeth described his actions as "a thing so intolerable to endure, so bad, so perfidious, from one whom I have deserved better treatment." She urged that Henri III communicate with her by word or letter so they could reconcile this issue. She ended her letter with a warning stating that she had received so many complaints from her own subjects that "unless you remedy everything very soon it is not at all possible that I will deny them the justice of avenging it." In this letter Elizabeth demonstrated the full extent of her own confidence in her political standing.

The coolness between the French King and Elizabeth would warm again after this letter. In late May 1587, Henri III received the English ambassador and reached an agreement not to impede the free exchange of shipping in the channel.[228] Certainly, the rise of Henry of Navarre probably influenced his decision once again to court Elizabeth's

[228] "A Memorial of things accorded between the French ambassador and certain commissioners appointed by her Majesty to treat with him," [May, 1587], *CSP, Foreign*, Vol. XXI, part 1, pp. 297-310.

favor. However, Elizabeth must have felt that her letter and her efforts in this matter were proven right by the consequences.

## Conclusion

Elizabeth's works during the years of her middle reign (1572-1587) reveal that Elizabeth's own ideas about her image as a classical political humanist were changing and developing. In her speeches, Elizabeth presented the image of her "body politic" of the educated prince who ruled with divine authority and sanction and on the basis of her own education and experience. In her letters Elizabeth projected the image of a sovereign who was now comfortable with her power no longer seeking to justify her claim to the throne but ruling through the use of trusted intimates. Elizabeth also desired to present a competent and learned image to fellow monarchs often giving unsolicited advice about their affairs of state. In her poetry and prayers, she continued to the project to the people a devout monarch who felt her rule was so intertwined with God's will that to question one was to question the other. Finally, in her translation work, Elizabeth sought to demonstrate that she was a prince who was also an intellectual.

The next chapter in this dissertation will continue this exploration of her works into her later reign. In so doing, this dissertation will argue that Elizabeth's desired image of a learned and devout prince was one she attempted to project until her death.

# Chapter 4:
# Elizabeth's Later Years as Queen (1588-1603)
## Introduction

Elizabeth I's desire to present the political image of a learned and devout prince did not diminish with her age. During the final years of her reign, Elizabeth and England had to deal with several major international and domestic political crises making her portrayal of a stable and powerful monarch vital for the stability of her government. Despite her own longevity and popularity of her rule, Elizabeth's age caused questions to arise within her government about her ability to rule as well as speculation and intrigue over who would be her successor.

As Elizabeth entered the later years of her rule, the English version of the *vita activa* was still the major influence within the political landscape. Much of what had begun in the early sixteenth century as informal tutoring of English elite men, had now become ingrained within the educational institutions of the time.[1] Humanists continued to engage in classical pursuits such as language study, rhetoric, writing of histories, translation, and composition of poetry. However, as was the case in the early sixteenth century, English humanism had an emphasis on the *vita activa*. David Norbrook writes that: "Some of the greatest English Renaissance poets were politicians, and all of them tried to influence public affairs through their writings." He cites such figures as Sir Phillip Sidney, Ben Johnson, and John Milton.[2] Therefore, Elizabeth's continued projection of her image as a political humanist in her later years was as relevant as ever.

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[1] Warren Boutcher, "Humanism and Literature in Late Tudor England: Translation, the Continental Book, and the Case of Montaigne's Essais," in *Reassessing Tudor Humanism*, p. 244.
[2] Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance*, p. 1.

To support her participation in the politics of the day, Elizabeth made speeches in the classical styles of Seneca and Cicero. She also authored letters to her courtiers, and foreign heads of state, specifically a prolific amount to James VI of Scotland.[3] While in this part of the sixteenth century, humanists tended to favor the familiar and more intimate letter, Elizabeth continued to write classically-styled letters to foreign monarchs when trying to sway them to her way of thinking. She often took the role of a senior humanist statesman giving stern and unsolicited advice as well as commentary on the political affairs of their realms. Elizabeth also wrote poetry and authored prayers that expressed her moods about the times in which she lived.[4] Finally, Elizabeth engaged in the humanist activity of translation, perhaps allowing the political events of the time to influence her choices of inspiration.

This chapter will now progress with a chronological survey of select works of Elizabeth I set within their historical contexts during the years 1588 to 1603. In so doing, I will assert that Elizabeth's literary corpus demonstrated her continued reliance on the projection of her "body politic" as political humanist speaking the language of the educated men around her. In her pursuit of the *vita activa*, Elizabeth utilized her humanist education in the service of the state. In so doing, she extolled the virtues of honor, duty, *amor patriae*, and unity in all of her written and printed works.

## The Spanish and the 1588 Armada

During this latter part of Elizabeth's reign, Phillip II was a constant threat to invade England. In 1585, the Duke of Parma garrisoned Spanish troops in the

[3] See BL, MS Additional 23240, ff. 1r-157v.
[4] *CW*, pp. 409-427.

Netherlands in preparation for the 1588 Armada. In response, Elizabeth sent several different armed expeditions to the continent in defense of England's interests.[5] She also sent Sir Francis Drake and a small naval force to attack Spanish shipping between Spain and their colonies in the Caribbean.[6]

During this time, Elizabeth authored two letters to James VI focusing on the growing crisis with Spain. On July 1, 1588, Elizabeth sent James a letter giving him stern advice on how to deal with the possibility of a Spanish invasion of England.[7] She began her letter with the conventional salutation: "To our right dear brother, the King of Scotland."[8] Elizabeth immediately thanked James for his professed desire to defend Scotland from the Spanish and from other "strangers."[9] Elizabeth wrote that many had tried to undermine the credibility of James with her as someone who might be "double dealing" but that she assured him: "For my part, I will ever trust your word till I be too sure of the contrary." Then she gave him another piece of classical advice that she had actually given him three years earlier. She wrote that he should be careful in dealing with two different monarchs because:

> He that hath two strings to his bow may shoot stronger, but never straight, and he that hath no sure foundation cannot but ruin. God keep you ever, therefore, in your well-begun path.[10]

Elizabeth had originally written this advice to James in 1585 stating: "He who seeketh two strings to one bow, they may shoot strong but never straight."[11] At that time, her

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[5] Doran, *Elizabeth I and Foreign Policy: 1558-1603*, p. 52.
[6] Ibid., pp. 52-53.
[7] BL, MS Additional 23240, art. 22, f. 71v; also cited in *CW*, pp. 355-356.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.
[11] BL, MS Additional 23240, ff. 15v-16v; also cited in *CW*, p. 262.

letter concerned James' dealings with his own mother, Mary Stewart, and Elizabeth. Now, Elizabeth returned to the same proverb, attributed to Propertius and Demosthenes, to warn him against the dangers of duplicity with her and Phillip.[12] Obviously, Elizabeth wanted James to declare himself and Scotland for the good of England.

During this time of crisis, Elizabeth and Phillip II supposedly exchanged poetic verses as a method of diplomacy. As stated previously in Chapter 3, verse exchange poetry was a common medium of this time for educated persons or monarchs to express a variety of political ideas or concerns to one another. Peter Herman has argued that monarchs of the Tudor/Stewart era used poetry in their political exchanges and personal projections of power.[13] Elizabeth had also previously utilized poetry to make comments on political happenings such as her original poem, "Doubt of Future Foes," in 1571 and her replies to the German poet Paul Melissus.[14] While there has been some scholarly doubt about Phillip's authorship in this verse exchange, two contemporary sources attest to the authenticity of Elizabeth's participation.[15] "Phillip" began his exchange:

Te veto ne pergas armis defendere Belgas,
Quas Dracus eripuit Gazae reddantur oportet.
Quas pater evertit jubeo te condere cellas,
Religoque Papae fac restituatur ad unguem.

I forbid you, lest you proceed to defend with your armies the Belgians,
What Drake has snatched away is required to be returned,
Which the storerooms your father emptied, rebuild:
And make the religion of the Pope restored to the letter.[16]

Elizabeth then responded:

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[12] Propertius, *Elegies*, trans. G.P. Goold, (Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1990), Bk. II.22 and Demosthenes, *Orations*, ed. A.T. Murray (Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1956), 56.1295.
[13] Herman, *Royal Poetrie*.
[14] See Chapter 3, pp. 17-18, of this dissertation; *CW*, pp. 301-302.
[15] *CW*, pp. 409-410. See also fn. 1.
[16] Ibid.

Ad Graecas fient isthaec mandata calendas.
When Greeks do measure months by the moon,
Then Spanish Phillip, thy will shall be done.[17]

Elizabeth addressed her reply to "Phillip" and employed classically-inspired languages and references. On the surface, Elizabeth sarcastically stated that she agreed to his demands. However, she added that she would comply when "Greeks do measure months by the moon," or the Latin *calendas*. Since the Greeks never measured time by the *calendas*, as the Romans did, Elizabeth actually stated that she would never agree to his terms. This use of the "Greek calends" was also attributed to a story about Augustus Caesar who when he "wanted to avoid paying a debt, he would promise payment on the Greek calends.[18]

The crisis between Spain and England reached the tipping point in 1588 when Phillip II sent his naval armada north to invade England. His strategy involved having 125 ships rendezvous with the Duke of Parma's force of 27,000 men waiting in Netherlands.[19] Phillip planned for his forces to overwhelm the English and depose Elizabeth as the queen in accordance with the Pope's blessing.[20] On August 9, 1588, Elizabeth personally inspected her forces at the Tilbury camp at the mouth of the Thames where the invasion was expected to begin.[21] It was against this backdrop of a military camp where Elizabeth made her famous "Tilbury Speech." While there has been some

[17] *CW*, p. 410.
[18] Ibid., fn. 3.
[19] Doran, *Elizabeth I and Foreign Policy: 1558-1603*, p. 53.
[20] Ibid.
[21] BL, MS Harley 6798, art. 18, f. 87v; also cited in *CW*, pp. 325-326.

speculation that this speech did not occur, most scholars believe that Elizabeth addressed her troops in a speech substantially as recorded.[22]

Elizabeth's speech at Tilbury is entirely consistent with Senecan rhetoric in both its brevity and organization. She began the speech with a short *exordium* declaring:

> My loving people, I have been persuaded by some that are careful of my safety to take heed how I committed myself to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery. But I tell you that I would not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people.[23]

Here, Elizabeth returned to her favorite and familiar rhetorical device of *comparatio*, the comparison of dissimilars. While her advisors had told her to fear armed multitudes of her own subjects due to the possibility of treason and sabotage, she stated she never distrusted her "faithful and loving people." She then used a *comparatio* contrasting her own reign with that of ignoble monarchs exclaiming: "Let tyrants fear!"[24] Elizabeth used a *testatio* stating that the "loyal hearts and goodwill of my subjects" were guaranteed due to her own standing before God.[25] A common theme of Elizabeth's was that she enjoyed the divine sanction of God, and, therefore, her plans and reign would succeed despite any odds.

Elizabeth then used another "ethical proof," this time holding up the civic virtue of *amor patriae* stating:

> Wherefore I am come among you at this time but for my recreation and pleasure, being resolved in the midst and heat of the battle to live and die amongst you all,

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[22] Susan Frye is one scholar who disputes the occurrence of this speech. Susan Frye, "The Myth of Elizabeth of Tilbury," in *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, no. 23 (1992), pp. 95-114. Elizabeth's *CW* editors attest to the historicity of the speech, *CW*, p. 325; as does Janet Green, "I My Self: Queen Elizabeth I's Oration at Tilbury Camp," in *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 28, No. 2, (Summer, 1997), pp. 421.
[23] BL, MS Harley 6798, art. 18, f. 87v; also cited in *CW*, p. 325.
[24] Ibid., p. 326.
[25] Ibid.

> to lay down for my God and for my kingdom and for my people mine honor and mine blood even in the dust.[26]

Elizabeth then uttered, perhaps, her best known *comparatio*: "I know that I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king and of a king of England too."[27] The "King" Elizabeth most probably was referring to was the image of her own father, Henry VIII, whose portrait by Holbein hung in her Privy Chamber at Whitehall Palace.[28] Elizabeth often liked to draw upon the image of her father as an "ethical proof" of her own standing as Queen.[29] The *comparatio* also once again underscores her utilization of the king's two bodies. Elizabeth had a natural feminine body which was viewed as weak in the eyes of her army. However, she also had a "body politic" that was in the form of a learned and devout prince who could lead her forces into battle in defense of her realm.

Despite all the preparation on both sides, the Spanish invasion never materialized. Although this was welcome news, it was far from an outright victory for Elizabeth's forces. Her navy did manage to drive the Spanish northwards, but only sank one ship during the battle. It was actually the treacherous seas around the coasts of Scotland and Ireland that did the most damage to the armada sinking a third of Phillip's ships and causing the death of nearly 20,000 of his men.[30] While there was immense political capital to be gained by the publication of this oration of the Queen, it does not exist in any officially-sanctioned printed form. The publication of this kind of speech could have

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[26] For an example of *amor patriae* see Sir John Egerton, "Speaker's speech on presentation to the Queen," [October 27, 1598] as cited in Hartley 3: 188; *CW*, p. 326.
[27] BL, MS Harley 6798, art. 18, f. 87v; also cited in *CW*, p. 326.
[28] Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*, p. 142.
[29] Ibid., p. 153.
[30] Doran, *Elizabeth I and Foreign Policy*, pp. 54-55.

been used to promote Elizabeth's political image in the eyes of her subjects and the world. However, this speech was only for a highly specific situation, and at the time no one could have known the historical significant of the events about to transpire.

In this short oration, Elizabeth stressed the civic virtues of *amor patriae* and utilized the classical components of *laudatio*, *testatio*, and *exclamatio*. She praised her troops (*laudatio*), stood upon her reputation as their Queen (*testatio*), and attempted to inspire them by emotional comments (*exclamatio*) such as "Let Tyrants fear!"[31] James Aske, an eyewitness of the event, cast Elizabeth in mythical terms to memorialize the speech.[32] He wrote: "But like to mars, the God of fearefull warre, and heauing oft to skies her war-like hands, Did make her selfe, Bellona-like renown'd."[33] It is intriguing that even in Aske's recollection of the event, he compared Elizabeth to Mars, a male god of war, and Bellona, a female goddess of war. However, the political significance of this speech was most bolstered by the fact that England avoided the loss of independent sovereign status that would have come with a successful Spanish invasion.

Despite no official version of the speech, Elizabeth's advisors did take advantage of the political capital gained by this "success" over the Spanish. In the very next Parliament, Sir Christopher Hatton, Elizabeth's Lord Chancellor, in his opening speech to the House of Lords declared this English "victory" over the Spanish demonstrated God's special blessing on Elizabeth's reign.[34] This "ethical proof" of God's divine sanction was a familiar theme of Elizabeth's in the projection of her political image.

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[31] BL, MS Harley 6798, art. 18, f. 87v; also cited in *CW*, p. 326.
[32] James Aske, *Elizabetha Triumphans*, p. 25.
[33] Ibid., p. 18.
[34] Sir Christopher Hatton, "Lord Burghley's brief for Sir Christopher Hatton's opening Speech," as cited in Hartley 2: 411.

A song of victory has also been attributed to Elizabeth that commemorated and celebrated the English success over the Spanish.[35] Elizabeth's "Song on the Armada Victory," has many parallels with the Biblical song of Miriam and Moses who celebrated the triumph of Israel over Pharaoh's forces who were drowned in the Red Sea.[36] Elizabeth wrote that God had "made the winds and the water rise to scatter all mine enemies" as God did when he similarly scattered the armies of Pharaoh.[37] Elizabeth also cast herself in the familiar role of God's "handmaid" and near the end of the song stated that God "hath preserved in tender love, the spirit of his turtle dove." By using the term "turtle dove," Elizabeth evoked the imagery of the Song of Songs. In that case the beloved of God was referred to as a "turtle dove" which once again stressed Elizabeth's view of herself as being divinely favored.[38] Similarly, James I authored a poem in honor of a victorious moment during his reign when his son, Prince Charles, and the Marquis of Buckingham sailed into Spain on a covert mission.[39]

Elizabeth also authored two personal prayers dealing with the English "victory" over the Spanish. In the first of these prayers, Elizabeth began with thanks to God stating:

> Most powerful and largest-giving God, whose ears it hath pleased so benignly to grace the petitions of Thy devoted servant, not with even measure to our desires but with far ampler favor hath not only protected our army foes' prey and from sea's danger, but hast detained malicious dishonors (even having force to resist us) from having power to attempt us or assail them.[40]

Elizabeth wrote that words were not enough to express thanks to God for this victory. She stated:

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[35] *CW*, pp. 410-411.
[36] See Ex. 15:1-21.
[37] *CW*, p. 411.
[38] Ibid., fn. 5; For some political prescriptions for poetry see Puttenham, *Arte of Poesie*, p. 19.
[39] *Letters of the Kings of England*, vol. II, pp. 171-172..
[40] *CW*, p. 423.

> But this vow, accept, most dear God, in lieu of better merit: That our breaths, we hope to their last gasps, shall never cease the memorial of such flowing grace as Thy bounty fill us with, but with such thoughts shall end the world and live to Thee.[41]
>
> In her second prayer of thanksgiving, Elizabeth began:
>
> Everlasting and omnipotent Creator, Redeemer, and Conserver, when it seemed most fit time to Thy worthy providence to bestow the workmanship of this world or globe, with Thy rare judgment Thou didst divide into four singular parts the form of this mold, which aftertime hath termed elements, they all serving to continue in orderly government the whole of the mass.[42]

Here, Elizabeth made a reference to the classical thought from the Greek philosopher Empedocles that the world consisted of four basic building blocks: fire, water, earth, and wind.[43] Elizabeth said that God had used these elements and "made this year serve for instruments both to daunt our foes and to confound their malice."[44] In Elizabeth's prayer, it was God who took the natural forces of the earth and made them into weapons of war to defeat the Spanish. In so doing, Elizabeth attributed the success of avoiding the Spanish invasion to God's hand and not her own. This transformed the victory into a miracle and was used by Elizabeth as another "ethical proof" after the fact to demonstrate God's special favor on the English.

Despite this initial good fortune for England, the losses sustained by Phillip's armada of 1588 did not significantly impair his war-making ability. In fact, in less than ten years, Phillip sent three more armadas against England making the threat of war and invasion a constant and real concern until his death in 1598.[45] On April 10, 1593, Elizabeth addressed Parliament in the Senecan style to ask for money to help defend

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[41] *CW*, p. 423.
[42] Ibid., p. 424.
[43] See Empedocles, *The Extant Fragments*, ed. M.R. Wright (London: Duckworth Publishers, 2007), p. 22.
[44] *CW*, pp. 424-425.
[45] Doran, *Elizabeth I and Foreign Policy: 1558-1603*, pp. 54-55.

England from Spain once again. This speech is extant in at least three different versions. Primarily, I will concentrate on the version printed by John Stow as this one had the widest circulation to the public.[46]

Lord Burghley's opening speech of this Parliament detailed the grievances against the Spanish including the recent invasion of France to fight against the then-Protestant Henri IV and the inciting of Catholic rebels in Scotland.[47] Elizabeth's advisors also tied recent events in Scotland to those in France asserting the real possibility of another direct Spanish assault on England. Burghley described this threat in his oration by stating that at the same time that the Spanish had planned to incite a rebellion in Scotland, they planned to invade England.[48] Due to these reasons, Elizabeth convened Parliament in order to raise money and prepare England's defenses for yet another possible invasion at the hands of the Spanish.

This Parliament lasted from February 19 to April 10, 1593. On the last day of Parliament, as was her custom, Elizabeth addressed both the Houses of the Lords and Commons to express her thanks and to set forth her royal will. She began her speech with an exordium which expressed her desire to be brief (as per Seneca) in the amount of her words. She stated:

> My Lords, and you my commons of the Lower House, were it not that I know no speeches presented by any other, nor words delivered by any substitute, can be so deeply imprinted into your minds, as spoken by herself, whose order and direction was but followed and delivered by the Lord Keeper, I could be content to spare speech, whom silence better pleaseth than to speak.[49]

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[46] John Stow, *Annales* [1601], pp. 1272-3, as cited in Hartley 3: 28-29.
[47] Hartley, 3: 11-12.
[48] Ibid., p. 12.
[49] *CW*, p. 331.

In Elizabeth's *exordium* the common rhetorical device of the excuse of the eloquence of the speaker is absent. While she does apologize for speaking at all, she asserts that her speech was, indeed, necessary as she asserted it was able to inspire and impress like none other. This was in spite of the fact that the style of an *exordium* which included the excuse of the inadequacy of the speaker was still being used by Parliamentary members.[50] However, Elizabeth's *exordium* was reminiscent of that in a speech of her father's which he gave on December 24, 1545:

> Although my chancellor, for the time being, hath, before this time, been used, very eloquently and substantially, to make answer to such orations as have been set forth in this high court of parliament; yet he is not so able to open and set forth my mind and meaning, and the secrets of my heart, in so plain and ample manner, as I myself am, and can do.[51]

In her speech Elizabeth echoed the sentiments of Henry VIII that there was no speech like that of a king. Elizabeth often utilized the glamour of her own presence to heighten the projection of her political image and advance her policies.

Elizabeth continued in classical style by dividing her oration into two distinct parts. In the first section of the speech, Elizabeth dealt with the issue of the financial subsidy that she had requested in order to prepare for the defense of England. When she mentioned this, Elizabeth immediately used an "ethical proof" of her own love for England as a justification for such aid. She stated that:

> the care [the subsidy] which you have taken for my selfe, your selves, and the common weale, that you do it for a Prince that neither careth for any particular, no nor for life, but so to live that you may flourish. For before God and in my conscience I protest, whereunto many that know me can witnesse, that the great expence of my time, the labour of my studies,[italics mine] and the travel of my

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[50] For a contemporary example of such an *exordium* see Sir Henry Unton, "Sir Henry Unton's Speech on the subsidy," [March 7,1593], in Hartley 3: 55.
[51] Henry VIII, "Speech Before Parliament," p. 451.

> thoughts, chiefly tendeth to God's service, and the government of you to live in a flourishing and happy estate: God forbid you should knowe any change thereof. Many wiser Princes than my selfe you have had, but one only excepted (whom/ in the duty of a childe I must regard, and to whom I must acknowledge my selfe farre shallow) I may truely say, none whose love and care can be greater, or whose desire can be more to fathome deeper for prevention of danger to come, or resisting of dangers if attempted towards you, shall ever bee found to exceeded my selfe: in love I say towardes you, and care over you.[52]

In this long "ethical proof," or *testatio*,[53] Elizabeth highlighted the central virtues of her politically-styled humanism. She mentioned that the entire course of her own education and study had been to care for the common good of the people. Elizabeth always stood upon her own *amor patriae* and willingness to sacrifice her own needs and desires for the sake her realm. She used another "ethical proof" stating that no other prince had loved the English more than herself. This idea of her own selflessness in regards to England's policies and defense was a common theme for Elizabeth in her speeches and letters. Elizabeth asserted that in everything she did whether it was religion or politics, she considered England before her own safety or personal will.

In Elizabeth's speech, she also included a section dealing with "some doubt of danger."[54] During this precarious time, Elizabeth had already sent several military expeditions to the European mainland, along with numerous amounts of money to aid the fighting of both the Dutch Netherlands and the French Henri IV against the Spanish.[55] And according to Parliamentary records, there was still the suspicion that Spain might take the offensive once again and attempt to invade the English shores.[56] Therefore,

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[52] *CW*, p. 331.
[53] Sonnio, *Handbook*, pp. 87-88.
[54] *CW*, p. 331.
[55] Doran, *Elizabeth I and Foreign Policy, 1558-1603*, pp. 57-58.
[56] Hartley, 3: 11-12.

Elizabeth sought to use the subsidy to help prepare her defenses for any attack from Spain. She justified her request through her use of another "ethical proof" stating:

> For mine own part, I protest that I never feared: nor what fear was, my heart never knew. For I knew that my cause was ever just, and it standeth upon a sure foundation that I should not fail, God assisting the quarrel of the rightwise and such as are but to defend.[57]

In so doing, she used this "ethical proof" to equate her own rule once again with a divine sanction.

Elizabeth then used another *comparatio* by contrasting her own actions with those of the King of Spain. She stated that unlike the King of Spain, she had never sought to use her armies to "enlarge the territories of my land," or "in fear of the enemy."[58] She stated that despite Spain's advantage in many ways against England, Elizabeth had the help of God who would always come to her aid. She described any actions of Spain as "malice" and in another *comparatio* contrasted this "malice" with the "resolute and valiant" efforts of her own people.[59] She ended this proof with the statement that in the upcoming conflict with Spain: "I doubt not but we shall have the greatest glory, God fighting for those which truly serve him, with the justness of their quarrel."[60]

## Henri IV of France

In August of 1589, the childless French king, Henri III, was assassinated leaving his throne ostensibly to the Protestant King of Navarre, Henri IV. However, a war of succession ensued between Henri IV and the Catholic League of France.[61] To reinforce

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[57] *CW*, p. 331.
[58] Ibid., p. 332.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Doran, *Elizabeth I and Foreign Policy: 1558-1603*, pp. 57-58.

the efforts of the then Protestant Henri IV, Elizabeth sent him £20,000 and 4,000 men under the command of Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby, son of Catherine Willoughby Brandon Bertie, Protestant patroness and friend to the late Katherine Parr (Elizabeth's last step-mother).[62] On December 6, 1589, Elizabeth authored a letter to Willoughby giving him directions on how to proceed to aid the newly established Protestant French king.[63] She began her letter with the standard salutation: "Right trusty and well beloved we greet you well."[64] However, in this letter she used a superscript at the top of this letter stating:

> My good Peregrine, I bless God that your old prosperous success followeth your valiant acts, and joy not a little that safety accompanieth your luck. Your Loving sovereign, Elizabeth.[65]

While the letter only exists in a copy, in the original the signature and superscript was most likely in Elizabeth's own hand signifying a great deal of familiarity.[66]

Elizabeth stated she was not yet able to call his troops back to England due to the great service they had provided to Henri IV. She tied the purpose of the English troops in France to the civic virtue of *amor patriae* writing:

> yet now perceiving the great contentment and satisfaction the king, our good brother, hath received by your good service, and of our company under your charge, whereby also such as heretofore might have conceived an opinion either of our weakness or of the decay and want of courage or other defects of our English nation may see themselves much deceived, in that the contrary hath now well appeared in that country by so small a troop as is with you, to the great honor and reputation of us and of our nation, and to the disappointing and (as we hope) the daunting of our enemies.[67]

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[62] Doran, *Elizabeth I and Foreign Policy,1558-1603,* p. 58.
[63] TNA, SP France, 70/20/119, f. 228r, copy. Also cited in *CW*, pp. 360-361.
[64] Ibid.; also cited in *CW*, p. 360.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid.; also cited in *CW*, p. 360, fn. 1.
[67] Ibid.

Near the end of the letter, Elizabeth assured Willoughby that his presence in France caused "an increase of our comfort, and of the honor of the whole realm and nation to their own more reputation."[68]

Around the year 1590, Elizabeth authored a letter to Henri IV of France shortly after sending money and troops in support of his cause.[69] She began her letter in the standard way but immediately mentioned that Henri might find himself astonished, "If by chance in a vision," by the fact that his own messenger was returning her reply.[70] In this beginning Elizabeth exalted several civic virtues of Henri's courtier Monsieur de Beauvior stating that he had the virtues of "fidelity, experience, and valor." Elizabeth stated that it was necessary to send him back to Henri "because for my part, I have charged him with a task without which he would not have had his leave."[71] She then proceeded into the next part of her letter which dealt with her stern advice to the king.

Elizabeth apparently had heard from Beauvior that Henri was becoming too involved in combat, thus risking his life, and with it the Protestant cause in France. Elizabeth stated to Henri IV:

> It is for you to reflect, with a reminder from me, how much you will show yourself in greater need of a bridle than a spur. For the honor of God, consider how much it matters to the whole cause—the preservation of your person![72]

Elizabeth criticized Henri IV for the appearance of seeking fame for himself rather than advancement for the overall Protestant cause. As Elizabeth felt this was the correct path to follow, her advice is a classic example of the civic virtue of *amor patriae*. To Elizabeth

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[68] *CW*, p. 361.
[69] Ibid., pp. 363-364.
[70] Ibid, p. 363.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.

Henri IV should consider the good of his countrymen (i.e. The Protestant Cause) above any perceived chance to win personal fame or glory.

Elizabeth then reminded Henri IV that image was definitely important in the life of a monarch, and "what is called valor in another, in you is imputed to temerity and feebleness of such judgment as should be greatest in a great prince." Elizabeth lectured Henri IV with a classical *comparatio* not to consider himself "as a private soldier but as a great prince."[73] In Elizabeth's mind, it would serve no purpose for Henri IV to die valiantly if the cause of Protestantism in France died with him. She wanted Henry to realize that the cause was greater than he was. That is, he should evince amor patria.

Elizabeth then added another "ethical proof" in the next section of her letter justifying why she could give him such stern advice. She wrote:

> It may be that you will disdain this advice as coming from the fearful heart of a woman, but when you remember how many times I have not showed my breast too much afraid of pistols and swords that were prepared against me, this thought will pass, being a fault of which I do not acknowledge myself guilty.[74]

Elizabeth rested upon the *testatio* of both her long reign and the many dangers she had faced as a justification for her counsel. In this section, Elizabeth used a comparatio and contrasted the "fearful heart of a woman" with her own courage in facing down with sensible precautions the numerous threats to her own life during her reign. She further contrasted her own caution with what she perceived as Henry's own lack of discretion.

Elizabeth's concern over the decisions made by Henri IV did not end. In 1593, Henri IV of France converted to Catholicism in order to win over a majority of public opinion in France, especially in Paris, and establish a more secure hold on the French

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[73] *CW*, p. 363.
[74] Ibid., pp. 363-364.

throne.[75] Elizabeth took this move as a betrayal because in her view Henry had compromised the greater good of his native state, and that of England, for his own ambition and glory.

In July of 1593, Elizabeth authored another letter to Henry expressing her thoughts over his conversion to Catholicism.[76] Angrily dispensing with the standard salutation, Elizabeth also left out any formal introduction or *exordium* writing:

> Ah what griefs, O what regrets, O what groanings felt I in my soul at the sound of such news as Morlains has told me! My God, it is [sic] possible that any worldly respect should efface the terror with which the fear of God threatens us? Can we with any reason expect a good sequel from an act so iniquitous?[77]

Elizabeth then used an "ethical proof" stating that the very hand of God "had preserved you many years" so why now would Henry expect that God would desert him "in your greatest need?"[78]

Elizabeth interpreted Henry's conversion to Catholicism as a lack of faith on his part, and so she contrasted that lack of faith with the *testatio* of God's providence up until that time. Elizabeth felt strongly that Henry's actions were a short-cut to personal glory over the greater cause of the religion of the French people. She may have understood his intentions for religious toleration, but still warned: "Ah, it is dangerous to do evil to make good out of it." This certainly echoed the advice of Socrates to his friend Crito. Socrates stressed that to be true to oneself, he/she must never do wrong even when a good can

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[75] Doran, *Elizabeth I and Foreign Policy*, p. 58.
[76] *CW*, pp. 370-371.
[77] Morlains was Jean de Morlans the herald sent by Henri IV to Elizabeth. Ibid., p. 370.
[78] *CW*, p. 371. All future quotations are from this source.

come of it.[79] As this letter demonstrates, Elizabeth felt that one's own religious faith should not be compromised for *amor patriae*.

Elizabeth ended her letter stating: "I will not cease to place you in the forefront of my devotions, that the hands of Esau may not spoil the blessing of Jacob." Here, Elizabeth used a Biblical allusion to the story of Jacob and Esau to represent the Protestant adaptation of this story to their cause.[80] Elizabeth also used this Biblical allusion in a classical comparatio to warn Henry that she felt he sacrificed his soul for a crown just as Essau had sold Jacob his birthright for a bowl of lentils. Elizabeth ended her letter with a promise of continued friendship but with also a bit of a veiled warning stating "Your most assured sister, if it be after the old fashion [Protestant]; with the new [his conversion to Catholicism] I have nothing to do."

An early biographer of Elizabeth's, William Camden, wrote that the King of France's conversion to Catholicism had such a disheartening effect on her that:

> In this her griefe shee sought comfort out of the holy Scriptures, the writings of the holy Fathers, and frequent conferences with the Archbishop, and whether out of the Philosophers also I know not. Sure I am that at this time, she daily turned over Boetius his books, *De Consolatione*, and translated them handsomely into the English tongue.[81]

Boethius was a civil servant of Rome during the sixth century and was an able poet, speaker, musician, and philosopher.[82] During his political career, he rose to the heights of public leadership, but ended up alone in prison stripped of all his honors. During his imprisonment, he wrote the *Consolatio Philosophiae* seeking comfort, not in his religion,

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[79] Plato, *Euthyphro. Apology. Crito. Phaedo*. Phaedrus trans. H.N. Fowler, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), lines 48-54.
[80] Gen. 27.
[81] William Camden, *Annales, or the History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth*, (London: Benjamin Fisher, 1635), Bk. 4, p. 422.
[82] Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. H.R. James, (London: Elliot Stock, 1897), pp. IX-X.

but in classical philosophy attempting to discover if the actions and events of the world are predetermined or simply subject to chance.[83] He wrote this work as a dialogue between himself and Lady Philosophy (*Philosophia*). While Boethius' work was filled with pagan representations with personifications of the Roman goddesses *Philosophia* and *Fortuna*, it was written as a Christian work replete with Christian symbolism.

Perhaps Elizabeth identified with this figure of a public servant who questioned the motives of others and wondered how the providence of God fit into what she saw as unexplainable circumstances. Certainly, she may have related to Boethius' musings about Fortune's malice where he stated:

> Mad Fortune sweeps along in wanton pride,
> Uncertain as Euripus' surging tide;
> Now tramples might kings beneath her feet;
> Now sets the conquered in the victor's seat.
> She heedeth not the wail of hapless woe,
> But mocks the griefs that from her mischief flow.[84]

Like Boethius, Elizabeth sought comfort in her academic pursuits which included the studies of the classics.

Elizabeth began her translation of the *Consolatio* at Windsor Castle on October 10, 1593 in the thirty-fifth year of her reign.[85] The translation is extant in three sections of manuscript now stored at the National Archives in Kew, England.[86] These manuscripts contain later marginalia that detailed specifics of the translation including the total number of hours that Elizabeth took to complete the work. The three marginalia writers

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[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid., p.47.
[85] Caroline Pemberton, foreword to *Queen Elizabeth's Englishings of Boethius, Plutarch and Horace*, ed. Caroline Pemberton, Kessinger Publishing's Rare Reprints (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1899), p. vii.
[86] TNA, SP 12/289.

all recount a rather miraculous version of Elizabeth's translation, attesting that the queen spent between twenty-four and twenty-seven hours total on the work.[87] Certainly, this must be read as exaggeration as Pemberton, the editor of Queen Elizabeth's Englishings, stated she was scarcely able to transcribe the work at the rate of one page per half hour much less translate "not only prose, but difficult poetry."[88] Regardless of the amount of time it took Elizabeth to translate, what is significant to this dissertation is that Elizabeth, as a humanist, sought refuge in her own classical education in both her use of translation and choice of material to translate.

For the most part Elizabeth was a literal translator of the text. For example, when dealing with the issue of pagan gods and goddesses, Elizabeth demonstrated her affinity with the Renaissance school of thought as she did not attempt to "Christianize" any of the pagan references. For example, in one section of the Consolatio, Boethius wrote:

> hanc si Threicio Boreas emissus ab antro uerberet et clausum reseret diem emicat et subito uibratus lumine Phoebus mirantes oculos radiis ferit.[89]
>
> If Boreas (i.e., the North Wind) having been forced from his Thracian cavern may strike and may unseal the enclosed day, shines forth with his sudden light having been flashed, Phoebus (Apollo, i.e. the Sun) strikes bewildered eyes with his rays.[90]

Elizabeth's translation of this section was:

> The same if boreas sent from his tracien den, Dothe strike, and Opens the hiden day, Shines out, and with his soudan Light Phoebus shaken, With his beams strikes al Lokars on.[91]

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[87] Pemberton, *Queen Elizabeth's Englishings*, pp. ix-x.
[88] Ibid., p. viii.
[89] Boethius, *Consolation of Philosophy*, p. 5.
[90] Unless stated otherwise all translations are mine.
[91] Elizabeth I, "Elizabeth's Translation of Boethius' Consolatio Philosophiae," [1593], in Pemberton, ed., *Queen Elizabeth's Englishings*, p. 5.

Here, Elizabeth was very true to the text despite the pagan notations. She could have easily substituted "God's breath" or the "North Wind" for Boreas, the Greek god of the North wind who lived in Thrace. Or she could have substituted the "Son" for "Pheobus," another name for Apollo, the Greek Sun god. However, she was not uncomfortable with these pagan notations and did not allegorize or contextualize them away as might other types of translators. If she had, the essential meaning would not have been lost, but the trueness to the text and the original context of Boethius would have been compromised.

Despite Elizabeth's very literal rendering of the pagan notations in Boethius, she had not always translated that way. As previously discussed in Chapter 2 of this dissertation, in 1567, Elizabeth gave a gift of a translation of Seneca's Letter 107 to her godson, John Harrington.[92] In this earlier translation, Elizabeth had taken great pains in that work to "Christianize" the text by substituting Christian phrases for pagan references.[93] Certainly, this reveals quite a bit about the audience for whom Elizabeth intended each translation. As she intended her translation of Seneca's Letter 107 for her very young godson, Elizabeth was very deliberate in excising the pagan references and transforming them into Christian ones. When she translated Boethius, she translated more in the style of the Renaissance translators taking a more literal and classical approach to the text.[94] This earlier translation of Seneca was more likely the aberration than indicative of any earlier style of Elizabeth. As this dissertation argues, Elizabeth was quite comfortable in the symbolism of classical antiquity.

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[92] *Elizabeth I: Translations, 1544-1589*, pp. 409-421.
[93] Ibid., p. 413.
[94] Kelly, *The True Interpreter*, p. 59.

The last part of Elizabeth's manuscript of the *Consolatio* reveals further clues about Elizabeth's process of translation. This final section appears to be in the hand of her secretary, Thomas Windebank.[95] This might account for many of her errors in translation. As Elizabeth was most probably dictating at this point, many of the errors may have been due to either Elizabeth's desire for speed or Windebank mishearing the Queen on occasion.[96] In that final section of Boethius, Elizabeth's translation dealt with her understanding of and wrestling with a very difficult theological question—that if God truly knew all of what was going to happen, did it mean all that happened (e.g., Henry's conversion to Catholicism) was God's will? Near the end of the book, Philosophy explained God's will this way:

> unde non praeuidentia sed prouidentia potius dicitur, quod porro a rebus infimis, constituta quasi ab excelso rerum cacumine cuncta prospiciat. quid igitur postulas ut necessaria fiant quae diuino lumine lustrentur, cum ne homines quidem necessaria faciant esse quae uideant?[97]
>
> Hence it is said not (to be) foresight, but providence (looking forth rather than seeing beforehand), which having been established formerly by the humblest things, may view all things as if from the highest top of things. Therefore, why do you ask that they be made necessary that which the divine light illuminates when not even men make things necessary which they see?

Elizabeth's translation:

> Wherfore we must not call it foresight, but prouidence which being set ouer all thinges, yea in the meanest, vews them all as out of the very top and spring of all. Why does thou ask therfore, why necessaryly thinges must needes be, that by Godes light be ouerlookt? When not men themselves make all thinges they see thinges necessary, because they see them.[98]

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[95] Mueller, et al. eds., *Elizabeth I: Translations, 1592-1598*, p. 49.
[96] Boethius, p. 54.
[97] Translation mine. Boethius, p. 124.
[98] Elizabeth I, "Elizabeth's Translation of Boethius' Consolatio Philosophiae," [1593], p. 118.

In this section, Elizabeth again stayed true to the text and conveyed the meaning that God's vision of future events was more rightly construed as providence and not as foresight. This interpretation allowed God's omnipotence to be compatible with human free will. Perhaps, the idea of human free will still having a place within the Protestant belief in God's providence in all matters gave Elizabeth some comfort over the conversion of Henri IV. Elizabeth turning to this text for her source of comfort during a time of questioning and uncertainty demonstrates how much she valued and internalized her own humanist education.

On September 13, 1596, Elizabeth authored a letter to the now Catholic Henri IV to cement a military alliance between England, the Netherlands, and France against Spain.[99] By this time, three years had passed since Henry's conversion and her refuge in Boethius. Apparently Elizabeth's own reaction to him must have warmed judging by the contents of her letter. In this letter, Elizabeth included the standard polite salutation: "To my good brother the most Christian king, Monsieur, my good brother."[100] Elizabeth stated that she had sent Gilbert Talbot, the Earl of Shrewsbury, to receive the King's pledge of faith to this pact. She wrote confidently: "I do not doubt at all that you will deign to second this act with your faith given to this count." Elizabeth assured Henry that "if all pacts were as inviolate as this one will be on my side, everyone would be astonished to see such constant friendship in this century." Finally, Elizabeth used an "ethical proof" of her own previous support of Henry as the correct action despite his conversion. She wrote:

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[99] BL, MS Additional 24023, f. 1v; also cited in *CW*, pp. 385-386.
[100] Ibid.; also cited in *CW*, p. 385.

> Thus I persuade myself that I will have no reason to repent of having honored, favored, and helped such a prince, who not only will think of what is fitting for him but will take care of what belongs to me, regarding justice as a true end of reciprocal affection.[101]

In this letter Elizabeth highlighted the multiple levels of political friendship. She mentioned that friendship had a "reciprocal" nature which underscored her civic virtue of the importance of *beneficia* (benefits) and *officia* (duties). Elizabeth had stressed the many layers of political friendship previously in her earlier translation and gift of Cicero's *Epistulae ad Familares* 2.6 to her eighteen year old godson, John Harrington, in 1579.[102] Here, she returned to her classical education to highlight justice was the "true end" of any friendship.

Throughout Elizabeth's dealings with France and especially with Henri IV, she utilized her own humanist education to project the "body politic" of a learned and devout prince who valued the good of the state over the needs of an individual. While she criticized Henri IV for departing from the Protestant fold, Elizabeth was able to eventually accept his friendship in order to help guarantee the safety of her own country once again demonstrating a central virtue of her own classical political humanism—*amor patriae.*

## The Earl of Essex and Ireland

While Elizabeth's reliance upon intimates/favorites had some advantages, it also had some perilous consequences. Elizabeth had to deal with the political fallout of the actions of subordinates such as Robert Devereux, the second Earl of Essex. Essex had initially won the favor of the Queen because he was the stepson of the Earl of Leicester.

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[101] BL, MS Additional 24023, f. 1v; also cited in *CW*, p. 386.
[102] See Chapter 3, p. 17. Mueller and Scodel, ed., *Elizabeth I: Translations, 1544-1589,* p.425.

He won further accolades as a military commander with his victory over the Spanish fleet at the Battle of Cadiz.[103] Due to his popularity and favored status, Essex was able to convince Elizabeth to allow him to command another expedition against the Spanish in 1597.[104] However, this time Essex's luck deserted him ending the mission in failure and prompting a stern rebuke from the Queen.[105]

Elizabeth began her letter to Essex in a very classical manner with a proverbial-sounding statement. She wrote:

> Eyes of youth have sharp sights, but commonly not so deep as those of elder age, which makes me marvel less at rash attempts and headstrong counsels which give not leisure to judgment's warning, nor heeds advice, but makes a laughter at the one and despises with scorn the last.[106]

Here, Elizabeth used her favorite literary device of comparatio, or comparison of dissimilars. She contrasted the "eyes of youth" with those of "elder age" and "rash attempts and headstrong counsels" with the more stable and reliable "judgment's warning." The frequent use of the comparatio was a favorite and somewhat unique technique of Elizabeth's in her speaking in writing.

Elizabeth rebuked the Earl for his failed expedition against the Spanish. She chided him as his lack of engagement of the Spanish fleet had left England's coastline exposed and vulnerable for another possible invasion. Phillip II did indeed attempt to take advantage of this opportunity to invade England, but bad winds forced his ships in the opposite direction and the invasion never materialized. Elizabeth was furious over Essex's inaction and expressed this in her letter:

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[103] Doran, *Elizabeth I and Foreign Policy: 1558-1603*, p. 60.
[104] Ibid., pp. 60-61.
[105] TNA, SP Domestic Elizabeth I 12/264/14, f. 19v; also cited in *CW*, pp. 386-388.
[106] Ibid.; also cited in *CW*, p. 386.

> For when I see the admirable work of the eastern wind so long to last beyond the custom of nature, I see as in a crystal the right figure of my folly, that ventured supernatural haps upon the point of frenetical imputation. But it pleaseth His goodness to strengthen our weakness, and warns us to use wit when we have it hereafter. Foreseen haps breeds no wonder; no more doth your short-returned post before his time.[107]

Elizabeth used this "ethical proof" as evidence for what she saw as God's divine favor on both herself and England.[108]

In Elizabeth's letter to Essex she utilized another proverbial bit of wisdom to scold him: "Foreseen haps breeds no wonder." This English rendition is quite similar to advice she once gave her own sister, Mary, to comfort her during a time of illness. In that previous letter Elizabeth wrote the Latin phrase: "*Jacula praevisa minus feriunt*" (For the darts which we foresee strike/hurt less).[109] Elizabeth may have very well been returning to this familiar advice to tell Essex what she thought of his actions. As Essex was an educated man himself, it is curious that Elizabeth did not leave the quotation in the original Latin as she did for the other Latin phrases in the letter. Perhaps, she was just quoting the English from memory.

Elizabeth went on in the next part of this letter that she had been unwise in allowing his mission. She contrasted the phrase: "Kings have the honor to be titled earthly gods" to how Essex's failure made her appear much more mortal. She stated that her appearance was more like that of a "lunatic man who keeps a smacker of the remain of his frenzy's freak, helped well thereto by the influence of *sol in leone* (heat of the

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[107] TNA, SP Domestic Elizabeth I 12/264/14, f. 19v; also cited in *CW*, p. 387.
[108] For a similar example see, "The Speaker's opening speeches before the Queen," [October 30, 1601] as cited in Hartley 3: 262.
[109] BL, MS Lansdowne 1236, f. 39v; also cited in *CW*, p. 27.

sun)."[110] Here, Elizabeth stated that Essex's actions left her looking like a crazed man who still visibly showed the traces (remain) on his face (smacker) of his lunacy (frenzied freak) driven mad by the heat of the sun (*sol in leone*). She then stated that Essex should "Admit that by miracle it would do well [his proposed mission], yet venture not such wonders where such approachful mischief might betide you."[111] She ended her letter with a comparatio stating that she prayed that God would give Essex the "wisdom to discern betwixt *verisimile* [what appears probable] and *potest fieri* [what you are able to do]."[112]

During this same time, Elizabeth also dealt with troubles in Ireland. In 1594, The Nine Year's War began, which was led by Hugh O'Neill, the earl of Tyrone.[113] In August of 1598, O'Neill's forces won a major victory over the English turning the tide almost entirely in favor of the Irish.[114] Therefore, by the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, Ireland had become the overriding concern for her internationally.[115] During this time at court, a dispute within Elizabeth's inner circle, mostly between Essex and Robert Cecil, arose over whom should be appointed as lord lieutenant to Ireland in order to restore the Queen's rule. Both Cecil and Essex worked against each other involving themselves in each other's affairs through their own systems of private intelligence networks.[116]

In 1598, in the midst of this court intrigue, Elizabeth chose to translate Plutarch's essay *De Curiositate*, which can be translated "On being a busybody." She might have

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[110] *Sol In Leone* in the 1559 BCP refers to the 13th of July which here Elizabeth probably used it as a metaphor for the extreme heat of the sun. TNA, SP Domestic Elizabeth I 12/264/14, f. 19v; also cited in *CW*, p. 387.
[111] Ibid.
[112] While this sounds like a classical quote, I have not been able to locate it. *CW*, p. 388.
[113] For a good article on this uprising see Hiram Morgan, "Hugh O'Neill and the Nine Year's War in Tudor Ireland," in *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 36, No. 1, (March 1993), pp. 21-37.
[114] Doran, *Elizabeth I: Foreign Policy, 1558-1603*, pp. 60-61.
[115] Ibid., p. 61.
[116] Mueller et al., *Elizabeth I: Translations, 1592-1598*, pp. 370-372.

sought comfort in this text to make a classical and political statement of the dangers of meddling in other people's affairs.[117] As she chose her favorite Essex to be lord lieutenant in Ireland, most probably she was intending Robert Cecil as the audience whom she felt needed to mind his own business.[118]

Mueller and Scodel argue that Elizabeth chose to translate this work from Erasmus's Latin version rather than from the Greek original.[119] Certainly, this was not unusual as many of the Greek classics had readily accessible printed Latin versions. This may have demonstrated that Erasmus's copy was the most available, or, perhaps, that in her later years Elizabeth trusted her Latin skills better than her Greek. Mueller and Scodel further state that Elizabeth allowed her court to believe that she had worked from Plutarch's Greek edition rather than Erasmus' own Latin translation.[120] While they pass on any conjecture about Elizabeth's reasons behind such a prevarication, I contend that this act of misrepresentation actually fits the premise of the dissertation. Elizabeth was a ruler who was concerned, if not consumed at times, with projecting her image as a humanist scholar.

When Elizabeth allowed the statement of her clerk, Thomas Windebank, to circulate throughout her court concerning her use of the Greek text of Plutarch, it made her appear even more scholarly in the eyes of her court than she might have deserved at the time. While she certainly had a moderate command of Greek in her youth, she

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[117] Elizabeth I, "Plutarch's *De Curiositate*," in *Elizabeth I Translations: 1592-1598*, pp. 390-447.
[118] *CW*, pp. 390-94.
[119] Mueller et al, ed. *Elizabeth I Translations: 1592-1598*, pp. 374-376.
[120] Ibid.

probably had not used it for it a long time.[121] Whatever, her initial reason for the choice of language, her complicity in Windebank's deception demonstrated that she wished to present the image of a learned prince to her courtiers despite her increasing age. This deception supports the contention of this dissertation that Elizabeth relied upon her classical education to project an image even when that image was not completely honest.

Generally, Elizabeth's translation of this text from Latin to English followed her established pattern of a literal and direct word for word style. For example, in one section, Erasmus' Latin translation of Plutarch reads: "*Quanta Isthmum circum deferter copia aquarum, Aut quercum circum quantum stratum est foliorum*."[122] In English this can be rendered: "As great a swelling of water flows around the strait, or as great a number of leaves was spread around the oak-tree."[123] In Elizabeth's translation, she writes: "As great a stream as water's flood doth bring to bay, or circled oak, by falling leaves from tree."[124] Elizabeth's translation is a bit more flowing and poetic as part of her advertised purpose of this activity was to translate Plutarch "into English meter."

Another interesting and telling bit of Elizabeth's style in her translation deals with her humanist refusal to "Christianize" the text. This was once again in stark contrast to her earlier noted translation when Elizabeth gave her young godson, John Harrington a copy of Seneca's Letter 107.[125] In the translation of Seneca, which was discussed in Chapter 2 of this dissertation, Elizabeth had taken great pains to "Christianize" the text removing referencing to the pagan gods of Rome. In this case, her later translation of

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[121] For records of Elizabeth's early proficiency in Greek see Roger Ascham, "Ascham to Sturm," pp. lxii-lxiii.
[122] Mueller and Scodel, *Elizabeth I: Translations, 1592-1598*, p. 376.
[123] Translation mine.
[124] Mueller & Scodel, *Elizabeth I: Translations, 1592-1598*, p. 376.
[125] Elizabeth I, *Elizabeth I Translations, 1592-1598*, pp. 409-421.

Plutarch, like her translation of Boethius, resonates more with a Renaissance and classical understanding of translation. This lends further support that the removal of the pagan notations in the earlier translation (Seneca) was the exception and not the norm for Elizabeth. As a political humanist, Elizabeth was comfortable within the works and mythology of classical antiquity.

Another interesting note about Elizabeth's translation of Plutarch concerns her specific nuances that reveal her own personal biases about the relations of princes to the courtiers. Elizabeth took the small phrase of "*eiectiones principum*" (banishment of princes) and expanded this into "The treasons huge, of kings from kingdoms thrown."[126] Elizabeth's very loose translation transformed the idea of expelling a prince from his country and added the dramatic and treasonous interpretations to it. Certainly, such an idea must have seemed reprehensible to Elizabeth. In the last section of the work, she very literally translated the story of how "sycophants" got their name. This story related to a time when the transportation of figs was illegal as the word "sycophant" literally meant "to show the fig" in Greek. However, this word actually became associated more with flatterers as it was known in Elizabeth's time. This meaning derived from the classical use of this phrase "to show the fig" to stand for a derisive and vulgar gesture that people used to taunt their opponents.[127]

Shortly after Elizabeth completed this translation, she appointed the Earl of Essex over Cecil as her new Lord Lieutenant in Ireland. Elizabeth sent him to Ireland in April of 1599 with the instructions to put down the rebellion immediately and restore English

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[126] Ibid., p. 377.
[127] *An Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon: Founded upon the Seventh Edition of Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon,* eds. H.G. Liddell and Robert Scott, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

sovereignty. However, Essex did not move quickly enough for the Queen's liking. So, on July 19, 1599, Elizabeth authored a letter reprimanding him for what she perceived as his own hesitancy and ineffectiveness in quelling the rebellion and restoring the Queen's honor.[128] Elizabeth's letter began abruptly, dispensing with the usual salutation, going straight to the point that despite the "divers days in taking an account of all," [approximately 2 months] the Earl had yet to shed even a "small light either when or in what order you intend particularly to proceed to the northern action" [The county of Ulster was north of Essex's camp].[129] Elizabeth then stated that Essex's expedition had cost the crown valuable money as well as honor in the eyes of the English people and the world. Elizabeth wrote:

> Yet you must needs think that we that have the eyes of foreign princes upon our actions and have the hearts of people to comfort and cherish—who groan under the burden of constant levies and impositions which are occasioned by these late actions—can little please ourself hitherto with anything that hath been effected.[130]

She scolded him stating that his 'two months' journey" had not yet produced any "capital rebel" despite the size and quality of his force against that of the Irish. Here, Elizabeth relied again on a comparatio which described Essex's men as "such force as you had with help of the cannon" and then contrasted that against her characterization of the Irish that confronted him as a "rabble of rogues."[131]

In the next section, where Elizabeth issued Essex the command to go northward towards Ulster to attack O'Neill, she highlighted the civic virtues of *amor patriae* and personal honor:

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[128] This is an early seventeenth-century copy. *CW*, pp. 390-394.
[129] Ibid., p. 390.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Ibid., p. 391.

> how great a scandal it would be to our honor to leave that proud rebel unassaulted when we have so great an expectation of our enemies engaged ourself so far in this action, so as without that be done, all these former courses will prove like via navis in mare, besides that our power, which hitherto hath been dreaded by potent enemies, will now even be held contemptible amongst our rebels.[132]

Elizabeth emphasized that Essex's inaction offended the Queen's honor (a civic virtue) and weakened the image of England in the eyes of the world (*amor patriae*). Elizabeth underscored that Essex's mission held the very honor and political image of the Queen in the eyes of the world. The idea of political value of the honor of a monarch was a common theme in royal letters.[133]

In this letter Elizabeth cited a Latin phrase *via navis* in mare (like the way of a ship in the sea) which corresponds to Proverbs 30:19: "*viam navis in medio mari*" (the way of a ship in the middle of the sea). In this proverb the author is listing four things he could not understand. Here, Elizabeth used this Biblical proverb to tell Essex that his lack of progress in Ireland had now become something that she could not understand. Elizabeth stated his inactions had caused:

> our power, which hitherto hath been dreaded by our enemies, will now even be held contemptible amongst our rebels, we must now plainly charge you, according to the duty you owe us, so as to unite soundness of judgment to the zeal you have to do us service.[134]

She also cited Essex's "duty" to country and to crown as something that should be a motivating factor for his success without delay. She ordered him to proceed so that "the axe may be put to the root of that tree which hath been the treasonable stock from whence so many poisoned plants and grafts have been derived." Here, she may have been

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[132] *CW*, p. 393.
[133] For example, see Henry VIII, "Henry VIII to his ambassador to Charles V," [1534], as cited in *Letters of the Kings of England*, vol. I, pp. 337-338.
[134] *CW*, p. 393.

referencing the fiery message of John the Baptist's proclamation: "Now also is the axe laid unto the root of the trees, therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit, shall be hewn down, and cast into the fire"[135] This was, doubtless, featured in many a sermon Elizabeth sat through before and after her accession. She again referenced her public reputation stating that unless Essex followed her commands the "eye of the world" might attribute this to "too much weakness in ourself to begin a work without better foresight." Here, Elizabeth may have been making an oblique Biblical reference to Christ's parable of the king building the tower upon on uncertain foundation.[136]

She ended her letter to Essex criticizing him for wanting to promote Henry Wriothesley, the Earl of Southampton, as his master of his horse. Southampton had angered the Queen by marrying one of her ladies in waiting without her consent. Now, Essex's strong friendship had in Elizabeth's eyes overridden his judgment and loyalty to the Queen in this regard for which she criticized him.[137] Elizabeth also responded to Essex's comments that most of his courtiers had desired to return due to their extreme discouragement at the situation in Ireland. Elizabeth wrote:

> And where you say further that divers or the most of the voluntary gentlemen are so discouraged thereby as they begin to desire passports and prepare to return, we cannot as yet be persuaded but that the love of our service and the duty which they owe us have been as strong motives to these their travails and hazards as any affection to the earl of Southampton or any other. If it prove otherwise, which we will not so much wrong as to suspect, we shall have the less cause either to acknowledge or reward it.[138]

Here, Elizabeth ended her letter with a classical comparatio, stating that she felt that it was not the soldiers' *amor patriae* that caused them discouragement about the failures in

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[135] Luke 3:9.
[136] Luke 14: 28-30.
[137] *CW*, pp. 393-394, fn. 18.
[138] Ibid., p. 394.

Ireland as much as it was Essex's poor choice in regards to Southampton. Thus, she ended her letter to him with a classical device highlighting the civic virtues of honor and love of country to indict Essex for his lack of judgment.

Elizabeth's appeal to the issue of her honor to Essex had some effect. He did eventually march his forces northward into Ulster to engage O'Neill. However, O'Neill ended up requesting a meeting which ended in a six week truce between the opposing forces. Immediately, after negotiating this truce, Essex left Ireland to return to England to meet personally with Elizabeth about his actions in Ireland.[139] By December of 1600, the Earl of Essex had grown in such disfavor that the queen replaced him with Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, as the new Lord Deputy of Ireland.[140] During this time, the situation in Ireland was complicated by the intervention of the new Spanish king, Phillip III, who had promised to help O'Neill free Ireland from English sovereignty. Phillip sent over 3,000 Spanish forces to Kinsale in Ireland to await the arrival of O'Neill and his forces.

On December 3, 1600, Elizabeth authored a letter to new her Lord Deputy, Lord Mountjoy beginning with a salutation that titled him: "Mistress Kitchenmaid."[141] She used this because Mountjoy in a previous letter to the Queen had compared his role in Ireland to that of a "kitchen wench."[142] He most certainly was implying that he had to clean up the mess made by the Earl of Essex. Elizabeth continued this imagery and stated: "with your frying pan and other kitchen stuff have brought to their last home more rebels, and passed greater breakneck places than those that promised more and did

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[139] MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I*, p. 413.
[140] Lambeth Palace Library, MS 604, f. 242v; also cited in *CW*, p. 399, fn. 1.
[141] Ibid.; also cited in *CW*, p. 399.
[142] *CW*, p. 399, fn. 2.

less."[143] Elizabeth contrasted the efforts of the "kitchen wench" (Mountjoy) with the actions of the Earl of Essex. Her humorous salutation was probably intended, in part, to put Mountjoy at his ease and reassure him by her informality that she especially valued him. She continued this reassurance:

> Comfort yourself, therefore, in this: that neither your careful endeavors, nor dangerous travails, nor heedful regards to our service, without your own by-respects, could ever have been bestowed upon a prince that more esteems them, considers and regards them, than she for whom chiefly, I know, all this hath been done, and who keeps this verdict ever in store for you—that no vainglory nor popular fawning can ever advance you forward, but true vow of duty and reverence of [sic] prince, which two afore your life I see you do prefer.[144]

Here, Elizabeth used a comparatio to contrast Essex's "vainglory and popular fawning" against that of Mountjoy's "true vow of duty and reverence of [sic] prince." In this letter Elizabeth held high the civic virtues of honor and duty that truly earned the esteem of a prince.

Elizabeth's last section of her letter also used another comparatio contrasting the "heresy" of the Papists in Ireland with Mountjoy's thinking about the Queens' affection for him. She stated that she wanted to "conjure" him from the heresy of thinking that "you suppose you be backbited by some to make me think you faulty of many oversights and evil defaults in your government."[145] While Elizabeth assured him that all men commit some measure of errors, she had "never heard of any had fewer; and such is your good luck that I have not known them, though you were warned of them." She ended this letter stating that Mountjoy needed to learn the difference: "betwixt admonitions and charges and like of faithful advices as your most necessariest weapons to save you from

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[143] Lambeth Palace Library, MS 604, f. 242v; also cited in *CW*, p. 399.
[144] Ibid., pp. 399-400.
[145] Ibid., p. 400.

blows of princes' mislike."[146] Here, Elizabeth used another comparatio to help Mountjoy interpret her messages to him. She ended the letter with a reference back to the "heresy" of the Catholics stating that if he followed her will she would absolve him "*a poena et culpa*" (from punishment and guilt) of any mistakes.[147] With this phrase, Elizabeth took the language of the Roman Catholic Church used by a priest who was absolving a penitent believer of his/her sins to assure her courtier of his own forgiveness.

Shortly after this letter was sent in February of 1601, the Earl of Essex, now in exile, decided to preempt his enemies by staging a coup. His proposal was to advance upon the Queen's residence and to purge the court of the courtiers giving her counsel against him. Essex felt that then he would be able to plead his case to the Queen personally and save his own reputation. However, Essex's plan failed leading to his arrest and subsequent execution as a traitor to the realm.[148] Early the next year, Mountjoy and his English forces were able to thwart Phillip III's plan to link up with O'Neill's forces in Ireland. On January 12, 1602, Mountjoy's troops surrounded the Spanish forcing them into a complete surrender.[149] However, it would take longer for O'Neill and his Irish forces to submit totally to the rule of the English.

On February 17, 1603, Elizabeth sent a letter to Mountjoy concerning his recent activities in Ireland giving him advice on how to bring the rest of the Irish under her submission. Elizabeth began her letter with a concession that stated she would allow Tyrone (O'Neill) to live "to save so many of our subjects."[150] Here, she portrayed her

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[146] *CW*, p. 400.
[147] Ibid.
[148] MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I*, p. 415.
[149] Doran, *Elizabeth I and Foreign Policy, 1558-1603,* p. 62.
[150] Bodleian library, MS Tanner 76, ff. 171r-172r; also cited in *CW*, pp. 405-408.

decision as an expression of the virtue of *amor patriae* or placing the needs for her own satisfaction of vengeance behind those of her own loyal subjects fighting for her cause. In this letter in several distinct sections, Elizabeth demonstrated her continued reliance on intimates and often their own judgment to help her in her rule. When discussing her preferences for dealing with Tyrone, Elizabeth wrote: "And for your better judgment and knowledge how in such case we mean to dispose, we do give you warrant hearby [sic] to pass him our pardon upon these conditions."[151] In the middle of this letter, Elizabeth wrote: "All which being done, we leave the rest of your proceedings to your own best judgment." Once again after discussing the Queen's preferences for dealing with the Irish rebels, she stated she wanted to rely upon Mountjoy's discretion and judgment. She wrote:

> and see that you have extraordinary foresight and judgment in the government of that realm, we do attribute so much to you in the handling of this matter as we leave it and the rest of the particular conditions (mentioned in the former letter or in this) to your discretion, who may see cause to vary in some circumstances which are not worthy the sending to know our pleasure in, but to be altered as you shall see cause.[152]

Elizabeth was apparently so pleased with Mountjoy's progress and his own abilities that she gave him unusual latitude in the continuation of his objective. Mountjoy eventually gained the outright and public submission of Tyrone to the Queen, but this occurred on March 30, 1603, six days after Elizabeth died.[153]

What is most curious in the Queen's political and public handling of Essex, Mountjoy, and the rebellion in Ireland was what she did not say. In every other foreign

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[151] Bodleian library, MS Tanner 76, ff. 171r-172r.; also cited in *CW*, p. 406.
[152] Ibid.; also cited in *CW*, p. 407.
[153] Ibid., p. 405, fn. 1.

affair, Elizabeth stood upon the "ethical proof" of God's special providence on both her and the English which she inferred was attested by her apparent successes. Many of these incidents, such as the armada of 1588 and Henri IV's conversion to Catholicism, have already been discussed in this chapter. Elizabeth was also very fond of pointing to her own longevity and previous successes as proof of God's blessings and sanction. However, when dealing with the Earl of Essex and troubles in Ireland, Elizabeth and England were not initially successful. In fact, by the time of August 1598, O'Neill and his forces had won a significant victory over the English making it appear as a lost cause.[154] While Elizabeth was quick to criticize her advisors or courtiers in their actions or perceived inactions in this rebellion, she did not ever, at least publicly, seem to view England's lack of political or military success as an absence of God's blessing or provision in the endeavor. Certainly, this demonstrates Elizabeth's desire to spin any events good or bad in her favor.

## A political humanist prince until the end

Just like her motto, *Semper Eadem*, Elizabeth continued her projection of the image of a classical and political humanist prince in her projection of her "body politic" ruling upon the foundation of God's favor until the very end of her life. Elizabeth exemplified this in a speech given to the faculty at Oxford University on September 28, 1592.[155] This speech occurred on the last day of a seven day visit by the Queen and was

[154] Doran, *Elizabeth I: Foreign Policy, 1558-1603*, pp. 60-61.
[155]Bodleian, MS Bodley 900, ff. 1v-2v, copy; also cited in *ACFLO*, pp. 163-165.

chronicled in a contemporary account by Phillip Stringer.[156] After being entertained by the faculty with numerous debates, orations, sermons and even the performance of a comedy, Elizabeth prepared to leave the university. Before departing, she made a brief oration in Latin to the faculty in thanks for both her good visit and their work at the university.[157] As this speech exists in different copies, I will discuss the version that was bound with other manuscripts purported to be by the Queen.[158]

This was the second time that Elizabeth had visited Oxford and the second time that she had addressed the faculty in a Latin oration. She gave her first speech to the Oxford faculty during a seven day visit in 1566.[159] The first speech she gave was as a young monarch establishing and projecting a scholarly image of a learned prince. In that oration she took a Senecan approach and a humble tone.[160] In this second speech before the Oxford faculty, Elizabeth once again took a humble tone to ingratiate herself to her erudite audience. In her exordium, she stated that her oration might not be that impressive due to being overcome with "merits and gratitude" (*merita et gratitudo*). She continued stating:

> Curae enim Regnorum tam magna pondera habent, vt ingenium obtundere quam memoriam acuere soleant. Addatur etiam huius linguae desuetude.
>
> For the cares of kingdoms have so great weights that they are in the habit of blunting the mind more than sharpening the memory. Let it be added to that also a discontinuance of the practice of this language [Latin].[161]

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[156] Phillip Stringer, "The Grand Reception and Entertainment of Queen Elizabeth at Oxford in 1592," as cited in *Elizabethan Oxford: reprints of rare tracts*, ed. Charles Plummer. (2009, repr., Oxford: Clarendon press, 1887), pp. 245-274.
[157] Ibid., p. 259.
[158] Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 900, ff. 1v-2v; also cited in *ACFLO*, pp. 163-164.
[159] Johannis Berebloci, "Of the Acts Done at Oxford on the Occasion of Queen Elizabeth's visit in the year 1566," in *Elizabethan Oxford: reprints of rare tracts*, pp. 109-244.
[160] See Chapter 2, p. 41.
[161] All translations from this work are mine. Bodleian, MS Bodley 900, 1v-2v; also cited in *ACFLO*, pp. 163-164.

Once again, Elizabeth utilized her favorite device of comparatio to contrast the dulling of the mind with the need to sharpen her memory. She also has made a bit of an "ethical proof" stating that she had to subordinate her desire for intellectual pursuits to the "care of the kingdom" expressing *amor patriae*.

Elizabeth's oration was in the classical style of a *laudatio* or an epideictic speech of praise. This type of *laudatio* fit right in with Putteham's list of approved subjects for poetry or a speech.[162] Elizabeth continued her exordium with another comparatio stating:

> Non sunt laudes eximiae et insignes, sed immeritae meae, Non doctrinarum in multis et varijus modis erudite et insigniter expressae, sed aliud quiddam est multo pretiosius atque praestantius, Amor scilicet, qui nec vnquam auditus nec scriptus nec memoria hominum notus fuit.
>
> It is not your praises that are extraordinary and distinguished, but unmerited to me, nor the revealing of your education, narrations and descriptions in many different areas, nor the many and various kinds of speeches eruditely and famously expressed, but another which is more precious and excellent, that is, a love which has not at any time been heard nor written about nor noted in the memory of man.[163]

Here, Elizabeth contrasted their praises with what she felt was the true praise—their love and esteem. Elizabeth then stated that she felt that their true praise was indifferent to the damaging effects of time "which eats away iron and lessens rocks," (*quod ferrum consumit, quod scopulos minuit*). In the second part of her comparatio, Elizabeth stated their praises would not diminish with time but were of things "eternal" (*aeterna*).

She continued in the classical style by dividing up her speech into separate parts. From the exordium, Elizabeth ventured into the first of her proof dealing with the

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[162] Puttenham, *The Arte of Poesie*, p. 19.
[163] All further quotations are from this source. Bodleian, MS Bodley 900, 1v-2v; also cited in *ACFLO*, p. 164.

evidence of her own reign. She stated that the care of the universities had never been "the least part" (*pars eius non minima*) of her agenda. She further stated that there would not be "any need to arouse her with a goad" (*nullo stimulo opus erit ad excitandam*) to have her provide for the university. Elizabeth assured her learned audience that her primary desire had been to promote the stability and prosperity of her realm, and universities such as Oxford have been a big consideration for her. Her assurance may have not have convinced all her listeners as Elizabeth did not give any money or patronage to the universities during her reign.

Elizabeth then proceeded directly to her main point of giving the speech stating: "Now, with respect to this, grasp and retain this advice, which if you obey, I doubt not without it will be to the glory of God, your use and my singular joy" (*Nunc quod ad consilium attinet, tale accipiter quod si sequamini, haud dubito quin erit in Dei gloriam, verstram utilitatem et meum singular gaudium*). Elizabeth then told the professors that she desired that: "God be worshipped not in manner of the opinions of all" (*Non more omnium opinionum*), but as Elizabeth desired in a unified style that agreed with English law and she felt was true to the Scriptures.

She followed this advice immediately with another "ethical proof" focusing on her own judgment and rule. She emphasized that she would not teach nor command them anything that was contrary to the word of God.[164] Again, this kind of proof equated her government's laws and actions with a divine sanction that must not be questioned—only followed. Elizabeth then ended her speech stating: "Finally, be of one mind, for you understand that unity is more solid, division is weaker, and easily the weaker and quick to

[164] Bodleian, MS Bodley 900, ff. 1v-2v; also cited in *ACFLO*, pp. 164-165.

topple into ruin." (*Postremo, vt sitis vnanimes, cum intelligatis vnita robustiora, separate infirmiora, et cito in ruinam casura*).[165] In her final phrase of this speech, she did not ask them to forget all of what was said like she did on her first visit. Instead, this time she returned to a comparatio, the contrasting of unity and disunity, to stress instead, as seen above, that they remember and honor her words to be of one mind whether in church, government, or education.

In 1597, an aged Elizabeth was confronted with another opportunity to demonstrate her political humanism. This incident involved an *ex tempore* speech in response to a Latin oration given to her by Paul De Jaline, the Polish ambassador to England.[166] By this time in her reign, Elizabeth was 64 years old, and some in her court considered her to be less than effective, looking past her towards her erudite cousin, James VI of Scotland, as the hope of their future.[167] However, with this speech Elizabeth challenged the perception of herself as a feeble and stagnant monarch with this unrehearsed Latin oration in response to the Polish ambassador's brash complaint against her and her government. This is attested to by the several extant copies that exist of the speech as well as the numerous times it was referenced in contemporary and later accounts and letters. This oration enhanced Elizabeth's stature and political image throughout her realm.[168]

Since witnesses of this speech state it was *ex tempore*, one must contend with the issue of reconstruction of what was actually said. Janet Green has thoroughly addressed the difficulty that arises in piecing together what Elizabeth said from the various English

[165] *ACFLO*, p. 165
[166] Green, "Elizabeth I's Reply to the Polish Ambassador," p 1005.
[167] Haigh, Elizabeth I, pp. 20-23.
[168] Green, "Elizabeth I's Reply to the Polish Ambassador," p 1005.

and Latin texts that remain.[169] Robert Cecil, an eyewitness of the event, wrote that he had labored to make as good a copy as he could remember. His version which includes both a Latin and English translation is found in the Cecil papers at Hatfield House.[170] For the purposes of this dissertation, I will reference Cecil's Latin manuscript (Salisbury, MS 7, 53:63) as it appears to have the earliest attestation of authenticity as well as the hallmarks of Elizabeth's style.[171]

Most of the information about the circumstances surrounding this speech comes from a contemporary account by Sir Robert Cecil, the son of William Cecil, who had succeeded his father as Elizabeth's primary advisor. In his letter to the Earl of Essex, Cecil reported that Elizabeth had given the ambassador the particular honor of being publicly received in "the chamber of Presence, where most of the Erles and Noblemen about the court attended, and made it a great day."[172] After the initial reception, the ambassador backed away from the throne and then began to berate the Queen loudly in a rehearsed Latin speech. Cecil stated that the Ambassador's oration had "such a countenance, as in my lyfe I never behelde."[173] This Latin oration by De Jaline included complaints about England's foreign policy towards Poland and even a veiled threat at the end of the speech concerning what the King of Poland might do if Elizabeth did not mend her ways.[174] After his speech was over, Cecil wrote:

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[169] Green, "Queen Elizabeth I's Latin Reply to the Polish Ambassador," pp. 990-991.
[170] Ibid., p. 990.
[171] Ibid., p. 1005.
[172] BL Lansdowne MS 85, art. 19, fols. 37v-38v as cited in Green, "Queen Elizabeth I's Latin Reply to the Polish Ambassador," p. 989.
[173] Ibid.
[174] Ibid.

> To this I sweare by the living God, that her Majestie made one of the best aunswers *ex tempore*, in Latin, that I ever heard, being much mooved to be so challenged in publick, especially so much against her expectation.[175]

Cecil recorded in his letter to Essex that after speaking, Elizabeth added to the drama of the moment by rising and leaving the ambassador alone in the chamber.[176]

Despite the testimony of the speech's unrehearsed nature, it follows closely the classical style of an epideictic speech dealing primarily with a praise/complaint. Elizabeth's oration was also characteristic of a Senecan speech in that it was brief, divided into two or more parts, and not weighed down by elaborate proofs. This manuscript begins with an exordium relying on the classical comparatio which was entirely consistent with Elizabeth's style. It begins:

> Eh, quam decepta fui, expectavi legationem, tu vero querelam mihi adduxisti. Per litteras aceipi te esse Legatum, vero Heraldum; nunquam in vita mea audivi talem orationem, miror sane, miror tantam, et tam insolentem in publico audaciam.
>
> Oh, How I have been deceived! I expected an ambassage, however, you have brought me a complaint. By your letters I took you to be an ambassador, but in reality you are only a Herald; Never in my life have I heard such an oration, Truly I am amazed, and I am amazed at so great and so insolent audacity in public.[177]

Here, Elizabeth compared what she expected from De Jaline, an ambassador, with what she actually received, a herald. An ambassador was entrusted with the higher role of negotiation while the herald was merely a message bearer (as well as the traditional conveyor of a declaration of war). Elizabeth criticized De Jaline's form of speech and his lack of protocol in belligerently and publicly addressing a monarch.

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[175] Green, "Queen Elizabeth's Latin Reply to the Polish Ambassador," pp. 989-990
[176] Ibid., p. 990.
[177] All translations from this source are mine. All further quotations are from this source. Green, "Queen Elizabeth I's Latin Reply to the Polish Ambassador," p. 1005.

The *exordium* in this version included a reference back to Poland's king, Sigismund III, De Jaline's sovereign. Elizabeth stated that she felt for sure that no one of royal rank would have allowed or authorized such a speech. Elizabeth stated:

> Neque possum credere sir ex tuus adesset quod ipse talia verba protulisset, qui vero tale aliquid tibi fortasse in mandatis commisit (quod quidem valde dubito) eo tribuendum, quod cum rex sit iuvenis, et non tam iure sanguinis, quam iure electionis, et noviter electus, non tam perfecte intelligat rationem tractandi istiusmodi negocia cum allis principibus, quam vel maiores illius nobiscum observarunt, vel fortasse observabunt alii qui posthac eius locum tenebunt.
>
> I am not able to believe that if your king had been in attendance that he might have advanced such words, however perhaps he entrusted such words in some degree to you in his commands (with respect to which I most certainly doubt). It would be granted because that he is a young man and king and not as by right of blood as by right of election and having been newly elected, he may not understand so perfectly how he ought to handle affairs and business of such kind with other princes, as his ancestors have observed with us, and as perhaps others who after him will possess his position.

In the place where a speaker often made an excuse for his/her own inadequacy for speaking, Elizabeth turned this around and instead gave a possible excuse for the inappropriate nature of De Jaline's oration—the youth and inexperience of his own king. Here, Elizabeth highlighted the importance of the education and right of rule by bloodline of a monarch. Elizabeth exclaimed that if the King had actually authorized De Jaline to give such a speech, as De Jaline later alleged, this surely showed the King's own lack of education, decorum, and even bloodline. In this manner, Elizabeth stated his actions would undermine his very credentials to be a king.

Despite the spontaneous and emotional nature of this speech, Elizabeth still demonstrated a tight classical organization. After her brief *exordium*, she then proceeded in her next section to attack De Jaline himself. She stated:

> Quod ad te attinet, tu mihi videris libros multos perlegisse, libros tamen principum non attigisse: sed prorsus ignorare quod inter reges convenerit.
>
> And concerning yourself, you appear to me to have read over many books, yet you do not appear to have touched the books of princes, but in fact are entirely ignorant about what is appropriate between kings.

Elizabeth criticized De Jaline's presumption that his use of Latin in an oration could equal the learning of princes. She also told him that in his studies he apparently had not read "the books of princes" which may be a reference to works recommended for monarchs such as Castiglione's *The Courtier*, or Elyot's *The Book named Governor*. Once again, as was her custom, she used a *comparatio* contrasting the "books of princes" against "the many books" De Jaline may have read.

In the next section of her oration, Elizabeth attacked one of the main parts of his argument which rested on his complaint of England interfering in the foreign trade of Poland due to England's war with Spain. Elizabeth took issue with De Jaline's protest that she had violated the "law of nature and nations" stating:

> Iam quod iuris naturae et gentium tantopere mentionem facis, scito esse iuris naturae gentiumque: ut cum bellum inter reges intercedat, liceat alteri alterius bellica subsidia, undicunq[ue] allta intercipere, et ne in damnum suum convertantur precavere: hoc, inquam, esse iuris naturae et gentium.
>
> Now, where you make so much mention concerning the laws of nature and nations, as when war may come between kings, it is allowed for the one to intercept the military provisions of the other brought from anywhere and to guard against them being turned into his own injury. This I say is the law of nature and nations.

Elizabeth answered De Jaline's complaint assuring him she was well versed in international law (*iuris naturae gentiumque*). This idea of the "law of nature or nations" concerned the issue of how far a nation or individual could go in protecting itself from harm. Here, Elizabeth answered his complaint with common sense as well as accepted

practice. If Poland was fortifying her enemy (Spain), Elizabeth could justifiably oppose their actions. As a political humanist, Elizabeth reiterated the civic virtue of *amor patriae* and replied that during times of war, what was in the best interest of a nation was its own defense.[178]

In the next part of this version of Elizabeth's reply, Elizabeth attacked De Jaline's assertion that England should respect Poland more as they had most recently allied themselves with Austria through marriage. She stated:

> Quod novam affinitatem cum domo Austriaca commemores, quam tanti iam fiery velis, non te fugiat, ex eadem domo non defuisse, qui regi tuo poloniae regnum preripere voluisset.
>
> Concerning where you recall your new affinity with the house of Austria, and which already you wish to make so great, let it not escape you, that from the same house more than one wished to snatch away the kingdom of Poland from your king..[179]

In this case, Elizabeth reminded the ambassador that alliances were not always a good idea.

In her final section of her response, Elizabeth addressed the issue of the decorum of De Jaline's speech. She stated:

> De caeteris quae non sunt huius loci et temporis, cum plura sint, et singulatim consideranda, illud expectabis quod ex quibusdam meis consiliariis huius rei designandis intellige. Interea vero valeas & quiescas.
>
> Concerning all the rest which are not for this time and place, seeing that they are many, and ought to be considered separately, you will expect answers from some of my counselors appointed for this purpose. Meanwhile, farewell and keep quiet![180]

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[178] For an example of an orator mentioning *amor patriae* see the following: John Puckering, "Reasons against Mary Queen of Scots delivered to Elizabeth," [November 12, 1586] as cited in Hartley 2: 240-241.
[179] Green, "Elizabeth I's Latin Reply to the Polish Ambassador," p. 1005.
[180] Ibid.

Here, Elizabeth contrasted her own deportment against De Jaline's lack of decorum as she stated earlier in the speech that she doubted if his king were present that he would have uttered such an oration publicly (*in publico*).[181] Elizabeth further underscored her contrast with De Jaline's actions as she stated there were other matters to discuss with him but each deserved to considered by themselves (*singulatim consideranda*) and not in such a public forum. She then dismissed him with a phrase that can be translated either "be at rest" or "keep quiet!" (*quiescas*). Either way, her point was clear.

With her speech ended, Elizabeth rose and exited leaving the ambassador by himself surrounded by the same English advisors that he had hoped to impress. Elizabeth realized the drama of the moment and used both her education and timing to impress to all present, especially De Jaline, that she was still a learned prince in charge of England. The reaction to this act of Elizabeth in projecting her "body politic" lived on past her own life as James I mentioned this oration in a speech as late as 1622.[182]

During Elizabeth's later reign she had occasion to only make two speeches to Parliament and both were characteristically Ciceronian in style. On November 30, 1601, a large number of the MP's of the House of Commons came to the Queen's residence at Whitehall to give her thanks for the session.[183] Estimates by different members place the number in attendance from around 80 to 140.[184] This speech, called "The Golden Speech," was, perhaps, the Queen's most celebrated Parliamentary oration. Due to its immense popularity, it was printed and published many times over the course of the seventeenth century. It is also extant in several different contemporary manuscripts due to

[181] Green, "Elizabeth's Latin reply to the Polish Ambassador," p. 1005.
[182] Ibid., p. 1003.
[183] Hartley, 3: 288.
[184] *CW*, p. 336.

different members copying down their recollection of her words. Thus, most every copy has differences. The Collected Works editors state that this speech was used as a model and "example of royal assent to public grievances."[185] However, for the purposes of this dissertation, I will be primary analyzing the printed copy that appeared in 1601 which would have reached the greatest audience.[186]

The Parliament of 1601 was Elizabeth's tenth and final Parliament. Its session lasted from October 27 to December 19, 1601.[187] While no one knew for certain that this would be Elizabeth's last meeting with Parliament, the fact that she was now sixty-nine years old must have played into the minds and thoughts of the MP's present. While Parliament had to deal with many domestic matters, including the abuse of monopolies, there were also formidable foreign threats looming on the horizon.[188] The year 1601 had also seen the failed and disastrous rebellion of the Queen's favorite, the Earl of Essex. Both Parliament and Elizabeth had to deal with the fallout from both his rebellion as well as his failed policies in Ireland.[189] And, despite the death of Phillip II of Spain in 1598, his son, Phillip III, continued to war with England and had recently landed forces in Ireland to continue to promote rebellion.[190]

However, the main domestic controversy brewing in the Commons at this time dealt with the issue of the monopolies in England. These were patents that made it possible for certain privileged individuals to receive taxes on commodities as income. These were granted personally by the Queen most usually to her favorite courtiers as

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[185] Ibid.
[186] TNA, SP Domestic Elizabeth I, 12/282/67, ff. 137r-141v. Also cited in *CW*, pp. 342-344.
[187] Hartley, 3: 245.
[188] Neale, Elizabeth I and her Parliaments: 1584-1601, p. 370.
[189] *CW*, pp. 369-370.
[190] Ibid., p. 370.

some kind of reward for service to the crown. This process was rampant with abuses, as the Queen's favorites, such as the Earl of Essex, often sold their rights to others in a money making enterprise. These practices tended to cause prices on popular and needed commodities in England to rise and thus wreaked havoc on the economy causing a surge in popular dissent.[191]

Because of these rampant abuses Elizabeth's last Parliament had debated many different resolutions to petition the Queen to redress these grievances. Elizabeth was aware of these complaints and headed off these petitions by granting their requests before Parliament had passed any resolutions on the matter. Elizabeth issued a proclamation formally ending the process of issuing patents in general. After Elizabeth's proclamation, she invited the MP's to Whitehall Palace in order to stage a reception where they could give her thanks for granting their request.[192] This was part of her political maneuvering as it made it appear as if the Queen did not have to be petitioned at all and the idea of reform was entirely her own. With the welcomed response from the MP's, and the immediate publishing of the speech throughout the realm, Elizabeth secured the goodwill of the people and her Parliament. It is certainly conceivable given Elizabeth's age that she also was thinking about her legacy in this political maneuver.

She began this speech with an *exordium* detailing her acceptance of the thanks that the Members had bestowed upon her. She stated that this thankfulness was a "precious gift" and that it was "worthily received of a loving king who doubteth much

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[191] Elizabeth Hageman and Katherine Conway, ed., *Resurrecting Elizabeth I in Seventeenth Century England*, (Cranbury, NJ: Rosemont Publishing and Printing Corporation, 2007), pp. 39-40.
[192] Ibid., p. 40.

whether the given thanks can be of more poise than the owed is to them."[193] While the exordium of a Parliamentary oration that followed Cicero's guidelines was often filled with humble excuses for the speaker's lack of eloquence or knowledge in the matter, Elizabeth only excused her professed "ignorance" of the abuses. This was not an admittance of any misuse of her royal power or prerogative. She stated:

> And this is our reason: who keeps their sovereign from the lapse of error, in which, by ignorance and not by intent they might have fallen, what thank they deserve, we know, though you may guess. And as nothing is more dear to us than the loving conservation of our subjects' hearts, what an undeserved doubt might we have incurred if the abusers of our liberality, the thrillers of our people, the wringers of the poor, had not been told us! Which, ere our heart or hand should agree unto, we wish we had neither, and do thank you the more, supposing that such griefs touch not some amongst you in particular.[194]

Here, Elizabeth relied upon her familiar "ethical proof" of her own love and care for her subjects as evidence that she could not have ever been complicit in these abuses. She touched upon the classical civic virtue of *amor patriae* and stated it guided all of her decisions. In this way, Elizabeth used her exordium to highlight her own stated innocence in this regard despite the fact that she was the one who granted the monopolies. Instead, she thanked the members for doing their duty to inform her so she could right the wrong.

Elizabeth then continued in her speech dividing it two distinct sections using an "ethical proof" in each one. She utilized her favorite rhetorical device of *comparatio*, this time contrasting physicians with kings. She stated:

> For our part we vow unto you that we suppose physicians' aromatical savors, which in the top of their potion they deceive the patient with, or gilded drugs that they cover their bitter sweet with, are not more beguilers of the senses than the vaunting boast of a kingly name may deceive the ignorant of such an office. I

[193] TNA, SP Domestic Elizabeth I 12/282/67, ff. 137r-141v; also cited in *CW*, p. 343.
[194] Ibid.

> grant that such a prince as cares but for the dignity, nor passes not how the reins be guided, so he rule—to such a one it may seem an easy business.[195]

In other words, Elizabeth compared the trickery of doctors hiding the medicine under sweet flavors to the idea that the mere title of a prince could actually distract the keeper from the real business at hand—ruling his/her people. Elizabeth also contrasted the man awed by the title of King to England's own monarch, herself. This device set the stage for her familiar use of an "ethical proof," or *testatio,* of her reign and obedience to God. She continued:

> But you are cumbered (I dare assure) with no such prince, but such a one as looks how to give account afore another tribunal seat than this world affords, and that hopes that if we discharge with conscience what He bids, will not lay to our charge the fault that our substitutes (not being our crime) fall in.[196]

In her speech, Elizabeth assured Parliament that she answered to God and because of this, she hoped that the fault of others in her government (i.e., those abusing the monopoly system) would not be applied to her. In this proof Elizabeth once again shielded herself from any criticism or blame concerning the issue of the monopolies. In her mind and in her speech, Elizabeth used her education to project her image as the divinely-sanctioned monarch who was righting the wrongs of others and not those of her own making. She continued with another "ethical proof" of her just reign stating:

> We think ourselves most fortunately born under such a star as we have been enabled by God's power to have saved you under our reign from foreign foes, from tyrants' rule, and from your own ruin.

When Elizabeth needed to illustrate a major point in a speech, she appealed to the *testatio* of her now forty-three year rule. Elizabeth highlighted her accomplishments in typical

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[195] *CW*, p. 344.
[196] All subsequent quotations come from this source. TNA, SP Domestic Elizabeth I 12/282/67, ff. 137r-141v; also cited in *CW*, p. 344.

political humanist style and relied upon the successes of her reign as testimony for a divine sanction of her rule.

She appealed to another favorite civic humanist theme of hers—*amor patriae*. Elizabeth stated:

> we pass not so much to be a queen as to be a queen of such subjects, for whom (God is witness, without boast or vaunt) we would willingly lose our life ere see such to perish.

She even stated that she would willingly yield the throne to someone else "were it not for conscience' and for your sake." Elizabeth then ended her speech with the statement that she hoped that those around her would "discharge us from such guilts" as the monopolies stating that "our presence cannot assist each action." This orchestrated political maneuver and her speech that accompanied it silenced Parliament's complaints, turned Elizabeth into the heroine, and diverted attention from recent troubling events like Essex's rebellion. What Elizabeth once may have viewed as a political tool, she now realized that it had run its course.

During that very same tenth and final Parliament, Elizabeth ended the session as was her custom with another oration.[197] This speech was consistent with the Ciceronian style and began with an exordium that described just what kind of prince that the MP's served. She stated that this description was necessary as:

> by looking into the course which I have ever holden since I began to reign, in governing both concerning civil and foreign causes, you may more easily discern in what a kind of sympathy my care to benefit hath corresponded with your inclination to obey and my caution with your merit.[198]

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[197] BL, MS Cotton Titus C.VI, ff. 410r-411v; also cited in *CW*, pp. 346-351.
[198] BL, MS Cotton Titus C.VI, ff. 410r-411v; also cited in *CW*, p. 346.

Her entrance to the speech was a justification of how she would proceed detailing two main sections of her speech: domestic and foreign matters. In the section on "civil" matters she immediately began with a proof stating that:

> My care was ever by proceeding justly and uprightly to conserve my people's love, which I account a gift of God not to be marshaled in the lowest part of my mind, but written in the deepest of my heart, because without that above all, other favors were of little price with me, though they were infinite.[199]

Here, Elizabeth returned to her favorite emphasis of the *testatio* of the "care" of her people as the primary motive for her decisions. She also used a comparatio by contrasting the "lowest part of my mind" with the "deepest of my heart." She then cited her efforts to reduce her personal income "that I might add to your security."

Elizabeth also affirmed that she had been content to be a "taper of true virgin wax, to waste myself and spend my life that I might give light and comfort to those that live under me."[200] Perhaps here Elizabeth was referring to both her own financial moderation as Queen as well as her own personal sacrifice for England—by remaining unmarried and true to her only "consort," the English people. Elizabeth returned to the virtue of *amor patriae* to highlight her own accomplishments.

Elizabeth then proceeded to the next section of her speech stating:

> Now touching foreign courses, which do chiefly consist in the maintenance of war, I take God to witness that I never gave just cause of war to any prince (which the subjects of other states can testify) nor had any greater ambition than to maintain my own state in security and peace without being guilty to myself of offering or intending injury to any man, though no prince have been more unthankfully requited whose intention hath been so harmless and whose actions so moderate.[201]

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[199] *CW*, p. 347.
[200] Ibid.
[201] Ibid., p. 348.

Here, she went on to mention her former brother-in-law, "the potent prince, the King of Spain," Phillip II ,who, she maintained, had constantly sought war with her throughout his lifetime. She described her efforts in the Netherlands as almost a humanitarian effort on England's behalf to save these people from taxes, the Inquisition, and the rule of foreigners. She appealed to the Scriptures stating that she realized that another prince may have decided a different course: "but I proceeded thus out of simplicity, remembering who it was that said the wisdom of the world was folly unto God, and hope in that respect that I shall not suffer the worse for it."[202]

Further on in her speech, Elizabeth continued with an "ethical proof" of her own history. Here, she stressed that in her view she only undertook moderate actions in the Netherlands in regards to Spain. She stated that she counseled Phillip to:

> hold so good a temper in their motion as might not altogether quench that life spark of expectation that the king, by looking better into the true state of the cause, might in time grow more compassionate of their calamity.[203]

Elizabeth then returned to her favorite device of *comparatio* stating that Phillip II:

> In recompense of this kind care and faithful dealing on my part, he first begins to stir rebellion within the body of my realm by encouraging the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland to take arms against myself.[204]

Here, she contrasted her actions as just and moderate in comparison to Phillip's involvement in the Northern Rebellion of 1569.

Elizabeth then continued with a series of "ethical proofs" stating that the fact England was once again saved by God was due to the justness of her own rule and dealings. Elizabeth stated that Phillip:

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[202] St Paul in 1 Cor. 1:21-25. *CW*, pp. 349-350.
[203] BL, MS Cotton Titus C.VI, ff. 410r-411v; also cited in *CW*, p. 350.
[204] Ibid.

> Not content with this bad motion [The Northern Rebellion of 1569], he sent his whole fleet afterward with a proud conceit that nothing could withstand his attempt, and a purpose to invade her kingdom that had holden others from invading his. But it pleased God again to make him more unfortunate by this second enterprise, as the carcasses both of his subjects and his ships, floating upon all the seas between this [realm] and Spain could testify.[205]

Throughout her speech, Elizabeth used a *comparatio* to contrast her decisions against those of Phillip's. Here, Elizabeth appealed to her version of the events of history to justify her claim that God had intervened on England's side. In Elizabeth's projection of her political image, she felt that the actions of history, as she told them, vindicated her and demonstrated God's blessing on her reign. Certainly, Elizabeth recognized the value of propaganda in the projection of her image. Like her Parliamentary contemporaries, Elizabeth's use of "ethical proofs" often rested on past successes or the current state of political affairs.[206]

Elizabeth then shifted her focus from the recently deceased Phillip II to his son, Phillip III stating: "Now that the father is at rest, the son whom I did never in my life offend, assails me in another parallel, seeking to take away one of two crowns."[207] Here, she referenced the current crisis in Ireland, unresolved until after her death, as what she saw as yet another unjust usurpation against her divinely-sanctioned rule. Elizabeth returned to the familiar "ethical proof" of past successes, to encourage Parliament that they should not fear this time. She stated emphatically that:

> such a quarrel thus unworthily begun and unjustly prosecuted without provocation by the least offense since the death of this father from hence can never prosper in

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[205] Ibid.
[206] For example, see Sir Thomas Egerton, "Speaker's speech on presentation to the Queen," [October 27, 1598] as cited in Hartley 3: 192.
[207] BL, MS Cotton Titus C.VI, ff. 410r-411v; also cited in *CW*, p. 350

> this world, since both his conscience must acknowledge it and God will punish it.[208]

At this time in her rule, Elizabeth had begun to experience a bit of progress in the war to quell the Irish rebellion under Lord Mountjoy's leadership so she might have interpreted that to mean that God's blessing was indeed on its way. Certainly, her use of her own faith and belief in the rightness of her cause and rule was a favorite *testatio* of her reign. She ended her speech with her familiar appeal to the MP's to consider that Elizabeth's sole "care" was for the good of the English people over any personal concern for herself.[209] In many respects, her entire speech was an "ethical proof" of what she saw as the justness of her reign and the rightness of her own decisions. Perhaps, at this time, she recognized her own mortality and wanted, as always, to protect and preserve the image by which posterity would judge her.

## Conclusion

Elizabeth's works during the last years of her reign (1588-1603) continue to support the contention of this dissertation that to the very end Elizabeth wanted to define her "body politic" through her classical education. At times Elizabeth misattributed a quotation or got it incorrect, but she also had times when her intellect and learning did not fail her—such as in her Latin rebuke of De Jaline. Despite her age, Elizabeth did not waver in regards to wanting to project the image of a learned and devout prince in pursuit of the *vita activa* in charge of both Church and state. While Elizabeth relied on a system of intimates and favorites to help her in her rule, she always presented the image of a prince who ruled with God's special favor and protection due to her own adherence to his

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[208] *CW*, p. 351.
[209] Ibid.

will in regards to both her life and the religion of her people. Elizabeth spoke in the language of the male Members of Parliament using classical styles to project, weave, and secure both her political image and her legacy.

# Conclusion

Although the 1544 Act of Succession had guaranteed Elizabeth's place in the royal line should Edward and Mary die childless, at that time, there was probably little expectation that Elizabeth would ever rule England. In spite of this, the new fashion for humanist education in England provided a classical education for Elizabeth. This was most likely to prepare her for either a royal marriage or to be a patroness of religious endeavors. Therefore, Elizabeth began her life concentrating on the *studia humanitatis* on the path of the *vita contemplativa.* However, when her sister Mary died childless in 1558, Elizabeth was thrust into the spotlight and experienced her own opportunity in having to adapt her own classical education to the power and prestige of the monarchy.

J. L. McIntosh has argued that it was Elizabeth's status as head of a household and the support of her "servants, neighbors, clients and tenants," that aided her successful transition from princess to Queen.[1] Once Elizabeth succeeded to the throne of England, she relied upon the concept of the king's two bodies. In so doing Elizabeth constructed "a body politic to govern"[2] which drew upon her classical and humanist education to construct an image of a learned, devout, and divinely-sanctioned prince in order to strengthen the position that her household helped her to attain. Elizabeth realized that her gender gave her contemporary politicians a license to criticize her. She compensated for this by presenting her "body politic" in the style of a learned and devout prince speaking the same language as her male politicians.

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[1] McIntosh, *From Heads of Households to Heads of State,* p. 195.
[2] *CW,* p. 52.

This dissertation has argued that Elizabeth employed a specific type of political humanism originally found in the Italian renaissance and later in the intellectual and political circles of sixteenth-century England. This type of political humanism was first identified by Hans Baron as "civic humanism."[3] Despite the numerous criticisms of Baron's thesis, scholarly consensus still discerns a politically-motivated humanism in sixteenth-century Europe that stressed the ideals of the *vita activa, amor patriae*, and service to the state. These political humanists valued all forms of government including monarchy and esteemed the study of the classics for solving practical problems of the day. They sought to live the *vita activa* in a life of service to the common good.

Throughout this dissertation, I have argued that this political humanism was the cornerstone of Elizabeth I's political persona or "body politic." Elizabeth I was a classically educated humanist trained to value the *vita activa, amor patriae,* and the use of her education in service to the state above all. When she became England's prince, she experienced her own opportunity to adapt that humanist education to the practical needs of statecraft. Elizabeth participated in the political dialogue of the day giving speeches in classical styles and using her education to justify her power and position. In so doing, she joined the ranks of former and contemporary male political humanists such as Sir Thomas More, Thomas Elyot, Juan Vivés, as well as members of her own government. Elizabeth I utilized her own classical political humanism to pursue the *vita activa* in service to the greater good of her realm as well as project and defend her own political persona.

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[3] See chapters 16 and 17 of Baron*, In Search of Florentine's Civic Humanism, Essays on the Transition from Medieval to Modern Thought*, Vol. II (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988).

The evidence of Elizabeth's exposure to and reliance on her classical humanism is found throughout her written and printed works. As a child, Elizabeth wrote letters in the formal style as advocated by the medieval *ars dictaminis.* She wrote poetry, and engaged in the "safe" academic exercise for women, translation, demonstrating her scholarly abilities at the age of 11.[4] When Elizabeth became England's sovereign, she continued to rely upon her experience and education in humanist ideals to project her image and defend her authority. Elizabeth now left the more introspective life of the *vita contemplativa* and entered the world of the *vita activa* using her humanist and classical education to help her build and project a political persona of a learned devout monarch.

This reliance upon classical models for her projection of her persona placed Elizabeth in the long line of political humanists beginning in the Italian Renaissance and leading into sixteenth-century England. This politically-styled humanism was further influenced by the growing trend in sixteenth-century England for educated men to see service to the state as the highest good of their education—the pursuit of the *vita activa.* Despite her sex, Elizabeth saw herself in this tradition of educated humanists who adhered to the classical virtues of *amor patriae,* honor, duty, and a life of service to the greater good. This is further supported by Elizabeth referring to herself most often as England's "prince" and only rarely as their "queen."

Elizabeth learned that to rule effectively and push her own agenda, she had to be able to navigate the world of Parliamentary politics. Therefore, Elizabeth relied on humanist models and spoke the language of her male Members of Parliament in her rhetoric making speeches in the classical styles of both Seneca and Cicero. Elizabeth was

[4] See Chapter 1 and *CW*, pp. 5-13.

innovative in her role with Parliament as neither her sister or brother, and rarely her father, addressed Parliament in person. Elizabeth set the standard of the monarch addressing Parliament personally. When she felt pressured by Parliament to bend to their will, she responded in classical and humanist form. For example in 1559, when Parliament pressed her to marry, she refuted their petition point by point utilizing the system of proofs as advocated by Cicero.[5] The use of classical examples and style was commonplace in the political humanism of her reign.

As Elizabeth grew in tenure in her reign as prince, she continued to write humanist letters, prayers, poetry and translate classical works. During her middle and late years, Elizabeth relied more upon the advice and actions of intimates to aid her in governing her land and negotiating with foreign princes. This reliance upon intimates, such as Burghley, Cecil, and Essex, is central to the argument of Natalie Mears about Elizabeth's style of *personal* rule.[6] Seneca and Cicero stressed the importance of taking of advice and selection of counselors. Castiglione wrote his classic work, *The Book of the Courtier,* to instruct those who wished to be advisors of princes. In line with these influences, Elizabeth demonstrated the civic virtue of giving and receiving counsel throughout her reign.

To the very end of her reign and life, Elizabeth portrayed her "body politic" as a learned and devout prince often relying in her writings and speeches on the "ethical proof" of her own "care" for the English people above any personal quest for ambition or fame. She chided Henri IV for his conversion to Catholicism to secure the throne of

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[5] *CW,* p. 59.
[6] Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms.*

France as a departure from what she saw as his true mission—to implant the Protestant faith in the French people.[7] Elizabeth often reminded her own-subjects that the love of England had always been her greatest concern.[8] Elizabeth's reply to the Polish Ambassador,[9] her speech at Tilbury,[10] and her Golden Speech of 1601,[11] emphasized once again her reliance upon her classical education to produce the image of a learned and devout monarch who was favored by God for her decisions and life. As she aged, Elizabeth was not always correct in her attribution of sources and did not always totally embody the virtues she espoused.

As this dissertation has also argued, Elizabeth's projection of the image of a political humanist was consistent with the intellectual and political trends of her time. When Elizabeth addressed Parliament in the style of Cicero and Seneca, these were from the common roots that existed in the classical tradition of the day. Parliamentary members often appealed to classical sources and illustrations in the style of both Cicero and Seneca to underscore their points. Similarly, Elizabeth's use of proofs to underscore and give authority to her words was also a common rhetorical device. For example, in a speech given by Sir Walter Mildmay on February 10, 1576, he used an "ethical proof" to make his point. His argument relied upon the trustworthiness of the justice of both Elizabeth and her realm. He stated:

> Lastly, for this point, how the justice of the realme is preserved and ministred to her people by her Majestie's politicall and just government is so well knowne to all men, as our enemyes are driven to confesse that justice, which is the band of all common wealthes, doth so tye and lincke together all degrees of persons

[7] *CW,* p. 371.
[8] Elizabeth I, "Elizabeth's speech at the close of Parliament, 10 April," text from John Stow, *Annales,* p. 28.
[9] Green, "Queen Elizabeth's Latin Reply to the Polish Ambassador," p. 1005.
[10] BL, MS Harley 6798, art. 18, f. 87v; also cited in *CW,* pp. 325-326.
[11] *CW,* p. 336.

> within this land as there is suffered here no violence, none oppression, no respecte of persons in judgment but *ius equabile,* used to all indifferently. [12]

In 1572, when Parliament debated the issue of whether or not the Duke of Norfolk should be executed for treason, the MP, Thomas Dannet cited an historical proof to justify his own advice to the queen.[13] He appealed to the writings of Livy sating: "where he maketh mention of the peace concluded betwene the Romanes and Samnites, *ad Caudinas furculas,* [at the Caudine Forks] where Pontius holding the middle way undid bothe his contrey and himself."[14]

Elizabeth's frequent appeals to the words of Scripture to justify her authority and decisions were also a part of English political humanism. In 1567, an unnamed MP made a speech concerning the succession of Elizabeth. In one section of the speech, this MP used a Biblical quotation to stir other members to action stating:

> I doe therfore advise you all to crie out as lowed as you can and not to leave of untill her Majestie hath looked upon us with her eyes full of mercy, pitting this our intolerable misery, for the spirit of God sayth in Zacharie: 'the Lord is with you while yee be with him, and if yeee seeke him he wil be bound of you; but if yee forsake him, he will forsake you.[15]

In another speech from 1567, the speaker of the House of Commons, Richard Onslow, compared the subsidy proposed to the Queen to the Biblical story of the widow's mites.[16] He stated:

> Wherefore your humble subiectes doe offer a subsedie and to be paid in to your Majestie's treasure, which although it be but as a mite or farthinge yet the good will is to be reputed as the pore widowe's was in the gospell.[17]

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[12] Hartley, 1: 442.
[13] Ibid., pp. 294-298.
[14] Ibid., p. 297.
[15] Ibid., p. 137.
[16] Mk. 12: 38-44.
[17] Hartley, 1: 170.

## The Influence of political humanism after Elizabeth

The influence of political humanism in Europe did not end with the death of Elizabeth I. This type of political humanism was especially pronounced in the writings of her immediate successor James I. Elizabeth kept up a prolific correspondence with her erudite cousin throughout the entirety of his reign in Scotland. His letters, like those of Elizabeth, were replete with classical symbolism, examples, and tropes.[18] For example, in a letter from 1587, James (then James VI of Scotland) quoted from Cicero's *De Officiis* writing:

> Ye know, madame, well enough how small difference Cicero concludes to be between *utile* and *honestum* [useful and virtuous] in his discourse thereof, and which of them ought to be framed to the other.[19]

Recently, Peter Herman has presented compelling evidence that James I realized to speak the political language of the day to Elizabeth involved an appeal to her humanist learning through the means of poetry.[20]

James further distinguished himself as a political humanist and scholar during his reign in Scotland with his prolific amount of written works. He authored several works of political significance including *The Essays of a Prentise in the Divine Arte of Poesie* (1585), *The True Law of Free Monarchies* (1598), and *Basilikon Doron* (1599). Certainly, one can also argue that James' support for a new authorized version of the Bible (King James Version, 1611) can be viewed as much a political act as a religious one. Furthermore, James I followed the example set by Elizabeth in taking an active role in addressing his Parliaments personally. During his reign of England (1603-1625),

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[18] BL, MS Additional 23240, ff. 1r-157v.
[19] BL, MS Cotton Caligula C.IX, art. 72, f. 193r.
[20] Herman, "Authorship and the Royal 'I'," pp. 1495-96.

Parliament met only four times. However, James made personal speeches in his Parliaments at least seven different times.[21] In each of his speeches, he utilized a style similar to that of Elizabeth in his use of classical models and illustrations. The only notable difference is that the James I made speeches that were much longer in content.

Charles I, the successor and second son of James I, was also very prolific in his speeches before his Parliaments. Charles addressed them personally thirteen times during his reign.[22] Including orations to other groups of individuals, there are thirty-three speeches recorded in his collection of works published after his death.[23] However, his speeches are strikingly different from both his father and Elizabeth I in that they are straightforward, to the point, and devoid of any classical references. In his speeches Charles does not appear to have employed any systematic style and did not mention any reference to the divine sanction of his rule. He simply tells Parliament what he wants them to do. Not surprisingly, Pocock situates the apex of English political humanism during the time of Charles I's execution and the later interregnum.[24]

Daniel Crews has also argued that "civic humanism" played an integral part of the rise of Spain in world dominance in the sixteenth century.[25] He further states that the sixteenth-century Spanish diplomat, Juan De Valdès, fit the description of a civic humanist as he pursued "political power as a means to achieve what was in his view the

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[21] James I, *The Political Works of James I ,reprinted from the edition of 1616,* ed. Charles McIlwain, (Union, New Jersey, The Lawbook Exchange Ltd., 2002).
[22] Charles I, *Reliquae Sacrae Carolinae,* (London, 1650).
[23] Ibid.
[24] Pocock, *Machiavellian Moment,* p. 361.
[25] Daniel Crews, "Juan de Valdès and the Comunero Revolt: An Essay on Spanish Civic Humanism," in *the Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Summer, 1991), p. 243.

common good of Christendom."[26] Many scholars have noted the interest in the active political life (*vita activa*) for the sake of the common good in many of America's founders such as Alexander Hamilton and John Adams.[27] Pocock has similarly argued that: "It can be shown both the American Revolution and Constitution in some sense form the last act of the civic Renaissance."[28]

## Conclusion

This study of the intellectual and political thought of Elizabeth I has drawn a clear connection between Elizabeth's own immersion in the *studia humanitatis* and her later construction and projection of her "body politic" or political image. Elizabeth's prolific literary output attests to this connection and is replete with examples of classical influences, tropes, and themes. The humanism of England valued the ideals that education produced morality and those who were educated should be in service to the greater good. It would be these influences and themes that Elizabeth was exposed to in her early education which built the foundation for her own projection and defense of her political power in a realm normally dominated by men.

The centerpiece of this study has been the connection between the youthful Elizabeth's immersion in classical and humanist studies to her later projection of her "body politic" to construct, defend, and project her political persona. She relied upon the models of ancient Greece and Rome which were in fashion during this time of English history. She spoke the language of Parliament and stood upon her standing as a scholar in

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[26] Crews, "Juan de Valdès and the Comunero Revolt," p. 249.
[27] Stanley Elkins and Eric Mckittick, *The Age of Federalism: The Early American Republic: 1788-1800*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 739.
[28] Pocock, *Machiavellian Moment*, p. 462.

both religion and government as a defense for her decisions. Later on in her realm, she was able to stand upon the "ethical proof" of her longevity and the stability of her rule which she always attributed to divine favor. Elizabeth lived and died a political humanist.

This dissertation makes an important contribution to the ongoing discussion of the intellectual and political history of sixteenth-century England. It has been the first work to consider how Elizabeth I's own classical education and humanism helped to shape and influence her political persona. It has also built on the work by Carol Levin in focusing solely on the "body politic" of Elizabeth I and connecting it to her classical humanism. It has further demonstrated that political dialogue and presentation are as crucial to the understanding of English humanism as are literary or scholarly works.

This study has also brought to light several new areas and possibilities for further study. For example, more research is needed in the area of the connection and sharing of values between the English brand of humanism and Italian civic humanism. While this study has also underscored Elizabeth's reliance upon humanism to construct her political persona, future studies might choose to explore the political humanism of her successor, James I, given their copious amount of correspondence and his prolific amount of political works.[29] Furthermore, it would be interesting to explore the decline of English political humanism under Charles I to see if any correlations can be made with his own loss of stature and power as king.

In the proclamation of her death, King James I wrapped Elizabeth in iconic and classical imagery that suggested the very virtues of the political humanism of her day. James asked the English to "Weepe with Joy" referring to the customs of the ancients

[29] BL, MS Additional 23240, ff. 1r-157v.

such as the Thracians, Heraclitus, and the Jews. He then asked: "Who can call to minde the life our late soueraigne Lady Queen Elizabeth, that cannot lament the losse of so virtuous a Prince."[30] In this proclamation, he went on to contrast the grieving over Elizabeth's death (the weeping) with the exultation over James' accession (the joy). This *comparatio* was further developed as he likened the recent events to the Biblical story of the transition from the death of King David and the accession of his son King Solomon. He declared:

> But when David died and Solomon was installed, there was continuance of joy, because he continued true religion as his fathers did before. And so, though, God hath taken away Queene Elizabeth our late and louing Nurce-mother, yet the succeeding of that mightie and godlie Prince, King James, our new and renowned Nurce-father, doeth giue us exceeding cause of joy: insomuch as the succession of the latter, is a mitigation of sorrow for the former.[31]

So in James' depiction, the favored David (Elizabeth I) began the greatness of the kingdom of Israel. Building upon that legacy was his son, the wise Solomon, (James I) who expanded the legacy and greatness of the kingdom. James I, an erudite man himself, started his reign in the same manner that Elizabeth had left it—in the style of a political humanist.

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[30] It is also of note that James chooses to refer to Elizabeth as a prince. King James I, *Weepe with ioy a lamentation for the losse of our late soueraigne lady Queene Elizabeth, with ioy and exultation for our high and mightie Prince, King Iames, her lineall and lawful successor*, (London: By V.S. for Edmund Mutton, 1603).
[31] Ibid.

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# Vita

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