

TUDOR QUEENSHIP

QUEENSHIP AND POWER

Series Editors: Carole Levin and Charles Beem

This series brings together monographs and edited volumes from scholars specializing in gender analysis, women's studies, literary interpretation, and cultural, political, constitutional, and diplomatic history. It aims to broaden our understanding of the strategies that queens—both consorts and regnants, as well as female regents—pursued in order to wield political power within the structures of male-dominant societies. In addition to works describing European queenship, it also includes books on queenship as it appeared in other parts of the world, such as East Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, and Islamic civilization.

Editorial Board

Linda Darling, University of Arizona (Ottoman Empire)
Theresa Earenfight, Seattle University (Spain)
Dorothy Ko, Barnard College (China)
Nancy Kollman, Stanford University (Russia)
John Thornton, Boston University (Africa and the Atlantic World)
John Watkins (France and Italy)

Published by Palgrave Macmillan

The Lioness Roared: The Problems of Female Rule in English History
By Charles Beem

Elizabeth of York
By Arlene Naylor Okerlund

Learned Queen: The Image of Elizabeth I in Politics and Poetry
By Linda Shenk

The Face of Queenship: Early Modern Representations of Elizabeth I
By Anna Riehl

Elizabeth I: The Voice of a Monarch
By Ilona Bell

Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth
By Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock

The Death of Elizabeth I (forthcoming)
By Catherine Loomis

Queenship and Voice in Medieval Northern Europe (forthcoming)
By William Layher

The French Queen's Letters (forthcoming)
By Erin Sadlack

Renaissance Queens of France (forthcoming)
By Glenn Richardson

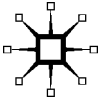


TUDOR QUEENSHIP

THE REIGNS OF MARY AND
ELIZABETH

Edited by
Alice Hunt and
Anna Whitelock

palgrave
macmillan



TUDOR QUEENSHIP

Copyright © Anna Whitelock and Alice Hunt, 2010.

Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2010 978-0-230-61823-7

All rights reserved.

First published in 2010 by

PALGRAVE MACMILLAN®

in the United States—a division of St. Martin's Press LLC,
175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Where this book is distributed in the UK, Europe and the rest of the world, this is by Palgrave Macmillan, a division of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries.

ISBN 978-1-349-38093-0 ISBN 978-0-230-11195-0 (eBook)

DOI 10.1057/9780230111950

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Tudor queenship : the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth / edited by Anna
Whitelock and Alice Hunt.

p. cm.—(Queenship and power)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Monarchy—Great Britain—History—16th century. 2. Mary I, Queen of England, 1516–1558. 3. Elizabeth I, Queen of England, 1533–1603. 4. Queens—Great Britain—History—16th century. 5. Great Britain—Politics and government—1485–1603. 6. Great Britain—History—Tudors, 1485–1603. I. Whitelock, Anna. II. Hunt, Alice, 1974– III. Chawton House. Library.

DA317.1.T83 2010

942.05'5092—dc22

2009053913

A catalogue record of the book is available from the British Library.

Design by Newgen Imaging Systems (P) Ltd., Chennai, India.

First edition: August 2010

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

For Florence and Mary



CONTENTS

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	ix
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xi
<i>Notes on Contributors</i>	xiii
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xvii
Introduction: “Partners both in throne and grave” <i>Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock</i>	I
I Reputations	
1 Memorializing Mary and Elizabeth <i>Anne McLaren</i>	II
II Precedents and Traditions	
2 Examples and Admonitions: What Mary Demonstrated for Elizabeth <i>Judith Richards</i>	31
3 Godly Queens: The Royal Iconographies of Mary and Elizabeth <i>Paulina Kewes</i>	47
4 The Reformation of Tradition: The Coronations of Mary and Elizabeth <i>Alice Hunt</i>	63
5 Dressed to Impress <i>Maria Hayward</i>	81
6 Elizabeth I: An Old Testament King <i>Susan Doran</i>	95
III Educating for Rule	
7 A Culture of Reverence: Princess Mary’s Household 1525–27 <i>Jeri L. McIntosh</i>	113

- 8 Christian Women or Sovereign Queens?
The Schooling of Mary and Elizabeth
Aysba Pollnitz 127

IV Love and War

- 9 “*Spes maxima nostra*”: European Propaganda
and the Spanish Match
Corinna Streckfuss 145
- 10 Power Sharing: The Co-monarchy of
Philip and Mary
Alexander Samson 159
- 11 “Woman, Warrior, Queen?” Rethinking Mary
and Elizabeth
Anna Whitelock 173
- 12 “Your most assured sister”: Elizabeth I and the
Kings of France
Glenn Richardson 191

V Loyalty and Service

- 13 What Happened to Mary’s Councilors?
Ralph Houlbrooke 209
- 14 To Serve the Queen
Robert C. Braddock 225
- 15 Women, Friendship, and Memory
Charlotte Merton 239

Appendix A 251

Appendix B 253

Index 255



ILLUSTRATIONS

I.1	Mary and Elizabeth's tomb, Westminster Abbey	12
I.2	Tombs and graves in the Lady Chapel, Westminster Abbey	14
4.1	Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I (The "Coronation" Portrait), unknown artist (c. 1600 [1559?]), National Portrait Gallery, London	74
4.2	Portrait of Queen Mary from the Coram Rege Rolls (1553), The National Archives	75
5.1	Mary I by Hans Eworth (1554), Society of Antiquaries, London	83
5.2	Queen Elizabeth I ("The Ditchley Portrait") by Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger (c. 1592), National Portrait Gallery, London	86
6.1	Elizabeth as David. Frontispiece to Thomas Morton's <i>Salomon</i> or <i>A treatise declaring the state of the kingdome of Israel, as it was in the daies of Salomon</i> (London, 1596)	105
11.1	The Great Seal of Mary and Philip (1554), The National Archives	178
11.2	An Allegory of the Tudor Succession, attr. to Lucas de Heere (c. 1572), National Museum Wales	181



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The editors would like to thank Carole Levin and Charles Beem for publishing this volume as part of their “Queenship and Power” series and are grateful for their enthusiasm and comments. They would also like to thank Chris Chappell and Samantha Hasey at Palgrave in New York, and Michael Strang at Palgrave in the UK. The volume would not exist and would not have been such a pleasure to edit without the hard work and commitment of its contributors, and the editors would like to thank them all for allowing us to include their work, and for their cooperation and belief in the book. Finally, the editors would like to thank colleagues at Royal Holloway, University of London, and the University of Southampton, particularly members of the Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Culture.



CONTRIBUTORS

Robert C. Braddock is Professor of History at Saginaw Valley State University (Michigan, USA). He has published articles and reviews in *Albion*, *Journal of British Studies*, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, and *Renaissance Quarterly*. His essays have also appeared in *Recent Historians of Great Britain*, ed. Walter L. Arnstein (1990), *Reader's Guide to British History*, ed. David Loades, and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

Susan Doran is a Senior Research Fellow in History at Jesus College and Lecturer in History at Regent's Park College, University of Oxford. She has written widely on the reign of Elizabeth I and co-edited several collections of essays for Palgrave, including *The Myth of Elizabeth* (2003) and *Tudors and Stuarts on Film* (2008) with Thomas S. Freeman, and *Tudor England and Its Neighbours* (2005) with Glenn Richardson.

Maria Hayward is a Reader in History at the University of Southampton. She is a specialist in the material culture of the Henrician court and sixteenth-century dress. Her books include *The 1542 Inventory of Whitehall: The Palace and Its Keeper* (2004), *Dress at the Court of King Henry VIII* (2007), and *Rich Apparel: Clothing and the Law in Henry VIII's England* (2009).

Ralph Houlbrooke retired as Professor of Early Modern History at Reading University in 2006. His recent publications include "The Clergy, the Church Courts and the Marian Restoration in Norwich," in *The Church of Mary Tudor*, ed. Eamon Duffy and David Loades (2006). He is a member of the group working under the direction of Dr. Helen Parish on the Leverhulme Trust funded edition of the "Parker Certificates" of the early 1560s, concerning the state of the clergy in the province of Canterbury.

Alice Hunt is a Lecturer in English at the University of Southampton. She is the author of *The Drama of Coronation: Medieval Ceremony in Early Modern England* (2008) and is currently working on a study of ceremony on the early modern English stage. Her essays on Tudor politics and literature have appeared in *The Historical Journal* and *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature*.

Paulina Kewes is a Tutorial Fellow in English Literature at Jesus College, Oxford and a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society. Her publications include *Authorship and Appropriation: Writing for the Stage in England*,

1660–1710 (1998), *Drama, History, and Politics in Elizabethan England* (forthcoming), and, as editor or co-editor, *Plagiarism in Early Modern England* (2003), *The Uses of History in Early Modern England* (2006), *The Oxford Handbook to Holinshead's Chronicles* (forthcoming) and *The Question of Succession in Late Elizabethan England* (forthcoming).

Jeri L. McIntosh is an Assistant Professor at University of Tennessee, Knoxville. She received her PhD from Johns Hopkins University and her M.Litt from Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford. Her dissertation on the pre-accession households of Mary and Elizabeth Tudor won one of six Gutenberg-e prizes sponsored by the American Historical Association and Columbia University Press for dissertations on women and gender completed between 2000 and 2003. *From Heads of Household to Heads of State: The Preaccession Households of Mary and Elizabeth Tudor, 1516–1558* was published by Columbia University Press as both an e-book, available on the Gutenberg-e website, and as a hardback edition in 2009. She is currently working on her second book that will focus on Mary I.

Anne McLaren is a Senior Lecturer in the School of History, University of Liverpool. Her research focuses on the effects of religious reformation on early modern political thought. Her publications include *Political Culture in the Reign of Elizabeth I: Queen and Commonwealth 1558–1585* (1999; 2006), “Rethinking Republicanism: *Vindiciae, contra tyrannos* in Context,” *Historical Journal* (2006), and a chapter on “Political Thought” for the forthcoming volume *The Elizabethan World*, ed. Susan Doran and Norman Jones. Her forthcoming book, *Embodied Kingship: Regicide and Republicanism in England, 1570–1650*, investigates the relationship between king-killing and early modern state formation.

Charlotte Merton's PhD thesis, “The Women who Served Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth: Ladies, Gentlewomen and Maids of the Privy Chamber 1553–1603” (Cambridge, 1992), was supervised by the late Geoffrey Elton. After several years as a freelance musician she returned temporarily to academe with a postdoctoral position at Lund University to research the Swedish court in the sixteenth century, funded by Riksbankens Jubileumsfond. She is now a professional translator.

Aysha Pollnitz is Lecturer in History at Rice University. She has written articles on humanism, court culture, religious translation, and Shakespeare and political thought. She is currently completing a monograph entitled *Princely Education in Sixteenth-Century Britain*.

Judith Richards taught and wrote about early modern history and political thought at La Trobe University, where she is now a research associate. In recent years she has written about female monarchy in general and the two Tudor Queens in particular. She published the historical biography *Mary Tudor* (2008), and her current projects include a biography of Elizabeth Tudor.

Glenn Richardson is Reader in Early-Modern History at St Mary's University College, London. He is the editor of *The Contending Kingdoms: France and England 1420–1700* (2008), joint-editor with Susan Doran of *Tudor England and Its Neighbours* (2005), and author of *Renaissance Monarchy: The Reigns of Henry VIII, Francis I, and Charles V* (2002). He is currently writing a monograph on the Field of Cloth of Gold for Yale University Press.

Alexander Samson lectures in the literature, culture, and history of early modern Spain and Latin America at University College London. He is the editor of *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles's Journey to Madrid, 1623* (2006) and, with Jonathan Thacker, *A Companion to Lope de Vega* (2008). He has published articles on the marriage of Philip II and Mary Tudor, historiography and royal chroniclers in sixteenth-century Spain, firearms, Cervantes and Anglo-Spanish cultural relations. His book *Mary Tudor and the Habsburg Marriage: England and Spain 1553–1557* is due to be published in 2010.

Corinna Streckfuss is a DPhil student in Modern History at Christ Church, University of Oxford after studying at the Universities of Heidelberg, Oxford, and Munich. She is currently completing her thesis, "The Reign of Mary Tudor in Contemporary European News and Propaganda (1553–60)," under the supervision of Dr. Christopher Haigh and Professor Dr. Judith Pollmann. Her first article, "England's Reconciliation with Rome: A News Event in Early Modern Europe," was published in *Historical Research*.

Anna Whitelock is a lecturer in early modern history at Royal Holloway, University of London. She is the author of *Mary Tudor: England's First Queen* (2009). Her articles on Tudor queenship have appeared in *The Historical Journal*, *Women's History Review*, and in the edited volume *The Ritual and Rhetoric of Queenship* (2009). She is currently working on the court of Elizabeth I and on developing a project on Renaissance Folly.



ABBREVIATIONS

<i>APC</i>	<i>Acts of the Privy Council of England</i>
<i>BL</i>	British Library, London
<i>Bodl.</i>	Bodleian Library, Oxford
<i>CP</i>	<i>The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom</i>
<i>CSPD</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers: Domestic</i>
<i>CSPF</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers: Foreign</i>
<i>CSPRome</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers: Rome</i>
<i>CSPScot</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers: Scotland</i>
<i>CSPSp</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers: Spain</i>
<i>CSPVen</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers: Venice</i>
<i>EETS</i>	Early English Texts Society
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>ELR</i>	<i>English Literary Renaissance</i>
<i>HJ</i>	<i>The Historical Journal</i>
<i>HLRO</i>	House of Lords Records Office
<i>HMC Salisbury</i>	<i>Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Salisbury</i>
<i>HoP Commons</i>	<i>The House of Commons 1509–1558</i>
<i>LP</i>	<i>Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII</i>
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>RQ</i>	<i>Renaissance Quarterly</i>
<i>SCJ</i>	<i>Sixteenth Century Journal</i>
<i>TNA</i>	The National Archives, London
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
<i>TRP</i>	<i>Tudor Royal Proclamations</i>