

**'With My Ruling':
Agency, Queenship and Political Culture through Royal Progresses in the Reign of
Elizabeth I**

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Abstract

Queen Elizabeth I reigned over a period of cultural and political vitality between 1558—1603. She cultivated a period of spectacle, display, pageantry and representation. Elizabeth I was determined to connect with her people both at court and throughout the kingdom. Royal progresses proved vital to this connection and to the spectacle and display that produced the age of Gloriana.

This thesis argues that royal progresses serve as a point of reassessment of Elizabeth I's agency, queenship and political culture while providing an insight into the development of the relationship between the ruler and ruled. The impact that progresses had on the cultivation of loyalty, allegiance and obedience serves to enhance our understanding of how important this component was in the establishment of royal power. The study of progresses highlights the intersection of Elizabethan politics and culture that features a unique dialogue between the monarch, government, court and the localities they visited. Using the newly edited John Nichols collection, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I*, and building upon the seminal work of Mary Hill Cole's *The Portable Queen*, the multidisciplinary approach employed within this thesis articulates the larger issues of religion, authority and power, court dynamics and diplomacy within the national narrative but also within local communities that ultimately united the monarch and their subjects.

By investigating the dynamics and dialogues that occurred between the Queen and her subjects on royal progresses, this thesis demonstrates through three case studies instances of where Elizabeth I's agency was visible; how Elizabeth's queenship was characterised and defined; and how Elizabethan political culture was shaped by the 1578 progress, the use of hunting on progresses and the use of the Chapel Royal on progress.

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Declaration of Authorship

I, Dustin M. Neighbors, hereby declare that the material presented in this thesis is the product of my own work, except where referenced, and has not been submitted for publication, for any degree at this, or any other institution. All sources are acknowledged as references.

Notes and Abbreviations

AO	Auditors of the Imprest and Successors Accounts
BL	British Library, London, UK
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford, UK
E	Exchequer Rolls
HCP	Hampton Court Palace
HHA	Hatfield House Archives, Hertfordshire, UK
CSP	Calendar of State Papers
CUL	Cambridge University Library, Cambridge, UK
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
NRO	Norfolk Record Office
NCR	City of Norwich Corporation Records
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
OBS	Obselete Lists, Indexes and Miscellaneous Summaries and Reports
REED	Records of Early English Drama
RCA	Royal College of Arms
SP	State Papers
TNA	The National Archives (formerly the Public Record Office—PRO), Kew, UK

Notes:

The footnotes that reference a particular source (either a primary source or antiquarian source) from the John Nichols collection will identify specific information in the following format: brief description or title of source, the editor(s) of that particular source within the new edition, the volume and page number it can be found. In the footnotes where the collection is cited without reference to a specific source, indicates that the editor's comment(s) and annotation(s) are being consulted. The volume is indicated by the number before the page number (i.e. 2:343).

**Introduction:
‘With My Rulinge’: Progresses as an Analysis
of Agency, Queenship and Political Culture**

In 1558, from the majestic hall of the Old Palace at Hatfield House, surrounded by a group of much older gentlemen, who were seasoned government leaders, Queen Elizabeth I spoke with conviction and authority stating:

I shall desyre yow all my Lordes (chieflye yow of the nobilyty every one in his degree and power) to bee asistant to me; that I w[i]th my Rulinge and yow w[i]th yo[ur] service...¹

This statement is a striking image of the authority and power of the Queen, the roles to which she assigned her councillors, and the articulation of how she would exercise her agency. This quote provided the inspiration for this thesis by demonstrating Elizabeth’s strong character and courage of conviction at an unnerving, daunting, but extraordinary moment in the sixteenth century. Elizabeth I assumed the throne as a single woman and ruled in a world that believed women were intellectually and morally inferior to men. Elizabeth’s contemporaries believed that the Queen and the realm needed a king to rule to establish England as a legitimate power. An intellectual and savvy, Elizabeth knew the world that surrounded her and set out to challenge, manipulate and subvert the control that her Privy Councillors, Parliament, ecclesiastical leaders and court would attempt to exert over her, so that she would exercise what she believed was her right to rule. According to David Starkey, sixteenth-century England was governed by personal monarchy.² The study of personal monarchy requires historians to closely examine a variety of components (i.e. politics, religion, diplomacy, culture, social dynamics) that characterised the sovereign rule. A significant number of scholars, including John Cooper, Carole Levin, John Guy, Patrick Collinson, Susan Doran and Natalie Mears (to name a few) have successfully examined the nature of Elizabeth’s personal monarchy. However, with the study of various aspects of rule, along with the statement that began this thesis, questions emerge about the nature of personal monarchy and agency. How did Elizabeth assert her agency? How is it evident in the source material? Was she able to have her “Lordes” assisting her? How did this affect the dynamics of power? How does the study of Elizabeth’s agency contribute to and further our understanding of Elizabeth’s personal monarchy? These questions, and the identity that Elizabeth constructed, expressed and displayed from the beginning of her reign provide the focus of this PhD thesis. Elizabeth’s personal monarchy and the exercising of agency that shaped her reign were embedded within the dynamic relationships between the Queen, her subjects and local communities, were most visible on royal progresses. Therefore, royal progresses will serve as the core context for this thesis. In fact, this thesis will argue that

¹ TNA, SP 12/1, f. 7.

² David Starkey, “Intimacy and innovation: the rise of the Privy Chamber, 1485-1547,” in *The English Court: from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, ed. David Starkey (London: Longman, 1987), 226.

royal progresses were one of the key components that helped to define Elizabeth's personal monarchy and provided a platform from which Elizabeth exercised her agency.

Studies of Elizabeth I and her regime have become extensive and seemingly exhaustive. The analysis of conventional printed and manuscript sources for the reign of Elizabeth I, despite their interdisciplinary appeal, has become fragmented and overworked by usage. These commonly used sources include the State Papers in their original and calendared form, council papers, Elizabeth's private letters both foreign and domestic as well as letters of her privy councillors and others closest to the Queen, and records of pageants and entertainments. However, these sources still have information that has not been highlighted. Furthermore, there are additional sources equally worthy of analysis and less familiar or under used materials. The eyewitness accounts of the Queen's visits detail the rituals, ceremony, material culture, and language of progresses. When these accounts are combined with the commonly used sources, such as financial accounts and state papers, they shed light on the social interactions between the monarch and their subjects, as well as the complex system and machinations of Elizabethan political culture.³

This thesis has three central themes and questions. First, it explores how far we can perceive and reconstruct the Elizabeth's independent agency. Secondly, it examines the nature of her queenship and the ways in which monarchical authority was expressed and structured. Lastly, it explicates the evidence by which we can reconstruct the workings of Elizabethan political culture and the role the queen and royal progresses played within it. These concepts will take into account both national and local affairs to provide a better understanding of the interplay between the Queen and her subjects. However, this study provides a different approach to our understanding of the relationship between the Queen and local governments. This thesis specifically focuses on the interactions between the monarchy and the subject and the political dialogues that exemplify Elizabethan political culture and highlights the occasions where Elizabeth exercised her agency. Although some important research has been undertaken, which will be discussed in more detail below, royal progresses still provide fertile ground to further explore and analyse the reign of Elizabeth.

³ The eyewitness accounts of the Queen's visits to Bristol, Canterbury, and Warwick have not been explored within the context of early modern dialogue, negotiations of power, or the Queen's participation. Therefore, through combining these less explored accounts with the financial records, including the Exchequer accounts and the Auditor's accounts, we are able to extract more information and reassess the details for information about Elizabeth's queenship, power and agency. For the Queen's 1574 visit to Bristol, see the record of the account by the town clerk in "Ricart's Calendar", reproduced in Nichols's collection and recently edited by Gabriel Heaton in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Goldring, Faith Eales, Elizabeth Clarke, Jayne Elisabeth Archer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 2:198-199. This was used to supplement Nichols's narrative. For Canterbury visit, see Matthew Parker's account in *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ*, edited by David J. Crankshaw, in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:64-83. Finally, for the Warwick visit, see *The Black Book of Warwick* included in Nichols's collection and edited by Gabriel Heaton in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:26-41.

Elizabeth I went on twenty-three progresses and visited more than 400 hosts throughout her forty-five year reign. These progresses occurred in limited regions of England, going as far as Southampton in Hampshire, Sherborne in Dorset, Bristol in Gloucestershire and Bath in Somerset, Chartley in Staffordshire, Stamford in Lincolnshire, and Norwich in Norfolk.⁴ There are various reasons why the Queen's progresses were limited to this area, which will be discussed at length in Chapter 1, but one of the key reasons for this geographical area was the concentration of Elizabeth's court and the homes of her hosts within these areas. Therefore, given the concentration of the Queen's progresses, it is essential to explore what can be known about these royal progresses, particularly surrounding the logistics of organizing and planning the sovereign's progresses, along with the possible motives for the various visits. The dynamics of progresses provide significant detail about the relationship between politics, religion, society and culture during the Elizabethan period. These progresses were at their height during the most active and precarious time of Elizabeth's reign: 1560 to 1580. This indicates that progresses were used as a means of providing stability and asserting authority. While most of the material for this thesis will feature the period between 1560 to 1580, the exploration of Elizabeth's progresses and the use of a variety of primary evidence will not be limited to this time period due to the continual maintenance and execution of Elizabeth's personal monarchy until her death in 1603. By considering royal progresses in this analysis of agency and political culture, this thesis will help demonstrate a clearer picture of culture and society both at the national and local levels, but most importantly, it will help further our understanding of Elizabeth I as a queen and help identify her voice within sixteenth-century politics and power.

To begin, there are important terms and concepts that must be explained in order to provide an understanding of how Elizabethan royal progresses might be reinterpreted and reassessed. These terms are agency, personal rule, queenship, political culture, and conformity.

I. Agency versus Personal Rule

Agency in the simplest terms is the act of an individual or group of individuals to attain a specific outcome or effect. For the purpose of this thesis, royal agency is defined as: the deliberate construction and maintenance of a persona and the articulation and action of royal prerogative through which the sovereign's royal authority is exercised or reinforced. Examining the Queen's agency has its limitations particularly as it is hard to identify Elizabeth's explicit articulation of her agency. Despite the availability of Elizabeth's writing in letters, poems and speeches, there still remains the fact that there is very little written

⁴ Mary Hill Cole list Sherborne in Gloucestershire in the table (189 & 197), when in fact Sherborne was located in the county of Dorset. See *A History of Dorset* by Cecil Cullingford for more information. Mary Hill Cole, *The Portable Queen* (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999). Cecil Cullingford, *A History of Dorset* (Chichester: Phillimore & Co LTD., 1980), 58-59.

evidence of where Elizabeth recorded her personal decisions and personal thoughts pertaining to specific political policies, religious issues, or social and economic problems. Elizabeth's writings created an "illusion" and she was "unusually guarded and secretive."⁵ Her motto of "*video et taceo*" (I see yet I remain silent) reflected this reserved persona and highlighted her agency.⁶ In fact, Mary Thomas Crane asserts that Elizabeth's motto "indicate[d] that she intend[d] to make up her own mind."⁷ With the exception of letters, most kings and queens in sixteenth-century England did not disclose their personal thoughts. Tudor historians, especially G.R. Elton, John Guy, and Wallace MacCaffrey, have had to look at letters and royal proclamations to interpret the exercise of power and summarise sovereign rule. Therefore, utilising the methods of Elton, Guy and many other historians, this thesis offers an alternative way of assessing individual agency, especially Elizabeth's agency, by combining the prolific writings of Elizabeth I with supplementary evidence, like eyewitness accounts that recount instances where the Queen articulated her authority, occasions that described the Queen's actions or participation, or evidence where individuals have alluded or attributed to the Queen's agency. For example, in 1574, Gilbert Talbot wrote to his father, George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, and alluded to Elizabeth's agency through stating, "hure Maiestie's greate desire is to go to Bristo."⁸ Talbot's reference to Elizabeth's "desire" and "to go", emphasises the Queen's decision and intention, thus illustrating how agency will be identified throughout the thesis. My work contributes to and follows the recent trend of studying historical agency. Historians focusing on a specific subject or theme have highlighted agency in different ways. The exercising and identification of agency is complex and intricate and therefore must be defined according to how it will be used within a specific study. The following scholarly examples of Harline and Evangelisti help to expand our understanding of individual agency and provide a method by which Elizabeth's agency can be

⁵ Ilona Bell, *Elizabeth I: The Voice of a Monarch* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), xii.

⁶ Mary Thomas Crane cites William Camden's *Remains Concerning Britain* (London, 1870), as the source of this quote. See footnote 7 in Mary Thomas Crane, "'Video et Taceo': Elizabeth I and the Rhetoric of Counsel", *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Winter, 1988), 13.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁸ This quote is from a letter that is contained in a short extract from Joseph Hunter's *Hallamshire: The History and Topography of the Parish of Sheffield*. Hunter cites that "the originals of most of the following letters are in the collection of manuscripts by the late John Wilson." See Hunter, *Hallamshire*, 78. It appears that John Wilson, an eighteenth-century antiquarian acquired the Talbot letters, according to the Folger Shakespeare Library Finding Aid Database, from "a Mr. Stainforth of Darnell, a Mr. Bosville of Gunthwaite and Sir Thomas Wentworth of Bretton, and as two groups in this collection are letters to and/or from a John Stainforth and various members of the Wentworth families, it seems probable that they all formed part of the same collection. Wilson's collection was still intact in 1806; in 1843 it was dispersed and sold to Mr. Thorpe, a London bookseller, who sold many items to James Newman of High Holborn and he in his turn to Sir Thomas Phillipps." See <http://findingaids.folger.edu/dfocavendish.xml>. However, Nichols included Hunter's extract in his collection and the copy-text of the extract is available in the modern version of Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:191.

reassessed. This thesis along with the following examples contributes to the wider study of female participation in the traditionally male dominated spheres of politics and religion.

Craig Harline examines Maria Rolandus, a seventeenth-century Dutch woman, who wrote to her brother trying to convince him to return to the Protestant faith after he converted. Harline identifies Maria's agency in "trying to bring Jacob home. At first she was secret about her [letter writing] efforts, suggesting that she feared her parents' disapproval."⁹ Within this context, Maria's agency demonstrated that she was intelligent and educated (though not as well educated in theology as her brother) and engaged in theological debates to get her brother to see the error of his ways. Silvia Evangelisti analyzes Maria de Agreda, a seventeenth-century Spanish Franciscan nun. Evangelisti points to Agreda's agency through the mystic persona that was cultivated through missionary conversion and the appearance of Agreda in apparitions.¹⁰ Agency in both of these instances was identified based on the historical case studies of specific seventeenth-century figures and through the explicit articulation or accounts of their actions and words. Evangelisti identified agency through the use of religious spaces. Harline identified agency through the familial connections of brother and sister writing to one another.

The concept of agency utilised in this thesis derives from the study of English communities during the fifteenth and sixteenth-centuries. Donald M. MacRaild wrote in his seminal work *Social Theory and Social History* that, "...politicians, statesmen and military leaders exert a much greater degree of influence than 'ordinary' people" who were "...conscious...[of their] ability to act through the assertion of ideas, rights and intentions."¹¹ Matthew Johnson has characterised agency as:

Individuals [...] were just pawns in some set of normative rules or adaptive systems or set of deep structures...Agency is a term used to refer to the active strategies of individuals. In this view, women and men are not passively duped by the system around them.¹²

MacRaild and Johnson both suggest that despite the power dynamics of sixteenth-century society, where the patriarchy had the ability to exert control and influence, the common subject had the potential to, and in some cases did, exercise their agency through producing dissenting literature and vocalising their grievances. E.P. Thompson contributed to our understanding of agency by contending that the articulation and impact of power, social

⁹ Craig Harline, "Big Sister as Intermediary: How Maria Rolandus Tried to Win Back her Wayward Brother," in *Attending to Early Modern Women: Conflict and Concord*, ed. Karen Nelson (University of Delaware Press, 2013), 5.

¹⁰ Silvia Evangelisti, "Spaces for Agency: The View from Early Modern Female Religious Communities," in *Attending to Early Modern Women: Conflict and Concord*, ed. Karen Nelson (University of Delaware Press, 2013), 117-133.

¹¹ Donald M. MacRaild and Avram Taylor, *Social Theory and Social History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 83 & 152.

¹² Matthew Johnson, *Archaeological Theory: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2010), 108.

relations and conflict were performed and experienced.¹³ Therefore, agency is not just restricted to act of writing. Agency could be performed through movement and actions. Furthermore, when using primary evidence to highlight agency, writings about a specific individual like Elizabeth are not considered; the accounts that expose actions and verbal interactions can also provide confirmation of agency. The same approach can be applied to Elizabeth, who exerted power, influence and control regardless of how overshadowed or limited she was by the patriarchal social structure that did not find sole female rule acceptable, like her Privy Council and ecclesiastical ministers. The limitations of social structures and ways of operating within that social structure are crucial to the understanding of the social dynamics of the early modern period. Elizabeth's agency can be explored within the parameters that MacRaid and Thompson have established, by analyzing how Elizabeth's own agency was exercised and performed within the rigid patriarchal society in which she lived. She also saw the value of her 'ordinary' subjects, making herself accessible to her people, especially through royal progresses. The informality of progresses allowed Elizabeth to act outside the conventions and protocols that governed the court within the royal palaces in London and interact directly with her subjects. By utilizing her royal progresses as a way of connecting with the people, for example, Elizabeth gained loyalty and legitimacy, which gave her queenship character and a multi-faceted identity.

Many Elizabethan historians have avoided explicit use of the term agency when discussing Elizabeth's personal monarchy, often arguing that it is hard to establish from the available sources how far the Queen was making decisions and exercising agency independently. More specifically, the debate is whether Elizabeth's words and policies constitute or represent the actions and agency of Elizabeth, or whether they represent the actions of her Privy Council. Accounts of Elizabeth's agency can be broken into two categories: decisions and actions based on the Queen's personal nature (i.e. choosing to have crucifixes in her chapel or choosing which hosts to visit) or decisions and actions based on the Queen's prerogative (i.e. rejecting marriage proposals/negotiations or delaying the execution of the Duke of Norfolk, or Mary, Queen of Scots). These are not mutually exclusive and were most often bound together. To illustrate the point of the conflicting nature of agency within the evidence, take for example the speculation that the speeches of Elizabeth were often written by a royal servant or her chief advisor, William Cecil, therefore implying that Elizabeth had no agency. Yet the act of reciting the words, the omissions and additions that were added in her hand, and the evidence of her signature do convey the Queen's agency. Stephen Alford characterised Elizabeth as "clever, controlled and engaging", who intentionally "preferred to follow a policy of masterly inactivity" which was based on "reasons which made perfect sense to her, even if they did not to Cecil."¹⁴ This does not

¹³ E.P. Thompson, *Customs in Common* (London: Penguin Books, 1993), 20-24.

¹⁴ Stephen Alford, *Burghley: William Cecil at the Court of Elizabeth I* (London: Yale University Press, 2008), 87.

conclude that Elizabeth took a back seat role in exercising power, but rather that she observed the machinations of government unfold around her and made deliberate moves based on those outcomes. Therefore, the Queen's agency is clearly visible if we use this method of analysing various accounts to distinguish the actions that Elizabeth employed and the role she played in establishing policy, accepting/rejecting counsel and interacting with her subjects. Thus, relying on her councillors and master secretary to draft speeches and proclamations can be viewed as her deliberate attempt to observe the intentions of the individuals within her Privy Council and court. Hence, attaching her signature to the documents signifies her support or approval. This is reinforced in the document "Wordes spoken by her ma[jes]tie to M[ist]er Cicille," through which the Queen asserts to Cecil that in the position which she has "charge[d]" him, she expects him

...to take paynes for me and my Realme...that yow will not bee corrupted w[i]th any man[n]er of gift, and that yow wilbe faithfull to the state, and that w[i]thout respect of my pryvate will yow will give me that counsaill that yow thinke best, And if yow shall knowe any thinge necessarye to bee declared to me of secresye, yow shall show it to my self only...¹⁵

The Queen made it explicitly clear that Cecil was to serve her and give his counsel despite her "pryvate will." This indicates Elizabeth's willingness to work with her councillors but she was still the centre of authority.

Elizabethan historians who have used the term "agency" have tended to do so in loose terms. G.R. Elton hinted at agency with his assertion that the sixteenth century "saw the personal power of the monarchy at its height."¹⁶ Natalie Mears explores Elizabeth's "personal rule" or "imperium" in her doctoral thesis studying the marriage negotiations.¹⁷ Mears asserts that in "the middle years of the reign...Elizabeth's willingness to assert her *imperium* and the way in which her councillors began to adapt were signs of a 'personal rule'."¹⁸ The notion of personal rule gives us a basis on which to build our understanding of agency. Mears uses the term "personal rule" rather than agency. In Mears' study of the marriage negotiations, she identified how Elizabeth "took an active role in organising, [and] managing" a council which "operated [an] informal ad hoc" way to obtain advice.¹⁹ Therefore, I contend that personal rule refers to Elizabeth's relationships with those around her, her role in policy making, and

¹⁵ TNA, SP 12/1, f. 12.

¹⁶ G.R. Elton, *The Tudor Revolution in Government: Administrative Changes in the Reign of Henry VIII* (Cambridge University Press, 1974), 4.

¹⁷ Mears' doctoral thesis focuses more on the ways in which personal rule was employed during Elizabeth's reign, which was built upon in her monograph which focused less on personal rule and more on political discourse and its contribution to the development of Habermas' theory of the public sphere. Natalie Mears, "The 'Personal Rule' of Elizabeth I: marriage, succession and Catholic conspiracy, c. 1572-c. 1582" (PhD Thesis, University of St. Andrews, 2000).

¹⁸ Natalie Mears, "The 'Personal Rule' of Elizabeth I: marriage, succession and Catholic conspiracy, c. 1572-c. 1582" (PhD Thesis, University of St. Andrews, 2000), 22.

¹⁹ Natalie Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 47.

the characteristics that defined Elizabeth's queenship including her personal beliefs, desires and motives. Agency is the actions and articulation of personal rule. Given the complexities of sovereign rule and the sovereign's two bodies, these two concepts of personal rule and agency, were closely bound together. That is what made Elizabeth's queenship so unique. She used progresses to exercise her agency as Queen to carry out her personal rule and sovereignty. In fact, Elizabeth manipulated her councillors on policy and affairs in order to obtain the appearance of ruling jointly with them. This is evident from Mears' study of informal council. Anne McLaren also concludes that Elizabeth "manoeuvre[d]" between formal and informal council by "enacting her own conception of monarchical authority." This, McLaren asserts, "distort[ed] the balance of the composite mixed monarchy" and "corporate body politic."²⁰ Susan Frye explicitly uses the term 'agency' when discussing the representations of Elizabeth but agency is not clearly defined. Frye comments, "Part of the problem has been a reluctance to consider the issue of Elizabeth's 'agency'" to identify "conscious and unconscious participation in the practices of signification."²¹ By reassessing Elizabeth I and her reign through the lens of agency, it informs this research through the ways in which Elizabeth was able to maintain the persona of a strong, warrior-like and sacred Queen, who understood the value of exercising her authority and power, as well as interacting publically with her subjects on progress.

Throughout the early modern period, women did not have a central or clearly defined place in politics or government. As a result, patriarchal control intensified. This is important because exceptional women, like Elizabeth, had to navigate within this very confined and rigid structure. This controlling and dominating force during Elizabeth's reign came in the form of her Privy Council and, at times, Parliament. By understanding this context of gender expectations and political dynamics, we are given a point of departure through which to examine the instances when Elizabeth exerted her agency. This allows us to distinguish her decisions and actions from those of her Privy Councillors. This study demonstrates that agency offers a fresh and original lens with which to view Elizabeth's queenship and identity. By exploring the Queen's actions on progress, particularly the Queen's acceptance of the hospitality of the hosts she would stay with, along with the use of hunting to allow or deny access to her, and the interactions with people on progresses, our interpretation of the Queen changes. We are able to identify that Elizabeth I was an intelligent, personable, controlled, benevolent, and Protestant martial Queen with a love of her people and capable of exerting royal power, while influencing and participating in an active and evolving political culture.

II. Queenship

²⁰ A.N. [Anne] McLaren, *Political Culture in the Reign of Elizabeth I: Queen and Commonwealth, 1558-1585* (University of Cambridge Press, 1999), 138 & 162.

²¹ Susan Frye, *Elizabeth I: The Competition for Representation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 7.

Whereas personal rule revolves around relationships and the personal preferences of the Queen, queenship can be defined as the state of being queen, this includes agency, personal rule, characteristics of their reign, policy and state building, accommodations of gender within the royal household, particularly the Privy Chamber, as well as the beliefs, attitudes and representations of queens by their contemporaries. Historical discussions and studies of the institution of queenship have often been structured around a queen as a royal consort and regent. In England, until Mary I, queenship did not involve political authority or a royal consort possessing sole power or agency (with the exception of the precedence of Catherine of Aragon in the first French war in July 1513). Historians, defining and analyzing the concept and practice of queenship, have examined various aspects of society and culture from the queen's ladies in waiting, to their courtships, the cultivation of representations, as well as their diplomacy in political matters. More specifically, these studies have examined the shift from kingship that consisted of the basic assumption that the individual in power was male, to defining "queenship" as the royal body that was invested in the female gender and restructured patriarchal institutions to adapt to gender roles, duties, expectations, and attitudes. The emergence of gender history was to articulate male/female relations, the mentalities and social constructions of women, their roles and their existence. Queenship is one aspect of this and in recent years has become a frequently used term and fully developed concept within Elizabethan scholarship, most notably by historians such as Carole Levin, Susan Doran, Natalie Mears, and Helen Hackett, Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock.²²

Queenship has become a very active aspect of studies of pre-modern women's history, expanding beyond the early modern period to include the medieval period and territories beyond western Europe. Examples of the works that are expanding the studies of queenship include Elena Woodacre's informative study and collection on queens within the Mediterranean regions, including Joanna, Queen of Sicily, Phillipa and Lancaster, and Maria, Queen of Naples.²³ However, traditional studies of monarchy have been male centred and, as G.R. Elton has argued, have focused on the often "bureaucratic organization...and national management".²⁴ Patrick Collinson noted in his influential work that the historical narrative of Tudor studies tended to argue that the monarchy and statecraft were the important elements worthy of study. Collinson emphasised the significance of moving beyond these traditional

²² Carole Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994); Susan Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony: The Courtships of Elizabeth I* (London: Routledge, 1996); Natalie Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms* (Cambridge University Press, 2005); Helen Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1995); Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock, eds., *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

²³ John C. Parsons, *Medieval Queenship* (New York: St Martins Press, 1998); and Elena Woodacre, *Queenship in the Mediterranean: Negotiating the Role of the Queen in the Medieval and Early Modern Eras* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

²⁴ Elton, *The Tudor Revolution in Government*, 4.

lenses and analysing the “social depths of politics.”²⁵ The emerging works of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries have demonstrated that this is not true and highlighted the transformation of monarchical studies. The study of queenship has been less about political institutions and more about the institutions of gender and ideas, the constructions and representations of sovereignty, as well as focusing on the interactions between people. Carole Levin’s seminal work on the politics of sex and power presents Elizabeth as an individual who “believed she must have ‘the heart and stomach of a king’”. Elizabeth cultivated a persona that capitalised on the expectations of her behavior as a woman and used them to her advantage”, along with “calling herself king.”²⁶ Each chapter analyzes the various ways that Elizabeth’s queenship was constructed and manipulated to fulfill the demands of early modern sovereignty. Levin shows how Elizabeth utilised “ritual and spectacle” to emphasise her position as a sacred monarch and how the Queen’s courtships contradicted with Elizabeth’s claim of “virginity as her ideal state.”²⁷ However, Levin argues this contradiction between advocating for the single state and relishing in the marriage proposals were part of the “careful crafting” of her public image.²⁸ The construction of Elizabeth’s public image was key to Elizabeth’s queenship, especially as it emphasised the value of the Queen’s two bodies. Levin’s discussion of the dual body concept highlights how Elizabeth’s image was manipulated and employed by the Queen and her contemporaries to achieve the image of “a powerful woman who ruled.”²⁹ This manipulation was useful in negotiating foreign courtship and legitimacy, and securing domestic allegiance. The most interesting point that Levin highlights was the importance of ritual and ceremonies that surrounded Elizabeth’s queenship. Nowhere were ritual and ceremony, as well as representations of Elizabeth’s queenship, more clearly visible than on royal progresses. Levin’s examination of spectacle, crafting of public image, and manipulation of gender norms provides the basis through which to illustrate agency and further our understanding of Elizabeth’s queenship.

Susan Doran’s definitive work on the courtships of Elizabeth I illustrated a queen who, despite historical debates, did not reject marriage but rather the political dynamics surrounding the negotiations that revealed the absence of a suitable match. Doran’s study complements Levin’s examination by affirming that the Queen’s constructed image revealed her “great strength as a ruler.”³⁰ However, Doran asserts that the cultivation of the image of a virgin Queen did not occur until around 1578, but as early as the mid-1560s Elizabeth

²⁵ Patrick Collinson, “*De republica Anglorum* or, history with the politics put back,” in *Elizabethan Essays*, ed. Patrick Collinson (London: The Hambledon Press, 1994), 8-11.

²⁶ Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*, 1.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 24 & 39.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 44.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 127.

³⁰ Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony*, 217.

“exhibited a serious intent...[for] an acceptable matrimonial contract.”³¹ Therefore, Doran advises that the focus of the marriage negotiations should be on “the debates [...], sticking points [...], and political tactics employed by various matches.”³² Doran’s study emphasises the important role that queenship had in the cultivation of Elizabethan political culture and helps to identify where Elizabeth’s action differed from those of her councillors.

The construction of the virgin queen persona was a significant element in Elizabeth’s queenship. Helen Hackett examines “the elevation and celebration of Elizabeth as [a] symbol,” which “depended on an identification of secular power with sacredness.”³³ Hackett’s important study analyzes the various depictions and images that reflected the evolution of Elizabeth’s queenship based on influential political, religious and cultural factors during Elizabeth’s long reign. Hackett’s conclusion identifies the critical element of studying Elizabeth’s queenship as the analysis of “female power” that was produced by “patriarchal societies...in reaction to repressed anxieties at the disruption of hierarchy.”³⁴ By assessing the ways in which Elizabeth I exercised authority and power that deviated from the normal patriarchal expectations or the conflicted with the counsel of her Privy Council, we can identify instances of where female powers was articulated and exerted. It is also where we can identify instances of where Elizabeth exercised her agency.

Mears’ valuable work regarding the nature of queenship posed the question of whether Elizabeth’s queenship was “shaped by her gender or other factors.”³⁵ Her research has specifically honed in on “Elizabethan political discourse” and “Elizabethan policy-making” as the central focus with which to answer the question. She has concluded that Elizabeth’s queenship varied throughout her reign and was shaped by concepts of gender, but also relationships with her councillors and court that formed a “mixed polity.”³⁶ This fluid construction of queenship confirms and highlights that Elizabeth was “aware that a good prince ruled for the benefit of the common weal, but it was not the commonweal, who defined what that benefit was.”³⁷ Therefore, Elizabeth manufactured her queenship and influence. However, Mears’ assertion here contributes to the concept of agency but never addresses it directly. While there is merit in Mears’ conclusion, I argue that the study of Elizabeth’s queenship, political culture and “Elizabethan political discourse” cannot fully happen without a discussion of royal progresses, which are surprisingly not fully incorporated within Mears’ research.

Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock have contributed to the studies of queenship with their edited collection, *Tudor Queenship*. The editors’ introduction, despite the misleading

³¹ Ibid., 11.

³² Ibid., 12.

³³ Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen*, 6.

³⁴ Ibid., 240.

³⁵ Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms*, 7.

³⁶ Ibid., 96.

³⁷ Ibid, 11 & 261.

title, does not address the concepts or advancements made in establishing the context and understanding of queenship, instead they focus on exactly what they set out to try and avoid, which was pitting “one queen against the other.” Despite stressing their aim to “build on the altered image of the queens” and “places new perceptions along side each other in order to reveal possible continuities, similarities, and reasonable points of comparison, and to offer further correctives,” the essays do examine the successes and failures of each queen.³⁸ This hinders the central goal of trying to establish the nature of the Tudor queens’ respective queenships. While the collection does have its weaknesses, there are also some merits to individual essays, which offer methods of assessing queenship. Glenn Richardson’s essay examines the personal dynamics and political exchange between Elizabeth I and Henry IV of France. This exchange illuminated a “strategy adopted in presenting her effectively to her French counterparts.”³⁹ Richardson emphasises the importance of Elizabeth’s “reputation”, her chivalric “honor as a prince in peace and war” and “international relations”, which were all elements in demonstrating her ability to rule effectively.⁴⁰ These were fundamental principles of early modern sovereignty and as Richardson argues, aided in reinforcing the nature and strength of Elizabeth’s queenship, especially in the wake and victory of the Spanish Armada. Anna McLaren’s monograph highlights the strategies undertaken by Elizabethan contemporaries to “mobilize support for Protestantism,[...] English national autonomy, [and] Elizabeth’s queenship.”⁴¹ Elizabeth’s queenship encompassed more than just personal rule. It included the legacy of the political, religious and social conflicts and successes prevalent throughout her reign. McLaren’s study demonstrates the impact that James I had in dismantling this legacy in order to reinforce and legitimise his own kingship. The dismantling of Elizabeth’s queenship and legacy by James early in his reign was not successful, and he had to mould his kingship to incorporate the connection to Queen Elizabeth, until he was firmly established on the throne. Even then, the legacy of Elizabeth’s queenship did not entirely disappear.⁴² Finally, Doran’s monograph explores the “tradition of the royal representation” that is critical to the study of Tudor queenship.⁴³ Elizabeth’s representation, especially those crafted and employed on progresses, were the cornerstone that characterised Elizabeth’s queenship. Therefore, Doran argues that the “political messages and meanings in the queen’s image as David and Solomon” were responses to and “a critique of the queen’s religious policies, to combat the Catholic challenge to the legitimacy

³⁸ Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock, “Introduction: ‘Partners Both in Throne and Grave’”, in *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth*, eds. Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 1-3.

³⁹ Glenn Richardson, “‘Your most assured sister’: Elizabeth I and the Kings of France”, in *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth*, eds. Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 192.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 201.

⁴¹ McLaren, *Political Culture in the Reign of Elizabeth I*, 18.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 23.

⁴³ Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony*, 96.

of Protestant rule, to defend the royal supremacy, and to find a new rhetoric to discuss the succession.”⁴⁴ This analysis helps to identify the ways that masculine figures were employed to strengthen Elizabeth’s queenship.

III. Foundations of Elizabethan Political Culture, Power and Conformity

As Tudor political history has evolved it has become more attentive to and inclusive of the interactions between governing/political bodies and the world in which they govern, control and preside. In this case, political culture included the interactions and dynamics between monarch, council, Church, nobility, Court, Parliament, military and subjects. All of these were interrelated in complex ways. Historians of the 1950s and 60s, particularly Neale, did not use the term ‘political culture’. However the 1970s and 80s saw an exploration into these aspects of the political dynamics of the Tudor period. Penry Williams does not use the term “political culture” but references the nature of political culture by contending that “[t]he people who counted in royal politics were those with access to the restricted areas of the court...But there was another group which is sometimes forgotten: the holders of the most intimate household offices.”⁴⁵ This highlights the changing nature of Tudor scholarship, which was recognizing the people who helped to shape and influence the dynamics of politics and culture within the sixteenth century. Renowned Tudor historian, John Guy, noted that “sixteenth century politics and political language were transformed by the proliferation of ideas and ideologies”. Seeking to define political culture, Guy characterised it as the study of “the interrelationships of, and interactions between, people, institutions, and ideas”, arguing that it should seek to “contextualize and interpret actions, structures and concepts in mutually informing ways.”⁴⁶ Dale Hoak adds to this by stating that the “difference between politics and political culture is essentially the difference between political action and the codes of conduct, formal and informal, governing those actions.”⁴⁷

J.E. Neale wrote an essay on “The Elizabethan Political Scene” in which he examined the court rolls and analysed how “gratuities and fees” were used to elevate men in the court who were involved in the administration and political functions of government.⁴⁸ This was the first time in which a cultural aspect (members and dynamics of the royal court) of Elizabeth’s reign had been studied with the political dynamics between the Queen, Councillors and Parliament. Neale states that bribery and gratuities were a fundamental part of Elizabethan court life but also politics. Neale’s essay begins by expressing the norm of Elizabethan political studies being a “pattern of government” that “looks relatively simple...to

⁴⁴ Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony*, 96.

⁴⁵ Penry Williams, *Tudor Regime* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 25.

⁴⁶ John Guy, “General Introduction”, in *The Tudor Monarchy*, ed. John Guy (London: Arnold, 1997), 2 and 7.

⁴⁷ Dale Hoak, *Tudor Political Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1.

⁴⁸ J.E. Neale, “The Elizabethan political scene,” in *Essays in Elizabethan History*, ed. J.E. Neale (London: Jonathan Cape, 1958), 59-84. This was originally the British Academy Raleigh Lecture in 1948. However, it was reprinted in *Essays in Elizabethan History*.

the casual eye” consisting of interactions between the “Queen, Privy Council, Councils in the North and the Marches of Wales, Exchequer, Parliament, law courts, and the organs of local government.”⁴⁹ By the end of the essay, however, Neale asserts, “competition at court was ceaseless. Success not only meant money: it meant power.”⁵⁰ Power, here, is a term which needs to be clarified because courtiers did not have the power to rule but the power to influence. This power, so to speak, existed merely in the power to advance men within courtly life and to put individuals in government positions, who might have the ear of the Queen and ultimately influence policies. Interestingly, Neale explores interactions, such as patronage, that were vital elements of Elizabethan political culture, particularly social connections but only as they related to how individuals emerged as political agents. However, his study disregards the wider impact of social interactions, political dialogues, and as Mears highlights, public discourse that addressed the questions of how Elizabethan culture influenced policy-making, diplomacy, religious worship and the maintenance of social order. Neale does make clear that the Queen’s power and authority were hers alone and she managed those aspects of courtly dalliance and exchange by “trying to prevent abuses; to see her own discretion was not undermined by corrupt conspiracy between suitors and courtiers, and to ensure that bribery did not get the wrong person into office.”⁵¹

Wallace T. MacCaffrey shared a similar interest in the early ideas of political culture and stated that the Elizabethan political machine was a “hybrid political order...[or] uneasy partnership” between “ [the] monarchy and...[an] ill-defined political elite.”⁵² The difference here is while Neale specifically separated the Queen from her councillors, MacCaffrey presents “Elizabeth and her ministers” as a unit.⁵³ This is the central focus of MacCaffrey’s work: that the achievements of the Elizabethan era were not due to Elizabeth I as an individual within those dynamics but as a regime that involved the influence and actions of her councillors, Parliament and the royal court. The use of the term ‘regime’, established as a fundamental concept in Tudor historical studies by Wallace MacCaffrey and Penry Williams, was perhaps an early attempt at verbalizing the nature and identifying the elements what is now known as ‘political culture’.⁵⁴

The distinguished historian Patrick Collinson gave a landmark lecture that advanced the development of the concept of political culture in the late 1980 and early 90s. He urged historians to rethink and reassess “history with politics put back.”⁵⁵ This urging came about

⁴⁹ Neale, “The Elizabethan political scene,” 59.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 70.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 69.

⁵² Wallace T. MacCaffrey, *The Shaping of the Elizabethan Regime* (Cape: London, 1969), 16.

⁵³ Wallace T. MacCaffrey, *Queen Elizabeth and the Making of Policy, 1572-1588* (Guilford: Princeton University Press, 1981), 11.

⁵⁴ See MacCaffrey, *The Shaping of the Elizabethan Regime* and Williams, *The Tudor Regime*.

⁵⁵ Patrick Collinson, “*De Republica Anglorum*”, 1-30. The first chapter of *Elizabethan Essays* is the inaugural lecture Collinson gave at his appointment as Regius Professor of Modern

when the history of the 1950s and 60s focused on the influence of a male centred government, economy and war. The 1970s-80s prompted the rise of historical studies of gender history, along with social and cultural history. Finally, by the late 1980s and early 90s, Collinson was urging for historians to engage in historical studies that highlighted the interaction of both social and political dynamics. Thus, the topic of political culture became an established pursuit of study. The field of Elizabethan studies highlights the impact of this evolution and change. By engaging in discussions and exploring the ways in the Queen and her subjects interacted, along with identifying the Queen's actions and the responses to those actions, Elizabethan political culture becomes richer in detail; evolving from just the study of monarch and subject, to the expansion of Elizabethan studies to consider the way that Elizabethans were politically, religiously and culturally interdependent and negotiated power, authority and sociability.

The exchange of power, or influence, was negotiated and shared between various levels of the sixteenth-century social hierarchy. G.R. Elton and Patrick Collinson examined the exchange of power, cooperation and partnership between the Privy Council and Parliament, but Neale had already begun to examine the exchange of influence, from the court to the Privy Council and Parliament.⁵⁶ G.R. Elton is considered one of the early definitive historians of Elizabethan studies who contributed to this important analysis of political culture. His work on the Elizabethan Parliaments provides in-depth examination and explanations of how to approach the Parliamentary sources. His examination focuses entirely on the political dynamics of Elizabeth's reign, focusing only on the state papers and Parliament records. He emphasises the importance of Parliament in Elizabethan government and even states that Tudor "Parliament formed the apex of the [sovereign's] courts...and formed the [sovereign's] government."⁵⁷ Elton places authority and power principally within the institution of Parliament. In *Parliament of England*, he defines the political establishment (certainly he would not use the term 'culture', given his preference for the political and neglect of cultural influences) as a power relationship between councillors and Parliament.

The social movements of the late twentieth century contributed to the shift of historical analysis that included the study of gender and society. Gender studies were employed to re-examine history and develop new perspectives. In 1980, Allison Heisch, wrote an article for the *Feminist Review* that examined the Lansdowne Manuscripts, namely the documents and papers of William Cecil that related to the Queen's marriage negotiations,

History at the University of Cambridge in November 1989. In this chapter, Collinson discusses the issues within the political history of the early modern period.

⁵⁶ G.R. Elton, *The Parliament of England, 1559-1581* (Cambridge University Press, 1986), 368, 374. Patrick Collinson, "The Monarchical Republic of Queen Elizabeth I", in *Elizabethan Essays*, ed. Patrick Collinson (London: Hambledon and London, 2003), 39.

⁵⁷ Elton, *The Parliaments of England*, 43.

to explore the ways in which Elizabeth “effectively furthers patriarchal governance.”⁵⁸ This ‘patriarchal governance’ she suggests, is the driving force and the dominating element of the Elizabethan political scene. Heisch, like MacCaffrey, attributes power to Elizabeth and her councillors as a propaganda machine. This propaganda machine was the deliberate display and construction of the image of the Queen that was disseminated to the court and society. Heisch comments that two patterns emerge within the political landscape: “one is the gradual emergence and ultimate dominance of Elizabeth’s self-conception; the other is the rapid evolution of power within the House of Commons.”⁵⁹

In an article published eight years earlier, Heisch explored what she asserts is the key factor within Elizabethan politics, that in order “to rule effectively, Elizabeth had to control Parliament.”⁶⁰ To do this, Heisch argues, Elizabeth had to become an expert at public speaking. Utilizing the Queen’s parliamentary speeches as the source for her arguments, Heisch concentrates on the middle part of Elizabeth’s reign because by this time (the Queen having reached the age of thirty-seven in 1570) Elizabeth’s councillors and Parliament were beginning to adjust to the idea of a female monarch. This is where Heisch asserts the interesting conclusion that Elizabeth was essentially given “an honorary male status.”⁶¹ This, perhaps, helps us to consider the ways in which Elizabeth was able to exercise authority and evade Parliament’s attempt to force religious reform, and her deft dealing with the issues of marriage and succession. These studies have contributed to the Elizabethan scholarship by providing different perspectives that allow historians and scholars to consider new angles of Elizabeth’s own persona, agency and her reign and developing the nature of political culture.

One of the key influences of Elizabethan political culture came from the royal court. The historiography of the Elizabethan period has examined the significance of court culture through examining patronage, social relations, court factions, familial networks, and gender roles. Elton was “baffled” by the Tudor court because “[a]t times it has all the appearance of a fully fledged institution; at others it seems to be no more than a...conceptual piece...covering people, certain behaviour, certain attitudes.”⁶² Interestingly this conclusion articulates the core components of political culture. Loades’s influential study of the Tudor court reveals

⁵⁸ Allison Heisch, “Queen Elizabeth I: Persistence of Patriarchy,” *Feminist Review*, no. 4 (1980), 45.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁶⁰ Allison Heisch, “Queen Elizabeth I: Parliamentary Rhetoric and the Exercise of Power,” *Signs*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Autumn, 1972), 32.

⁶¹ Heisch, “Persistence of Patriarchy”, 54.

⁶² G.R. Elton, “Tudor Government: Points of Contact”, in *Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government, Volume III: Papers and Reviews, 1973-1981*, ed. G.R. Elton (Cambridge University Press, 1983), 38. Controversially, Elton’s dismissal of particular administrative offices from the royal court has led to restricting the full investigation of the reach of courtly influence. David Starkey, Natalie Mears, and Patrick Collinson have all criticised Elton’s dismissal. David Starkey, “A Reply: Tudor Government: The Facts?”, *The Historical Journal*, 31:4 (Dec., 1988), 921-931; Natalie Mears, “Courts, Courtiers, and Culture in Tudor England,” *The Historical Journal*, 46:3 (Sept., 2003), 703-722; Patrick Collinson, “*De Republica Anglorum*”, 1-29.

that the Tudor monarchy “succeeded in making” or more specifically, succeeded in establishing the court as the center of culture, the stage of where power was negotiated, the source of drama and propaganda, and the intersection of politics and diplomacy in the sixteenth century. Loades attributes this to the “capriciousness” of Tudor monarchs.⁶³ Levin highlights how the court was instrumental in shaping Elizabeth’s queenship, through gossip, gender depictions and drama, as well as ceremony and ritual.⁶⁴ This suggests that court culture served to validate not only Elizabeth’s persona but also that the court provided the stage on which Elizabeth’s power, authority and queenship was performed and reinforced. Mears asserts that court politics were not tied with “conciliar politics”, that “close personal relationships”, as well as “drama, art, and sermons” played a significant role in political debates at court.”⁶⁵

Given the informal nature of the Elizabethan court, it is easy to understand why the court, especially on progress, offered the Queen opportunities to exercise her agency and assert her independence. This independence allowed Elizabeth to create a world that looked to her for direction and relied on her. In fact, Cole affirms that the promise of access to the Queen, along with the enticement of royal patronage that came with royal progresses contributed to court culture and proved instrumental to the “popularity of progresses” and the “vitality of Elizabeth’s government.”⁶⁶

These studies of court culture, social relations and political culture provide the framework to conduct a careful analysis of Elizabeth’s agency. By establishing that the understanding of political culture consisted of the involvement and influence of various individuals, institutions, groups and ideas, we are able to approach sixteenth-century evidence with a critical eye to identify the actions or voice of specific individuals. This allows for an assessment of the purpose of the Queen’s actions or words, along with the meaning, responses, and impact those behaviours had on the relationship between Elizabeth and her subjects. For example, in early 1559, Parliament presented a petition to Elizabeth urging her to marry for the “comfort and protection” of her subjects.⁶⁷ The action of presenting the petition to Elizabeth illustrates the Commons’ Parliamentary agency to coerce Elizabeth to respond to their concerns. However, Elizabeth’s skillful response did not give a direct answer but demonstrated her agency as she articulated her royal prerogative. The Queen’s royal prerogative was expressed through the line, where she cautioned Parliament, that she “misliked...very much...for you to require them that may command...my love to your liking or frame my will to your fantasies”. She articulated how she wished to maintain her persona of sovereign and sacredness by stating, “that a marble stone shall declare that a queen, having reigned such a time, lived and died a virgin”. Finally, Elizabeth exercised her royal power

⁶³ David Loades, *The Tudor Court* (Bangor: Headstart History, 1992), 184 & 192.

⁶⁴ Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*, 69 & 129.

⁶⁵ Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse*, 71 & 106.

⁶⁶ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 63.

⁶⁷ Bell, *The Voice of a Monarch*, 99.

through proclaiming that “above all things, do those which appertain unto His glory...I have made choice of this kind of life”.⁶⁸ Elizabeth may have appeared reactive to the petitions of Parliament rather than proactive, but this does not diminish her authority or agency.

Politics did not just involve the interactions between the Queen and her Privy Councillors, or the disagreements and interplay with Parliament, but it also included social issues, which included religion, economy, unrest and obedience. Conformity was one of the tools employed to address these problems and demand obedience. Conformity was not just a tool used for religious control; it was also used for political control, though they were not mutually exclusive. Within this thesis, conformity will be understood as policing and obeying set ideals, beliefs, laws and attitudes that was set forth by the national and local governments and enforced by individual Church courts. Yet, the concept of conformity “reflect[s] the well known contemporary division between doctrine and discipline; that is between issues of outward government and practice, of polity and liturgy” or more simply put the dichotomy and discourse between religious and political conformity.⁶⁹ Political conformity included obedience to the policies, proclamations and ordinances given by the monarch, their government officials, and ecclesiastical ministers, as well as maintaining loyalty, allegiance and devotion to the sovereign and their kingdom. Following the conventions of effective rulership also was a part of political conformity (i.e. ability to demonstrate martial prowess). Similarly, like religious conformity, political conformity included the outward appearance of following the established norms. This could be demonstrated through spoken word or visual display. The expectations for religious conformity included adherence to the rules, regulations, and conventions proscribed by the established Church of England. This included attending church services at specified times and conducting church services according to the approved standard dictated by the *Book of Common Prayer*, to the expectation that priests wear the appropriate attire, and homes and public spaces being devoid of symbols, rituals and items of idolatry. Perhaps more importantly, religious conformity was presenting an outward appearance of observing the Protestant faith and liturgy, despite Elizabethan subjects having personal convictions to the contrary that went in either direction of the sixteenth-century religious spectrum: Catholicism or Puritanism. Obedience and loyalty to the Queen was to be shown by conformity to her Church and constituted “sites of conflict and contest” and compliance to the rules and regulations set forth by her government.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ These quotes are from the speeches that were reproduced in Elizabeth I's *Collected Works*, edited by Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose. The editors have identified the source as Lansdowne MS 94, art. 14. The last quote comes from William Camden's version in *Annales: The true and royall history of the famous empressse Elizabeth*, reproduced in *Collected Works. Elizabeth I, Collected Works*, eds. Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 56-59.

⁶⁹ Peter Lake and Michael Questier, “Introduction”, in *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c. 1560-1660*, eds. Peter Lake and Michael Questier (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2000), ix.

⁷⁰ Lake and Questier, “Introduction”, xx.

Conformity during Elizabeth's reign was crucial not only for the religious stability and political peace of the realm but also for the longevity and prosperity of the nation. Conformity was a large part of political culture and evident on Elizabeth's royal progresses. The three case studies presented in this thesis highlight these dual concepts of conformity that were noticeable on progresses. Chapter 2 argues that, while historians of the 1578 progress to Norwich have focused on the push for religious conformity by Elizabeth I and her councillors, the demand of political conformity by Elizabeth I was just as visible and evident. Chapter 3 presents the ways in which the pursuit and act of the royal hunt reinforced political conformity that was required in diplomacy, as well as the use of hunting by Elizabeth to follow the conventions of demonstrating martial prowess. Finally, chapter 4 presents the case of Elizabeth I's desire for religious conformity through the use of her Chapel Royal on progress and thus emphasised her own religious conformity and royal supremacy.

IV. The Blueprint: Structure, Originality, Methodology and Sources

Agency, queenship, and political culture are three strands of historiography that have hitherto not been brought together into one coherent study of Elizabeth's reign. Such a monumental task is best undertaken through a series of case studies utilizing royal progresses as the lens to examine these historical themes. This process cultivates a more integrated picture of the last Tudor's reign and expand our understanding of Elizabeth I. The emergence of historical studies focusing on the ceremonial entries and progresses of European monarchs including Charles IX and the de Medicis and Louis XIII of France, and Vladislaus IV of Hungary, and Alexander VI and Julius II of Italy, have highlighted the value of royal progresses in understanding monarchs and the nature of their rule.⁷¹ Progresses were an important aspect of early modern culture and royal spectacle, particularly during Elizabeth's reign. Progresses have been casually noted in studies of Elizabeth's reign. However, the study of royal progresses has begun to emerge as an important historical topic that contributes to the existing scholarship of the Elizabethan era and furthers our understanding of Elizabethan politics, religion, society and culture. Royal progresses developed a language and culture of their own and, as Mary Hill Cole has argued, Elizabeth relished the freedom and chaos that they created. The use of progresses allowed her to capitalise on her authority, exercise agency, while simultaneously negotiating and controlling her image and identity. This is made evident through the three case studies presented in this thesis— Elizabeth's explicit demand for obedience and allegiance illustrated on the 1578 progress; the use of hunting as a means of granting and denying access to her, while projecting her martial identity; and finally the use of components of the Chapel Royal on progresses to reinforce her royal Supremacy and aid in promoting conformity.

⁷¹ J.R. Mulryne, Maria Ines Aliverti, and Anna Maria Testaverde, *Ceremonial Entries in Early Modern Europe: The Iconography of Power* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015).

4.1 Structure

The subject of Elizabethan royal progresses has received some scholarly attention, most notably the important work by Cole.⁷² However, the studies of progresses need further examination particularly in relation to the key questions of queenship, agency and political culture highlighted above. As previously mentioned, case studies form the last three chapters and focus on three different elements: politics in the localities, the pursuit of the hunt, and the display of religion. Accordingly, each chapter supplies a specific historical context that is necessary to highlight the historiography and nuances of the core case study. Chapter 1 assesses the state of royal progresses within the historical scholarship and stresses the importance of the progresses in exercising royal power, analyzing relationships between people, and details the impact of court culture. The chapter addresses several key questions: why were progresses so important to the queenship of Elizabeth I? In what ways can progresses be explored further and contribute new levels of understanding to royal studies, society and culture, and the dynamics of politics during Elizabeth's reign? What evidence exists for the study of progresses?

Chapter 2 reassesses the 1578 progress, which reached its climatic end in Norwich. The visit to Norwich has been the subject of critical studies by historians such as Cole and Patrick Collinson. The whole of the 1578 progress demonstrated a dual objective: religious conformity, and obedience to the Queen's will. The region was rife with tension and unrest occurred for a variety of factors from the existence of a political vacuum that affected the order and authority of the region, to a transcultural clash between refugees escaping persecution on the continent and the citizens of the city that led to contention and disorder. The chapter poses questions including: what were the social, cultural, political, religious and economic dynamics within Norwich and Norfolk? Who was responsible for the social order and governed the city and county? Why did the Queen visit the city of Norwich? What does the progress reveal about the city and county and responses to the governmental challenges that they posed? The chapter examines the eyewitness accounts and entertainments devised for the Queen's visit to highlight a central dialogue that occurred during the city's reception of Elizabeth, to point out the strained relationship between the Queen and her subjects. In the end, the visit revealed the ways in which Elizabeth exercised her agency to established her royal authority and regain control of the region. Elizabeth's presence in Norwich demanded political obedience and religious conformity.

Elizabethan progresses were both personal and political. The escape from London provided the Queen with the opportunity to engage with her subjects as well as pursue her favourite pastimes, particularly hunting. However, Chapter 3 argues that the pursuit of hunting on progress was not merely an activity for pleasure; it was also a political device.

⁷² Cole, *The Portable Queen*. See also Cole, "Monarchy in Motion", in *The Progresses, Pageants and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, eds. Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Hunting within the early modern period was an art form that combined expert knowledge and ritual. It also served both physical and visual functions: the physical act and display of military prowess, and the visual display of a martial identity. The chapter examines the extensive hunting staff employed by the Queen to highlight the political, social and cultural significance of hunting. The chapter also pinpoints occasions where the hunt exhibited her military skill, martial leadership and expertise, functioned as a form of counsel, and used as a means of granting and denying access. The chapter contends that Elizabeth I was a skilled, martial queen, who used the pursuit of hunting to exercise her agency for diplomatic interactions and political performance.

Royal progresses also served as a means for the Queen to assert her authority and govern the realm through her physical presence. The Chapel Royal during the sixteenth century was an institution that highlighted the monarch's dual body (natural and politic), and expressed the state and monarch's religious ideology and faith. It also served as a model and beacon of how the Church of England's services and policies were structured, organised and conducted. Therefore, the use of the Chapel Royal on progress is the focus of Chapter 4. The chapter examines how the presence of specific components of the Chapel Royal—the choristers and officers including the almoner—were a mode through which Elizabeth could reinforce her royal supremacy, govern religious policies, police religious practices, negotiate religious identities and enforce conformity. The chapter addresses questions including: how was Elizabeth's royal supremacy displayed and executed? How did the use of the Chapel Royal assist in the articulation of Elizabeth's agency, the development of her queenship, and its role in the dynamics of political culture? Essentially, how was the Chapel Royal utilised on progress?

4.2 Contribution and Originality

The case studies provided within the thesis presents an alternative approach to assess Elizabethan scholarship, and pose new questions on traditional topics within Elizabethan studies that is examined through the lens of royal progresses. The original contribution of this thesis consists of four specific elements. First, it builds on Cole's scholarship of royal progresses by tying it more closely to the politics and culture of Elizabeth's reign, and the agency of the Queen herself. Second, this thesis utilises and incorporates a mass of relevant material recently made available by the major new edition of John Nichols's collection of evidence relating to Elizabeth's progresses, to assist with the critical analysis of agency, queenship and political culture.⁷³ Third, the theme of Elizabeth and the art of hunting has, to date, not been the subject of a critical and in-depth study. Discussed in chapter three, this important subject provides opportunities for expansion beyond this thesis. Finally, the fourth chapter examining the Chapel Royal on progress presents material

⁷³ The original collection was compiled between 1788 and 1823.

that has not previously been explored within this context, linking Elizabethan political and cultural history to the musicological analysis. Like the chapter that precedes it, chapter 4 also provides a new approach and original scope, which could be further developed in the future.

4.3 Methodology

The methodological approach within my thesis is multi-disciplinary, borrowing from the approaches of Cole and Sydney Anglo and building on the work of the John Nichols project based at the Centre for the Study of the Renaissance at the University of Warwick. This thesis uses an interdisciplinary methodology that is most heavily influenced by the work of scholars at the Centre for Renaissance and Early Modern Studies at the University of York. The scholarship and disciplines of literature, art, drama, music, politics, religion as well as social, cultural, and gender history are incorporated in this study to demonstrate the benefits of such interdisciplinary centres like the one at York. Anglo's methodology of analyzing the contextual and thematic elements of civic, courtly and public spectacles through accounts, letters and chronicles from the period, has been instrumental in conducting the research for this thesis. Anglo's analyses are designed to demonstrate the political importance of and intention behind Tudor displays of wealth and power. Cole's methodological examination of sixteenth-century manuscript and contemporary printed material has provided a useful analysis of the logistical organization and indexing of Elizabeth's progresses. Anglo and Cole have explored pageants, entertainments, festivals and court spectacle to expand our understanding of the rituals and ceremony employed on progresses. While utilizing these important approaches by Anglo and Cole, my research poses crucial questions that reassesses and contributes to the existing Elizabethan scholarship. This will lead to the development of new insights that extends beyond just the rituals and meanings of display cultivated by Anglo and the planning of progresses established by Cole, as well as building on the works of Carole Levin, Susan Doran, John Cooper, Patrick Collinson, Natalie Mears and many other Elizabethan scholars.

4.4 Source Material

This thesis engages with a range of manuscript and printed primary sources, as well as modern scholarly editions of literary sources and images. The new edition of the John Nichols collection will serve as one of the key sources consulted throughout this thesis. The thesis also engages with the rich variety of secondary materials generated by the study of Elizabethan monarchy, government and politics from multiple perspectives. Chapter 1 discusses the power and significance of progresses within sixteenth-century society and extrapolates from the original contributions of Cole's seminal work on Elizabethan progresses to examine what is fresh and important about the newly edited John Nichols collection. Chapter 2 uses a combination of the State Papers, civic records and eyewitness accounts to review previous scholarship of the 1578 progress to Norwich. Bernard Garter's

account of the Norwich progress is highlighted in order to re-examine the political context of the visit, while the dialogues and interactions between the Queen and the local community offer a different take on the visit that previous scholars have addressed. Chapter 3 uses records including the State Papers, diplomatic letters, and literature of the period in order to reconstruct and assess the Queen's hunting activities. This chapter also presents newly-discovered material from a neglected record class in The National Archives. Coupled with the already well-known Exchequer accounts, this new manuscript material reveals that hunting was not a casual activity. It was a valuable and frequent pursuit that is significant both to the study of royal progresses and Elizabeth's queenship. Finally, chapter 4 uses records from the Chapel Royal at Her Majesty's Chapel at St. James's Palace in London, financial accounts, the *Book of Common Prayer*, and sources on the establishment of the Chapel Royal, along with State Papers, civic records, individual letters and accounts.

The thesis contributes to the debates and discussions surrounding the characteristics of Elizabeth's queenship, the machinations and transformative nature of Elizabethan political culture, and how the Queen's agency has been informed by the study of royal progresses. The evidence and interactions highlighted by the accounts of the Queen's royal progresses reveal Elizabeth as an agent in exercising power, articulating authority, and assuming control over her subjects in ways that might not otherwise have been seen within the confines of palace walls within London.

Chapter 1: The State of Royal Progresses: An Overview

This chapter expands on the themes set out in the introduction, specifically focusing on the significance, historiography, primary evidence and language of royal progresses. It includes a critical analysis of the sources used within this thesis. Within this chapter, the questions of what constituted a progress, the importance of studying them, and an exploration of the various ways in which the study of progresses can be expanded are critically assessed. In so doing, both the parameters of this thesis and the context within which the progresses are being studied are clearly established.

The operation of royal power and verbalization of authority were complex and difficult processes. They came with a set of expectations and principles that had to be balanced with the ideals of being a just ruler, as well as catering to influences and competing agendas. The ability to wield royal power and communicate authority was not automatically acquired through successful victory on the battlefield or by inheritance. It also required a set of circumstances, traditions, rituals and ceremonies to be fulfilled. It necessitated a significant amount of engagement, on the sovereign's behalf, with the nobility and gentry, ecclesiastical leaders, government ministers and loyal subjects. In the sixteenth century, the characteristics associated with the power of kingship and more particularly queenship expanded to include symbolism and spectacles that enhanced the monarch's authority and magnificence. Meanwhile, the sixteenth century saw these elements (symbolism and spectacles) as vital components of political dialogues that occurred throughout the period. In fact, "portraits were an integral practice of international relations" and, as a form of spectacle, were "prompts for broader political dialogue."⁷⁴ Political dialogue did not only occur in foreign relations but existed in domestic relations. Elizabeth I "participated in...political dialogue" on progresses, especially as "political humanism was the cornerstone of [her] political persona or 'body politic.'"⁷⁵ Even Cecil's approach to conciliary debates used a "private method of political dialogue".⁷⁶

This dialogue exemplified the ways in which political power and authority were articulated and the forms through which they were cultivated. Royal authority and power were expressed through dialogue and exhibited through performance, which was common at Elizabeth's court and was the central objective on progresses. Our modern understanding of dialogue is "a conversation between two or more people as a feature of a book, play or

⁷⁴ Tracey A Sowerby, "Negotiating the Royal Image: Portrait Exchanges in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Diplomacy", in *Early Modern Exchanges: Dialogues Between Nations and Cultures, 1550-1750*, ed. Helen Hackett (Abingdon: Ashgate Publishing, 2015), 133-136.

⁷⁵ Ted Booth, *A Body Politic to Govern: The Political Humanism of Elizabeth I* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 186.

⁷⁶ Stephen Alford, *The Early Elizabethan Polity: William Cecil and the British Succession Crisis, 1558-1569* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), 20.

film;...[or] tak[ing] part in a conversation or discussion to resolve a problem.”⁷⁷ While elements of the modern definition and meaning were visible in the early modern period, particularly in the Elizabethan plays and dramas, the sixteenth century was more complex in terms of what constituted dialogue. This complexity was due to the hierarchical nature of society and the wide disparity between literate and illiterate individuals. With the boom of print culture, the disparity of literacy began to be addressed and the participation of the public increased through the accessibility of various forms of oral and print culture. Therefore, dialogue came in the form of spoken language and visual print.

However, the question remains of what constituted dialogue. Dialogue, for the purpose of this thesis can be defined as: any process that is the exchange of ideas and the creation of the new: new policies, new discourse, and new materials (literature, physical objects, and performances). Kevin Sharpe strengthens this definition by asserting that

One cannot understand regal representations in early modern England by separating words from images, woodcuts and coins from portraits, rituals from sermons, or any of them from their ideological performances. The world of the Renaissance, early modern England, was an intertextual world, which we can only begin to comprehend, as contemporaries comprehended it, from multidisciplinary as well as interdisciplinary perspectives.⁷⁸

While dialogue was verbalised or expressed, it could also be performed. Therefore, the forms in which dialogue was initiated and performed, either by the monarch or their subjects, included: propaganda (visual and aural), petitions, pageants, entertainments (music and plays), art, literature, spoken conversations and exchanges, and physical actions. For example, the presentation of a petition (presented to the sovereign by their subjects) resulted in a response (from the sovereign or their councillors) in the form of either propaganda such as pamphlets, proclamations, or through spoken conversations with local authorities. In fact, the medium of dialogue was important in the sixteenth century, because it highlighted what Carole Levin articulates was the “great cultural development that often reflected and helped interpret political events.”⁷⁹

Sydney Anglo’s work, has demonstrated that these progresses, entertainments and festivals were in fact a dialogue between the monarchy and their European counterparts, between the monarchy and government leaders, and between monarchy and civic hosts.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Oxford Dictionaries Online, s.v. “dialogue”, Oxford University Press, accessed 17 May, 2017.

⁷⁸ Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy* (London: Yale University Press, 2009), 39.

⁷⁹ Carole Levin, *The Reign of Elizabeth I* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 3.

⁸⁰ Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 2. Anglo distinguishes spectacles as “partly...specific propaganda, partly as specific comment...”, which constitutes a form of dialogue. Cole argues that these dialogues or “socializing” served to satisfy “the needs of courtiers, townspeople, and country residents.” Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 1. Anne McLaren highlights the symbolism and political dialogues surrounding female rule, particularly from her councillors and government. McLaren, *Political Culture in the Reign of Elizabeth I*, 69. Katherine Butler argues that music served as a “ceremonial dialogue” on progresses. Katherine Butler, *Music in Elizabethan Court Politics* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), 146. Susan Doran explores these dialogues through

The dialogue referred to here is not just the exchange of words but also the exchange of ideas, symbolism and acknowledgements through acts or public spectacles. These dialogues were the acknowledgement of fealty, loyalty and conformity. Public declarations were a part of the exchange of dialogue that would either denounce the actions of a specific individual or a group of people. Furthermore, in some cases the Queen's presence signaled an acknowledgement of the crown's support. Vice versa, if the Queen was not present at significant functions or did not visit notable courtiers, this could demonstrate the Queen's lack of support or the absence of royal favour. For example, Elizabeth I's progress to Bristol in 1574 enabled her to be present for the signing of the Treaty of Bristol. During the progress, Elizabeth was not presented with a petition, as was usually the case with civic visits; instead the city chose to "display gratitude and loyalty."⁸¹ This was also the case of the Queen's visit to Warwick when the city professed with "ioyfull hartes" the "humble good willes of vs your true harted subiectes."⁸² The significance of this dialogue is two fold. First, the dialogue between the Queen and civic leaders served to strengthen ties with the sovereign and demonstrated their loyalty. Second, the festivities in celebration of the city's loyalty and the presentation of a mock battle in which the Queen played "the role of adjudicator and presid[ed] over negotiations for a peaceful treaty" would have acknowledged her authority, as well as being seen by the Spanish delegation, and would have served to display Elizabeth's royal power.⁸³ In the case of Henry VIII and the Field of Cloth of Gold, the opulence of his arrival through non-verbal cues and the participation in the tournaments demonstrated to the French contingents that he was a ruler who was a magnificent, strong and legitimate foreign power.⁸⁴

Performance is another key term that is important to distinguish and is closely intertwined with the term dialogue. Early modern culture operated by a series of rituals, ceremonies, movements, interactions and codes that highlighted and reinforced the social hierarchy. Performance was the outward theatrical expression and display of rituals, ceremonies, and movements within society. Performances also included the personality of the monarchy or highlighted the relationship between the ruler and ruled, that gave

the "interplay of individual personalities at her court" and through "the subject of the Queen's marriage" and courtships. Susan Doran, *Elizabeth I and Her Circle* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 1. See also Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony*, 195. Finally, John Cooper has commented that dialogues came in the form of propaganda and responses to propaganda. Through the cultivation of obedience, we are able to view "ordinary people speak in their own words." Cooper, *Propaganda and the Tudor State*, 248.

⁸¹ Francis Wardell, "Queen Elizabeth I's Progress to Bristol in 1574: An Examination of Expenses", *Early Theatre*, 14.1 (2011), 101-102.

⁸² Taken from civic accounts recorded in *The Black Book of Warwick*, edited by Gabriel Heaton in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:34. The original is located in the Warwickshire County Record office, CR 1618/WA19/6.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 102.

⁸⁴ Glenn Richardson, *The Field of Cloth of Gold* (London: Yale University Press, 2013), 139.

“authority [to] affective bonds, personations and myths...”⁸⁵ To *perform* was to articulate the theatricality of symbolism and meaning. This performance illuminated what R. Malcolm Smuts identifies as “displays of majesty—gorgeous assemblages of all the trappings of wealth, rank and power known to society.”⁸⁶ Clifford Geertz summarised the importance of performance within the court and between members of society through his assertion that within

any complexly organized society...there is both a governing elite and a set of symbolic forms...[that] justify their existence and order their actions in terms of a collection of stories, ceremonies, insignia, formalities, and appurtenances...⁸⁷

Therefore, performance “marks the center as center and give[s] what goes on there its aura of being not merely important but in some odd fashion connected with the way the world is built”.⁸⁸ Furthermore, performance, particularly Elizabethan performance was “the elaborate mystique of court ceremonial [that was] supposed to conceal—that majesty is made, not born.”⁸⁹ This is crucial to understand because the monarch served as the center and it was their responsibility to project and display this majesty. Progresses certainly exemplified this, and as Cole has explained, Elizabeth was “at the center of everyone’s attention” and she “found power in the turmoil of an itinerant court and in a ceremonial dialogue with her subjects.”⁹⁰

The instances of dialogue and performance can be illustrated through three examples taken from Elizabeth’s reign. Dialogue that was performed through action is illustrated through Elizabeth denying the Spanish Ambassador, Bernadino de Mendoza, access to her person while she was hunting on progress in 1581 and his reaction revealed in a letter to Philip of Spain.⁹¹ The example of performance can best be illustrated when the Archbishop of Canterbury anointed Elizabeth at her coronation at Westminster Abbey in 1559. The coronation was a theatrical performance as well as historical ritual that conveyed the majesty of God’s anointed. Finally, the combination of both dialogue and performance can

⁸⁵ Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 5.

⁸⁶ R. Malcolm Smuts, “Public Ceremony and Royal Charisma: the English Royal Entry in London, 1485-1642”, in *The First Modern Society: Essays in English History in Honour of Lawrence Stone*, ed. A.L. Beier, David Cannadine, and James M. Rosenheim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 67.

⁸⁷ Clifford Geertz, “Centers, Kings and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Powers”, in *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretative Anthropology* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), 124.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 124.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 5. See also the discussion of ceremonial dialogue in Mary Hill Cole, “Ceremonial Dialogue between Elizabeth I and Her Civic Hosts,” in *Ceremony and Texts in the Renaissance*, ed. Douglas F. Rutledge (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1996), 84-100.

⁹¹ CSP—*Spain (Simancas)*, 3:175-185, 1 October 1581, Bernardino de Mendoza to the King. This is further explored in chapter 3.

be seen in the account of Elizabeth at Tilbury in 1588, when she was described as having proclaimed:

I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal harts and goodwill of my subjects and wherfor I am com amongst you all, att this time butt for [not] recreation and disport being resolved in the midst and heate of the battle to live and dye amongst you all, to lay down for my God and for my kyngdom and my people myn honour and my blood even in the dust. I know I have the body butt of a weake and feble woman, butt I have the harte and stomack of a kinge, and of a kynge of England too...⁹²

This example highlights how the performance of the Queen at Tilbury surrounded by her subjects inspired a written record of the account to be produced.⁹³ This episode contains both dialogue and performance that encapsulates so much more than just the power and authority of the Queen. It included symbolism, magnificence, the persona and charisma of the Queen, which was important for the sovereign's legitimacy.

The regions and localities throughout Tudor England were important in the cooperation and enforcement of policy and rule. Early Tudor monarchs used a process of securing loyalty and allegiance through the negotiation of power as seen in the 1485 and 1541 progresses to York, after the War of the Roses with Henry VII and after the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536 for Henry VIII. Steve Hindle has concluded that two key elements existed that demonstrated Tudor achievement with the localities: "to pacify...provincial magnates" and "transform them into servants of the regime."⁹⁴ This was certainly the case in 1485 and 1541; however, by 1558, the same degree of pacification was not exactly necessary. Elizabeth's courtiers and the landed gentry relied on the "depth and breadth of political participation and...the quality of social relations between those who participated."⁹⁵ Alas, royal progresses were fundamental to fostering this participation among her councillors, nobles, civic authorities and gentry, along with cultivating loyalty and allegiance. More specifically, progresses served to articulate and display authority to the localities. Civic visits were critically important because, as Catherine Patterson asserts, "population rise, economic

⁹² A draft of Elizabeth's speech is preserved at the British Library. BL, Harley 6798, f. 87. The account of the Queen's visit and interaction with her subjects at Tilbury is given in Camden's *A History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth, late Queen of England containing all the most important and remarkable passages of state, both at home and abroad* (1688), 416.

⁹³ While there is debate about whether these were the exact words spoken at Tilbury, it is generally accepted that gave some semblance of a speech. Historians such as Carole Levin, John Neale, Francis Teague and Susan Frye do agree that Elizabeth I did visit Tilbury. Therefore, Camden's account that Elizabeth I did "encouraged the Hearts of her Captains and Souldiers by her Presence and Speech to them" (Camden, 416), serves as a response to her performance. Though Camden started working on the history of the reign of Elizabeth I in 1607, he was alive during the Spanish Armada in 1588 and therefore, this delayed response is still necessary as it is a response regarding Elizabeth's queenship based on her performance. John Kenyon, *The History Men: The Historical Profession in England since the Renaissance* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1983), 24.

⁹⁴ Steve Hindle, "County Government in England", in *A Companion to Tudor Britain*, eds. Robert Tittler and Norman Jones (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 98.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 98.

tensions and increasing mobility resulted in larger number of people moving off the land and into towns in search of employment.”⁹⁶ Furthermore, religious reformation introduced new divisions into civic life. This significantly altered many traditional expressions of civic unity and governance.

By the late sixteenth century, the precarious balance of power and relationship with the localities were, for the most part, restored and strengthened. Nevertheless, it was important that this should remain the case. While the late sixteenth century saw a significant decline in incidences of rebellion and revolts, John Cooper affirms that, “the fear of the popular insurrection did not.”⁹⁷ Therefore, the civic visits during Elizabeth’s reign not only gave the populace access to the Queen but allowed the Queen to have a dialogue with the cities and localities that contributed to “Elizabethan statecraft.”⁹⁸ As Cooper argues, the dialogue exchanged through the pageantry and ceremony of royal progresses worked to “stabilize the relationship between the centre and the localities.”⁹⁹

Royal progresses facilitated this dialogue and performance of royal authority and power. In fact, Geertz further remarks that “[w]hen kings journey around the countryside, making appearances, attending fêtes, conferring honors, exchanging gifts, or defying rivals, they mark it...as almost physically part of them.”¹⁰⁰ Each occasion that a monarch went on progress allowed the sovereign to see how the kingdom was functioning and witness the state of affairs in the localities, while allowing their subjects to approach them with petitions of concern; words of gratitude; and expressions of fealty—examples of dialogue and performance. This is key to the understanding of sixteenth-century political culture.

The sovereign’s cultivation of power and authority, particularly through dialogue and performance, had far reaching implications. The sovereign had a private/personal self and a public self that was often displayed and expressed through performance. When combined, the private and public self embodied political power, authority and the monarch’s rulership. This concept of the public and private self was memorably analysed by Ernst Kantorowicz in *The King’s Two Bodies*. The concept of the “two bodies” is explored further in Chapter 4, but what is important to emphasise at this point, and indeed what Kantorowicz makes clear, is the level of importance that was placed on the public self or body politic. Moreover, Kantorowicz highlights the changes from the medieval concepts of kingship to the early modern concept of kingship, emerged as response to the new queen.¹⁰¹ The public self was

⁹⁶ Catherine Patterson, “Town and City Government”, in *A Companion to Tudor Britain*, eds. Robert Tittler and Norman Jones (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 116.

⁹⁷ J.P.D. Cooper, *Propaganda and the Tudor State: Political Culture in the Westcountry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003), 238.

⁹⁸ J.P.D. Cooper, “Centre and Localities”, *The Elizabethan World*, eds. Susan Doran and Norman Jones (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), 144.

⁹⁹ Cooper, “Centre and Localities”, 144.

¹⁰⁰ Geertz, “Centers, Kings and Charisma”, 125.

¹⁰¹ Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 9. As explained at length in chapter 4, legal

cultivated through ceremonial traditions such as coronations, government and ecclesiastical appointments, and on royal progresses. However, the public self was also cultivated through public engagement: from exercising martial leadership to the magnificent display of the royal self to the subjects of the sovereign's realm. Progresses served as significant opportunities for public engagement, displayed the monarch's physical presence and projected the sovereign's persona. This was essential because royal authority and power relied on "the fact that he [or she] was the accepted ruler of the realm."¹⁰² However, despite our evolving understanding of the development of kingship and royal power and authority within historical studies, the role of royal progresses has not been studied to the same degree as the ways in which the representations of Elizabeth I were articulated and cultivated by her contemporaries have been studied. This provides new opportunities to expand on the studies of Elizabeth I and add to the existing scholarship on queenship, power and authority. Progresses have been examined logistically and as a topic through which to examine the interactions between various levels of government and the literary devices composed for pageants and entertainments.

Royal progresses stimulated social and cultural developments within architecture, art, drama, literature, and music. This aided in the production of a collective Elizabethan identity and facilitated a transcultural exchange between individuals within England and Europe. More specifically, progresses created opportunities for individuals from various countries and courts throughout Europe to witness and comment on the interactions, rituals, symbolism and dynamics that existed within the English court. The Kenilworth visit in 1575 illuminates cultural developments that progresses stimulated, particularly in architecture, drama and literature. Robert Dudley went to great lengths to prepare for the royal visit by altering and expanding on the existing castle between 1570-1572.¹⁰³ The castle, which was originally fortified for defence, was expanded. The tiltyard, stable, and two towers were enlarged. Carvings and decorative embellishments were added to the architecture to be pleasing to the eye.¹⁰⁴ The "detailed description of an Elizabethan library" highlights the literary value of progresses, as the library would have served to display the contemporary

jurists and Protestant politicians, extensively utilised the two bodies concept in the early days of Elizabeth's reign to solidify the Queen's legitimacy and strengthen her rulership. This was important for a variety of factors: to avoid insurrection, to provide stability and to provide arguments and explanations as to how Elizabeth's queenship would satisfy the requirements of effectively rulership.

¹⁰² Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 1.

¹⁰³ Richard K. Morris, "I Was Never More In Love With An Olde Howse Nor Never Newe Worke Coule Be Better Bestowed': The Earl of Leicester's Remodelling of Kenilworth Castle for Queen Elizabeth I", *The Antiquaries Journal*, 89, (2009), 243.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 249-254.

literature of the Elizabethan period.¹⁰⁵ Finally, the pageant devised by George Gascoigne for the 1575 visit highlights the development of drama for royal progresses.¹⁰⁶

The transcultural significance of progresses, meanwhile, is highlighted by the interaction between the Queen and Flemish refugees during the 1578 progress to Norwich, discussed at length in chapter 2. The social and cultural connections which progresses provided monarchs, the court, and citizens were opportunities where “a city could create a privileged meeting place between itself and its king and define the real relationship between them in ways that transcended both the neutrality of convention and the tact of silence.”¹⁰⁷ Henry VII initiated this method of cultivating loyalty, which was more fully developed from its late medieval precedents. The creation of a ‘privileged meeting place’ was not limited to cities, as visits to individual hosts also assisted in defining the relationships between the ruler and ruled. However, and probably most importantly, this thesis argues that progresses created a space where civic identity and individual identity were negotiated and controlled. This deepens our understanding of early modern social interaction.

I. What were royal progresses?

Royal progresses have typically been associated with the need to escape the “plague-ridden capital” or to simply enjoy personal, pleasurable pursuits.¹⁰⁸ Historians, including John Adamson and David Loades, have tended to reduce progresses to one simple explanation, rather than highlight their complex nature. Progresses did provide the sovereign with the ability to escape the confines of London, from the spread of diseases during the summer months and to engage with their favourite pursuits. However, progresses were also utilised to address political and religious concerns that Elizabeth and her government had: from the lack of policing and enforcement within the cities and localities throughout England, to the increasing numbers of non-conformists from both sides of the religious divide. The primary evidence for royal progresses – letters or histories, financial records, pageants and entertainments devised for the sovereign on progresses – all reveal that progresses contained one essential and important element: access to the monarch. This access allowed both the sovereign and their subjects to communicate with each other and engage in a dialogue. The communication exchanged illuminates the social and cultural discourse evident throughout

¹⁰⁵ Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I*, 2:237. The quote is in the annotation by Elizabeth Goldring. Goldring edited the materials for the section, “Queen Elizabeth’s Entertainment at Kenilworth, 9-27 July 1575”.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 237.

¹⁰⁷ John C. Meagher, ‘The First Progress of Henry VII’, *Renaissance Drama*, NS 1 (1968), 48.

¹⁰⁸ John Adamson and Sydney Anglo both refer to progresses as a means of escaping the city of London from disease during the summer months. John Adamson, *Princely Courts of Europe, 1500-1750* (London: Weidenfield and Nicholson, 1999), 96. Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy*, 104-105. When discussing the royal household, David Loades makes no clear distinction about royal progresses other than a passing mention of their being a part of an “...organization which provided for the feeding of the king and his family, for cleaning, transportation, and a host of other menial functions.” Loades, *The Tudor Court*, 9.

the kingdom and highlighted problems that existed within the kingdom. Therefore, progresses remain a source with which historians can approach “ritual and spectacle as a symbolic system and for the analysis of politics and power.”¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, in the last fifteen years, progresses have served as source for understanding and highlighting material culture as a means of identifying the process of access to the monarch.¹¹⁰ The understanding of access to the monarch and the occasions where the exchange of dialogue occurred on progresses is important to Elizabethan studies because it allows for a broader understanding of the ways in which Elizabethan society interacted, vocalised discontent or satisfaction, and sought to redress problems. Studies of societal dynamics within the Elizabethan period have looked at the culture of crime, slander, riots/rebellions and other forms of social discourse; however, royal progresses have received very little attention in these studies, despite the evidence that exists to explore such themes. For example, in 1564, while the Queen was on progress, rumours circulated that the Queen appeared pregnant. In 1581, a man in Essex proclaimed that “She [Elizabeth] never goethe in progress but to be delivered” or to give birth.¹¹¹

Despite engaging with progresses and their wider social and cultural significance, the vital question remains: what was a progress and how was it different from a royal procession or entry? It is important to make these distinctions because each category of movement had a specific function and meaning associated with it. The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) defines to make a progress as “to journey, travel; to make a state journey; to travel ceremoniously.” Processions are defined as “the action of a body of people going or marching in orderly succession in a formal or ceremonial way.” In this context, entry is defined as “the action of coming or going in; ceremonial entrance.” Whilst the OED does give clear definitions, the historical interpretations and uses of these terms require more nuance and context. Historians of royal progresses, ceremonial entries and processions have not explicitly distinguished between these concepts; instead, they have tended to use them interchangeably.

The sixteenth-century literature and source materials distinguish progresses through descriptions such as “removinge”, “in her progresse”, “receyving”.¹¹² Holinshed refers to the

¹⁰⁹ Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 50.

¹¹⁰ This is demonstrated in the works produced by postgraduate students (both MA and PhD candidates) particularly those at the Royal College of Arts at the Victoria and Albert Museum. Victoria Nutt has explored the use of locks that were changed in the houses of hosts on the progresses of Elizabeth I. Victoria Nutt, “Making Progress with the Queen” (MA Thesis, Royal College of Art Joint Course with Victoria and Albert Museum, 2007).

¹¹¹ Carole Levin highlights the case from the Essex assizes records when she discusses the ways in which Elizabeth I was referred to as a “wanton or whore.” Mary Hill Cole also cites these cases to highlight the responses to Elizabeth’s presence and image. These are important works that highlights the impact and role that progresses have in the understanding of crime and slander. Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*, 83. Cole, “Monarchy in Motion”, 42.

¹¹² TNA, AO 3/127-128.

Queen's progress as she "removed" from one place to another.¹¹³ This description appears to be commonplace because in the household accounts the Queen's chamberlain notes payments to "gromes of the wardrobe and one grome porter for making readye for her ma[jes]tie at Stafford on her progresse" and again at Hatfield and Hampton Court.¹¹⁴ Both royal palaces and the houses of Elizabeth's host on progresses are noted. The letters exchanged between key advisors of the Elizabethan regime also refer to the Queen's movements as "in her progresse" or "her ma[jes]ties progresses."¹¹⁵ Finally, it is important to point out that the sixteenth-century materials describe the progresses in relation to physical markers and places; for instance, "from lord North's house amongst Barbican...kept along the wall to Bishops gate."¹¹⁶ This indicates that the routes of progresses relied on physical structures and specific areas and also highlights the way that space and proximity were identified. Physical structures and well-known areas were known among Elizabethans and were part of the language shared between common subjects. This enhances our knowledge of early modern society, as progresses were not based on mileage or what was available in a particular region but based on what was accessible to people. Furthermore, progresses were also distinguished as the Queen having "maid her abode at diuerse and sondrie places."¹¹⁷ This is important because it describes the way in which progresses were understood: that the Queen made her residence in the places that she visited and this required advanced set up and methodical organization. Finally, progresses were specifically organised and the sole responsibility of the Queen's household departments (with influence from Elizabeth's key advisors and courtiers).¹¹⁸

For this study, progresses are defined as the movement (coming and going) along a specified route of the Queen and her court from one place to another that: required advanced assembly by key household departments; constituted an agreement of hospitality from the hosts; provided opportunities for the Queen to engage and communicate (verbally and

¹¹³ Excerpt from Holinshed's *Chronicles* in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:101.

¹¹⁴ TNA, AO 3/128, f. 4, AO 3/128, f. 1, AO 3/127, f. 5.

¹¹⁵ Letters from Sir Nicholas Bacon, William Cecil, Francis Walsingham refer to it in this way with variations in the spelling. Nichols, *Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:183. TNA, SP 12/109/10, SP 12/45/80. BL, Harleian MS 6992, no. 8, f. 15. BL, Lansdowne MS 21, no. 63 & 65.

¹¹⁶ Excerpt from Holinshed's *Chronicles* included in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:101.

¹¹⁷ Account from the De L'Isle collection edited by Gabriel Heaton in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Procession*, 1:453.

¹¹⁸ Cole has included this distinction of court movement in her study of progresses. For Cole, progresses "comprised those lengthy trips away from London that required, over a number of days or weeks, a series of hosts in several counties to provide hospitality for an itinerant court." While there are elements that are important in Cole's distinction, it is important to build upon this definition that reflects and incorporates the sixteenth-century understanding of progresses. Progress were planned based on known hosts in specific areas and indicates the motives for visits could have been based on political and religious factors. Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 22.

visually) with her subjects; and provided occasions for the Queen's subjects to have access and see her. In contrast to Cole's definition, whose work I discuss in depth later within this chapter, I would argue that the setting up of the royal household between the royal palaces around the Thames river valley should be included within this category. Although these movements involved short distances, they still required the use of the household staff to prepare the locations for a royal visit. These locations, as noted within the chamber accounts, included the royal palaces besides the main palace of Whitehall: Greenwich, Richmond, Hampton Court, Nonsuch and Oatlands.¹¹⁹

Royal entries were distinguished within the sixteenth-century literature as to "passe through a citie" or consisted of the royal entourage having "marched" between landmarks. However, in these descriptions the inclusion of spectacle, pageants, and rituals that included references to lineage and royal dynasty, indicated that these movements were more about display and had political significance in recognizing legitimacy. These displays included the acknowledgement of the monarch as sovereign and the civic government's obedience to their power and authority. Scholarly works, including those by Sydney Anglo and Kevin Sharpe, refer to royal entries in various ways. Sharpe describes what is a royal entry into a city as a 'procession' and does not specify them as royal entries.¹²⁰ Anglo refers to royal entries as a public spectacle and entries were the most common form of display in Tudor England.¹²¹ Therefore, royal entries for this study will be defined as ceremonial entrances into cities that incorporated ritual and spectacle and were organised and prepared by civic officials. I want to emphasise that this important distinction includes the sovereign and civic authorities. Furthermore, royal entries mobilised "city companies and officials" who lined "the routes as a buffer formed between crowds and monarch and nobility."¹²²

Finally, processions are unique in that they were not organised by a specific group but were an apparatus or structure that was utilised by the organisers of progresses and royal entries. Processions were more of a code or custom that displayed majesty and hierarchy. The source material of the period distinguished that processions served to "conduct" the Queen from a particular place or to "lede" the Queen.¹²³ This is clearly visible in the drawing of the Queen's procession at the College of Arms, which displays groups of

¹¹⁹ AO 3/127 & 128.

¹²⁰ Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 165.

¹²¹ Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy*, 6. These public spectacles, accordingly Lawrence Manley, have been closely associated with the "history of the London royal entry" and consequently "enhancing royal entries with pageantry was a tradition common to England, France, the Low Counties and Italy." This definition could be expanded to include an explicit interaction "between two distinct but interconnected political domains." See Lawrence Manley, *Literature and Culture in Early Modern London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 214.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 220.

¹²³ This is taken from the account of the Queen's coronation by an anonymous eyewitness. It is edited by William Leahy and reprinted in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:141-142. The original is lost, however, there are two surviving copies at Bodl., Ashmole MS 863, 211-12 and TNA SP 15/9/9.

people together in a specific order in front of the Queen.¹²⁴ Therefore, for this study, processions will be defined as the ceremonial movement of people in an orderly succession that was employed within specific spaces or places on progresses. This movement was a visual display of the strict hierarchy of the monarch, nobility, and ecclesiastical members through a specific space—whether it was a royal palace, host’s home or within a city. Royal processions and royal entries are not separate from royal progresses but are functions utilised on progresses. Royal entries occurred when a monarch entered a civic domain and signified a rite of “passage from one status to another for the monarch.”¹²⁵ This is evidenced in a sovereign’s first visit to a city during their reign or upon their accession to the throne, as they moved from the status of nobility to the status of sovereign. Royal processions functioned to highlight the magnificence of the monarch and their court. The inclusion of the nobility, ecclesiastical leaders, and members of the royal family further strengthened the sovereign’s power and authority. This is important for two specific reasons. First, as a study of royal progresses, distinguishing the parameters and characteristics of these movements along with identifying those who attended the sovereign on progress and the role these individuals played, will help to understand the distinctions between the movements of a progress, procession or entry and the meanings that these instances had. Additionally, by clarifying these different types of organised movements, we will have a context through which we will be able highlight the occasions where dialogues and interactions occurred that further our understanding of the Elizabethan period. This will be clarified in the next section when discussing Cole’s seminal study on Elizabethan royal progresses and the John Nichols collection. Second, future scholars studying the importance of ritual, ceremony and dynamics between the elite and common subject will have a more clear and coherent guide in which to pursue their studies.

In Lawrence Manley’s study of early modern culture, he characterises royal progresses as “an exercise in image making.”¹²⁶ This is certainly true as progresses served as a way for the monarch to assert authority and power through the display of magnificence and legitimacy. The sovereign had some control over and contributed to the construction of this image. Therefore, by seeing progresses as a form of imagery and a construction of the Queen’s image that was displayed, adds to the established definition that progresses were opportunities where the Queen and her subjects could communicate. They communicated the image of a benevolent and powerful queen and the expected acknowledgement of that power from her subjects. Additionally, providing her subjects with access and seeing the Queen outside the traditional environs of royal court and palaces, enhanced the Queen’s royal persona. Progresses were also a way for kings and queens to garner loyalty, obedience and allegiance; thus adding to this ‘image making’. The progress was a form of propaganda

¹²⁴ RCA, MS M6 f. 41v.

¹²⁵ Manley, *Literature and Culture in Early Modern London*, 260.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.

communicated by the Queen and her councillors to make sure that the “affairs of state continued” without disruption or widespread dissent.¹²⁷ This interesting and important aspect of a sovereign’s rule was crucial to the “unity—between ruler and ruled, monarch and land.”¹²⁸ They were points of negotiations of power, authority, meaning and legitimacy. This highlights the importance of adding the act of communication to the definition of progresses. Therefore, royal progresses cannot be merely dismissed, in the manner of historians such as John Guy or G.R. Elton, as an insignificant part of Tudor politics or of the sovereign’s political arsenal.¹²⁹ They cannot be regarded as unimportant despite their common occurrence, but instead should be highlighted as a critical element in the dialogue and functions of everyday society and culture within England and Europe throughout the medieval and early modern era.

II. The Study of Earlier Tudor Progresses

Tudor progresses have been the subject of a degree of commentary, although there is no single research project that explores the Tudor progresses collectively. Tudor monarchs exploited progresses to a greater degree and frequency than their previous counterparts. Medieval progresses were even more itinerant and less sedentary than Tudor progresses because medieval monarchs moved between multiple dominions through military operations to exert royal control. The examples of Edward III and Henry V highlight the itinerant nature of the royal court as they moved continuously between England, France and Scotland protecting their borders.¹³⁰ Tudor progresses, beginning with Henry VII, not only served as military or political operations but were expanded to include ceremonial magnificence that featured gift exchange, performances, religious rituals and patronage. This is explored further in this thesis, particularly in chapter 4. Henry VII, Henry VIII, and Elizabeth I utilised the extra-London progress, that Edward VI and Mary I did not. The royal progress became commonplace, “an important instrument of Tudor government” in the words of Neil

¹²⁷ Zillah Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress: The Queen’s Journey to East Anglia, 1578* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press), 1-2.

¹²⁸ Jayne Elisabeth Archer and Sarah Knight, “Elizabetha Triumphans,” in *The Progresses, Pageants and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, eds. Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabethan Goldring, Sarah Knight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 23 & 3.

¹²⁹ John Guy remarks that “the principal purpose [of progresses]...had always been recreational...not political.” John Guy, *The Tudor Monarchy* (London: Hodder Headline Group, 1997), 23. Natalie Mears assesses the role of “the royal household and of access and personal intimacy of Tudor politics” and affirms that Elton’s dismissal of the royal household and therefore progresses as important components of society, culture and government hinder our understanding to Tudor relations. The planning and execution of progresses were a part of the household and included “access and personal intimacy.” Therefore, progresses must be studied as a component within these dynamics. Natalie Mears, “Courts, Courtiers, and Culture in Tudor England,” *The Historical Journal*, 46:3 (September 2003), 703 and 707.

¹³⁰ David Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal: Ancient and Modern* (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co. LTD, 1990), 16 & 24-33. Carolly Erikson, *Royal Panoply* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2003), 84-90 & 109-117.

Samman.¹³¹ The collection and analysis of statistical information on progresses (how often, how far, and who hosted), particularly for the reigns of Henry VII, and Henry VIII, has received little attention despite the availability of primary evidence. Historians of Henry VII have noted that the progresses of his reign, specifically to York, illustrated the “development in England of a new composite form borrowed from the great continental displays”, and also “taught him [Henry VII] much about the power of personal intervention in influencing public opinion.”¹³² Most of the mentions of Henry VII and progresses focus specifically on his first progress to York in 1486. However, this progress through the north was not merely a peaceful progress. In fact, on his way to Lincoln, Henry VII was notified of a planned rebellion. Cavell uses a unique primary source, a herald’s memoir, to draw out information about the progress. She has noted that Henry VII took other progresses throughout his reign between 1486 and 1490.¹³³ Yet there is still not an in-depth study or documented statistical information of Henry VII’s progresses, such as the number of days Henry was away; where he stayed; or who hosted him. The lessons learned and the unanswered questions from these studies provide a basis from which to further the study of Tudor progresses, particularly Elizabethan progresses: to identify the motivations of Elizabeth I’s visit to specific places; the background of localities and personal hosts; and the outcome of these visits. Utilizing these studies of earlier Tudor progresses, allows for this study of Elizabeth and her progresses, to incorporate formats and specific methodologies used by notable Tudor scholars.

Henry VIII, as Neil Samman has noted “enjoyed lodging with courtiers or noblemen and visits to religious houses...before he dissolved the monasteries.”¹³⁴ Samman has compiled evidence of how many nights the king spent outside royal palaces. It is noted that in 1526, Henry VIII spent the greatest number of nights outside of royal palaces and was away on progresses for long periods. He spent a total of 113 nights away and this accounted for 31% of the king’s year.¹³⁵ This is significant because it highlights the regularity of royal progresses. Samman’s study establishes a basis from which further studies of Henrician progresses can develop, expanding our knowledge of Henry and his realm. An itinerary of Henry VIII, located at the National Archives, has been preserved and provides historians with an opportunity to understand how itineraries of royal progresses were constructed, the language used for travel and mobility, and the way these itineraries documented the logistical plans of

¹³¹ Neil Samman, “The Progresses of Henry VIII, 1509-1529”, in *The Reign of Henry VIII: Politics, Policy and Piety*, ed. Diarmaid MacCulloch (Basingstoke: MacMillan Press, 1995), 59.

¹³² Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy*, 4-5 and Emma Cavell, “Henry VII, the north of England and the first Provincial progress of 1486”, *Northern History*, 39:2, (2002), 189.

¹³³ Emma Cavell, *The Herald’s Memoir, 1486-1490: Court Ceremony, Royal Progress and Rebellion* (Donington: Richard III and Yorkist History Trust, 2009), 27-42.

¹³⁴ Samman, “The Progresses of Henry VIII”, 63.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 64.

progresses.¹³⁶ By combining Samman's statistical work on Henry VIII's progresses with Cole's statistical and logistical studies of Elizabeth I's progresses, we have a foundation to begin deeper studies into the political, social and cultural significance of progresses.

As for Edward VI, Kevin Sharpe has noted that he "maintained an annual progress and...appears to have grasped the political function and importance of royal progresses."¹³⁷ Edward is noted to have gone on progress in 1549, 1552 and 1553.¹³⁸ However, the extent (both in terms of frequency and distance) of Edward VI's progresses were not like that of his father or later his sister, Elizabeth. This is due to a combination of factors. First, Edward VI's reign was short-lived. Second, Edward's ongoing health issues made travel difficult. In fact, many of Edward's progresses were not to the homes of court or government members, but rather to royal palaces situated along the Thames. This is evidenced by the frequency and importance of council meetings, which were particularly important during Edward's reign owing to the young King's minority government. Dale Hoak examines the central government and Privy Council and the way it functioned during Edward's reign, and remarks that the meetings were made to secure the King's approval rather than serving as a real representation of the King's true "participation in council affairs or governing of the realm." Meetings were "always at London or nigh therabouts," particularly at Greenwich, Hampton Court, Richmond and Windsor.¹³⁹ This differs from Elizabeth's own progresses as members of her own Privy Council frequently commented on the difficulties of conducting the affairs of state because the Queen was on progress. This is evidenced in the letters of William Cecil, Francis Walsingham and other council members. They all "bemoaned" and "disliked" progresses as they not only incurred extra work and expense, but more importantly, "members of government...complained that their letters were ignored and their actions circumscribed by the queen's absence."¹⁴⁰ This is significant because it demonstrates that government officials relied on and needed Elizabeth's decisions and actions regarding the affairs of state; thus, furthering the argument that royal progresses allowed Elizabeth to reinforce her authority and exercise her agency.

Mary I on the other hand, did not go on annual progress and remained for the majority of her reign in London. In fact, there is evidence that she "abolished the expensive custom of progresses."¹⁴¹ However, there is one particular journey made by Mary that requires our attention. In July 1554, Mary ventured to Winchester where she met Philip II of

¹³⁶ TNA OBS 1/1418. This record class is an obscure record collection known as "Obsolete Lists, Indexes and Miscellaneous Summaries and Reports associated with Public Record Office Holdings." To my knowledge to date, other historians of Tudor studies, particularly Neil Samman, have not used this source. This is something worth pursuing in a separate study.

¹³⁷ Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 226.

¹³⁸ Both Sharpe and D.E. Hoak mention the progresses of Edward VI and provide primary evidence. Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 226. D.E. Hoak, *The King's Council in the Reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 141-142.

¹³⁹ Hoak, *The King's Council in the Reign of Edward VI*, 125-129, 131; TNA SP 10/9, f. 95-96

¹⁴⁰ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 4, 37, 58-59.

¹⁴¹ Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 298.

Spain and married him. Mary was in Winchester for a total of six days.¹⁴² The reason for having the wedding in Winchester is illustrated by two facts. First, the location of Winchester near to the south coast made it an obvious choice for meeting Philip on his arrival in England. Mary and Philip had not previously met, and this gave them the occasion of meeting before the wedding ceremony. Second, Winchester was the home of the Bishop of Winchester and one of Mary's favourites, Stephen Gardiner. It was Gardiner who hosted Mary at the Bishop's palace.¹⁴³ On 31 July, Mary and Philip departed from Winchester towards London, staying in Basing and Reading.¹⁴⁴ From there, they departed for Windsor. During their time at Windsor, Mary knighted Philip during the Order of the Garter ceremony. After Windsor, they travelled to the royal palace of Richmond where they remained until they left to return to London. There were no pageants on the progress until the royal entry and procession through the city of London. In fact, Caroline Adams asserts that the "slow journey back to London" was similar to Mary's mother, Katherine of Aragon's entry into England in 1501. Like Katherine's travels, Mary's were "chiefly a state procession rather than a tour of subject's houses."¹⁴⁵ The entire trip accounted for twenty-five days and was nothing compared to the amount of days that her father and sister spent on progress.

It is important to note that visits to subjects' houses were an intrinsic part of Tudor magnificence. By visiting the homes of leading courtiers, monarchs were able to bestow or deprive prestige and patronage upon their subjects. Therefore, while Mary did not have a lack of support from her nobles, her iconography and public displays were not always positive. Mary's movements and progresses along the Thames River valley did not enhance or build up her persona. In fact, Sharpe reminds us that Mary's public displays were very different and based on "antipathy", or more explicitly put, "the scaffold, the block and the stake."¹⁴⁶ Cole suggests that Mary's reluctance to go on progress was due to the increased unpopularity of her marriage to Philip and additionally her ill-health.¹⁴⁷

Some of the common elements that were hallmarks of Tudor progresses were pageants, entertainments with music, and the participation of the monarch in these spectacular events. They were devised and organised by the sovereign's host, either by an individual or civic body. These events were visual and aural displays of loyalty, obedience and allegiance on behalf of the organisers. They also served to exalt and please the sovereign.

¹⁴² Alexander Samson, "Changing Places: The Marriage and Royal Entry of Philip, Prince of Austria, and Mary Tudor, July-August 1554", *Sixteenth Century Journal*, (2005), 763.

¹⁴³ Caroline Adams, "Queen and Country: The Significance of Elizabeth I's Progress in Surrey, Sussex and Hampshire in 1591" (PhD Thesis, University of Chichester, 2012), 58.

¹⁴⁴ Basing was the home of the Marquis of Winchester located in what is modern day Basingstoke. Caroline Adams has noted in her thesis that Basing was supposed to have had 380 rooms, and was the largest house in the country: www3.hants.gov.uk/museum/basing-house. For The Vyne, see M. Howard and E. Wilson, *The Vyne: a Tudor House Revealed* (London: National Trust, 2003), 87. Adams, "Queen and Country", 35.

¹⁴⁵ Adams, "Queen and Country", 57.

¹⁴⁶ Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 298.

¹⁴⁷ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 14.

Interestingly, pageants and displays on Tudor progresses often employed the use of ceremonial ritual with the sovereign and used allegorical references to highlight the sovereign's lineage, thus reinforcing their legitimacy, and the host's acceptance of the sovereign's power and authority. This was also a way in which hosts cultivated a connection and bond with their monarch. This became a defining characteristic that separated the English royal progresses from those in Europe that "emphasized the monarch's dominance over—and separation from—the court and people."¹⁴⁸ Consequently, the discussion of scholarly research on earlier Tudor progress provides a foundation, along with methods and interpretations, to employ in the study of Elizabeth's royal progresses.

III. The Royal Progresses of Elizabeth I: Historiography

Since Anglo's influential monograph published in 1969, in-depth studies of early and mid-Tudor progresses have been comparatively few. In relevant biographies of each monarch, progresses tend to merit only a casual mention. This is not to say that sources do not exist, but rather that comparatively little attention has been paid to the significance of progresses within the major themes of Elizabethan studies including queenship, politics, religious discourse, diplomacy, court culture, and social interactions. Nevertheless, some notable work has been conducted by historians including Cole, Collinson, Anglo, as well as J.R. Mulryne, Neil Samman, Zillah Dovey and Caroline Adams, providing us with a strong foundation through which to further the study of progresses, specifically Elizabethan royal progresses. This thesis incorporates and builds upon these works.¹⁴⁹ In addition to the secondary materials exploring Elizabeth's progresses, there are critical primary sources that should be incorporated in any discussion of progresses, especially John Nichols's collection of sixteenth-century manuscripts and antiquarian materials that illuminates Elizabeth's progresses. Other vital primary sources will be discussed in the proceeding sections. These primary and secondary source materials are utilised together within this thesis, for the contextual analysis of material (literary pieces created for pageants and entertainments, the first-hand accounts of the Queen's visits and letters exchanged at the time of specific progresses) surrounding visits during the progress provides greater detail about the interplay of society, politics and culture.

Royal progresses have been an illuminating lens through which to examine specific aspects of a monarch's interactions with the world around them. Anglo, explores the splendor of royal progresses during the reigns of Henry VII and VIII in his definitive *Spectacle*,

¹⁴⁸ Cole, "Monarchy in Motion", 29.

¹⁴⁹ Cole, *The Portable Queen*; Patrick Collinson, "Pulling the Strings: Religion and Politics in the Progress of 1578," in Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight, *The Progresses, Pageants and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy*; J.R. Mulryne, ed. *Ceremonial Entries in Early Modern Europe: The Iconography of Power* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing LTD., 2015); Samman, "The Progress of Henry VIII"; Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress*; Adams, "Queen and Country".

Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy.¹⁵⁰ Anglo states that royal progresses and court festivals were of “twofold political significance.” First, “they were related to a European tradition of the magnificence expected of a potentate.”¹⁵¹ Magnificence conveyed the moral virtues and royal power of the monarch which was employed to enhance their sovereignty within their kingdom and to display it on the European stage. Furthermore, it was a way in which the monarch was legitimised. Magnificence did not just include the imagery and expression of wealth and grandeur but also displays of religious virtues, martial strength and political intellect. These elements fostered the monarch’s acceptance by their European contemporaries.

Anglo continues, “secondly, many [spectacles]...were political, either through a desire to enhance great diplomatic occasions or...international situation.”¹⁵² The gathering of great powers like the meeting of Henry VIII and Francis I of France at the Field of Cloth of Gold, or the acknowledgement of a European political or religious crisis were magnified or highlighted through grand, extravagant displays, public spectacles and meticulously elaborate pageants. Though Anglo’s study focused primarily on the reigns of Henry VII and VIII and associated progresses with spectacles, his assessment is equally valid to the study of royal progresses, rituals and the entertainments of Elizabeth I. In particular, the political elements and displays of magnificence seen during Elizabeth’s time were not only exhibited nationally but also locally through progresses. Glenn Richardson, in his work on the Field of Cloth of Gold, has furthered Anglo’s concepts and methodology of examining spectacle and display as means of understanding political dynamics with foreign powers. Richardson remarks on how the “multiform spectacle”, which Anglo has described extensively, was a common style and performative mode employed at the Tudor court.¹⁵³ Therefore, by incorporating and using Anglo’s methodology and Richardson’s research on Tudor ‘multiform spectacles’ within this thesis, we can expand our understanding of the value and meaning of spectacles during Elizabeth’s reign, particularly on progresses. In doing this, the role that spectacles played becomes evident: in cultivating Elizabeth’s queenship, furthering the dynamics of Elizabethan court and political culture, and to identify occasions where Elizabeth’s agency was observed.

Most importantly, the study of royal progresses during the Tudor era allows us to extend beyond the traditional topics (drama, literature, politics, and religion) to examine new scholarship and topics (agency, immigration, material culture) by engaging with a variety conventional and new source materials (financial records, literary devices, and physical objects to name a few) to develop more questions and draw further conclusions about this unique, dynamic and complex period. The questions raised include: how important were

¹⁵⁰ Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy*, 21 & 118-123.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ Richardson, *The Field of Cloth of Gold*, 149.

progresses in the development of both Elizabeth's royal identity and royal prerogative? How did Elizabeth make particular use of this aspect of royal authority and power, and what were the consequences? What role did progresses play in the development of sixteenth-century society, culture, politics and religion? What impact did Elizabeth's royal progresses have on a local, regional, and national/international scale? Using the specific lens of royal progresses allows us to reexamine and explore the topics of social interactions, networks and interplay of political connections, and wielding of power within Elizabethan England. By studying Elizabethan progresses, we are able to delve further into the multifarious relationships between Elizabeth and her subjects, which moves beyond the traditional studies of Elizabeth and her councillors. Furthermore, by identifying examples of Elizabeth's agency on progresses, we are able to illustrate the ways in which the Queen acted and moved outside of the confines of the traditional patriarchal model. This requires the use of vital resources that chronicle the progresses of Elizabeth I.

The John Nichols project has reproduced, edited, and annotated the important primary materials relating to Elizabethan progresses. The careful editorial conventions and standards that have been integrated in Nichols collection since he published it in the nineteenth century, along with Cole's definitive work on Elizabeth I and her progresses, have contributed to new and effective analytical scholarship. The primary sources within the collection, discussed at length in the proceeding section, serve to catalogue the vast number of the Queen's personal and civic visits on her progresses. However, Cole has demonstrated that Elizabeth was more regional in focus with her progresses, remaining in the southern part of England, while both her grandfather and father, Henry VII and VIII, by contrast were both national and international in focus. The Queen travelled exclusively within England, but more specifically within the locales in which she was familiar, comfortable and accepted such as London, Kent, Essex and Surrey.¹⁵⁴ Furthermore, it has been claimed that Elizabeth sought the refuge of royal progresses to gain more control and to be more connected and vocal within her government.¹⁵⁵ Cole has characterised these royal progresses as chaos that centred around the monarch and to which Elizabeth was a "steady, yet mobile, centre in the turbulent, itinerant court...[she] imitated the sun that moved through the universe with planets and a solar system in tow."¹⁵⁶ This is how the central question of agency has emerged for this thesis. The suggestion that Elizabeth was the sun and that everything else followed, implies that Elizabeth's involvement in the planning of progresses was not peripheral but was in fact, central and vital. This raises the further question of how was Elizabeth's agency was exerted on progress, and how it comes across in the evidence. Cole's work has focused on the logistics of progresses and helps to make sense of Nichols's work, which is a collection of edited sixteenth-century manuscripts and antiquarian notes.

¹⁵⁴ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 23-24.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁵⁶ Cole, "Monarchy in Motion", 28.

Cole's intellectual contribution to the study of Elizabeth I and royal progresses through a queen centered approach, is two fold: firstly, she has provided quantitative and tabulated results of progresses for the entirety of Elizabeth's reign; secondly, through presenting meticulously informative tables based on the entirety of Elizabeth's reign and not on specific episodes, she begins to make sense of the overall legacy, symbolism, impact of progresses that was a "reflection of the government" and "represented the...strengths and weaknesses of the Queen."¹⁵⁷ Cole's work on Elizabethan royal progresses introduces ideas and questions about the impact of these progresses on Elizabeth's personal monarchy and how government functioned during these movements. However, while Cole's work is important, it is not conclusive. The evidence and argument that Cole has presented in her work has allowed for new questions to be raised surrounding the Queen's role on progress and the motivations surrounding specific visits. Therefore, Cole's study serves as a platform from which this thesis can further the scholarship on progresses and address the questions of Elizabeth's agency, queenship and political culture that were cultivated through royal progresses.

The final chapter of Cole's study introduces the reader to the "personal monarchy at work." Cole asserts that Elizabeth used progresses "to advance her diplomacy and reiterate the nature of her personal monarchy." However, "her decisions about travel...suggested the political limitations of her power."¹⁵⁸ While I agree with Cole that Elizabeth I skillfully used progresses to assert her agency, it is not clear what Cole meant by that statement. It appears almost contradictory. How can progresses be an important part of Elizabeth's "strategy to rule" but limit her power? If Cole were referring to the limitation that she travelled mainly in the south, then I would argue that Elizabeth's use of progresses in these areas aided in expanding her power, and her ability to wield it. By the latter half of the sixteenth century, England was relatively peaceful and Elizabeth's reign was calm by comparison to those of her Tudor predecessors. In fact, the Elizabethan period saw the localities throughout England serving as "an effective administrative unit."¹⁵⁹ The north of England and the west country had been a source of turmoil and bloodshed during the reigns of Henry VII, Henry VIII and Edward VI, but this was not the case during Elizabeth I's reign as royal authority was filtered through the established administrative bodies such as the Council of the North and the Council in the Marches of Wales to "dispense justice."¹⁶⁰ The reliance on great nobles, loyal subjects and these administrative bodies served to help maintain control and saw places like the north and west country closely governed. This raises the question: why did Elizabeth I not travel to these regions if they were safe and peaceful? Furthermore, did neglecting these regions affect Elizabeth's ability to wield power? The answers to these questions lie in the

¹⁵⁷ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 5 & 12.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 135.

¹⁵⁹ Cooper, "Centre and Localities", 131.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

people who served in those positions that governed the distant regions. Francis Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Essex, Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, and Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon all served as Lord Presidents of the Council of the North. Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke served as Lord President of the Council of Wales.¹⁶¹ All of these individuals had either principal or extra residences in the south of England. Therefore, many of these courtiers travelled from these regions to Elizabeth's court to report on the state of affairs in these areas and at times hosted the Queen when she was progress. Additionally, the Elizabethan period saw an increased reliance on patronage and preferment that could only be found at the Queen's court. Thus, many of the gentry and nobility from these distant regions travelled south. This allowed Elizabeth I to wield power as she granted favours and advancement, while maintaining the loyalty of those who served to enforce her royal authority. This suggests that Elizabeth played a central role in the cultivation of the relationships with her subjects, and that Elizabeth, her court and London "played an increasingly dominant role in the political and intellectual culture" of the period.¹⁶² She used this smart strategy of bestowing royal favour and placing men she could trust in positions of power to maintain control. This was a clever use of power and demonstrates the potency of agency, along with governing all of England, resolving regional and local disputes, and providing financial support in these areas. This is evident in Cole's section on "personal monarchy", which identifies three specific areas in which Elizabeth I was able to assert her power: religious stability, personal diplomacy, and defence of the realm.¹⁶³ Cole highlighted examples through which these three areas are visible on progresses; thus providing a context to directly address, study and expand our understanding of Elizabeth I as Queen, the period in which she ruled, and delve deeper into the significance of royal progresses.

On the subject of religious stability, Cole focuses on the ways in which progresses helped "Elizabeth mold religious conformity where it already had the strongest chance of succeeding."¹⁶⁴ If this is what Cole meant by the limitation of power—then it is here that I would like to point out that it was not a limitation of power but rather the ability to wield royal authority and power to produce a successful outcome. Elizabeth I was able to maintain stability and ensure peace of the realm through progresses by policing areas that did not conform. Additionally, the Queen placed individuals in specific locations to govern and extend royal authority into problematic regions. Elizabeth's goal, as Cole and other Elizabethan historians have pointed out, was outward conformity.¹⁶⁵ Yet, while Cole's section on religious

¹⁶¹ Arthur F. Kinney and Jane A. Lawson, *Titled Elizabethans: A Directory of Elizabethan Court, State, and Church Officers, 1558-1603* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 9. The list of Lord Presidents of the two councils was compared with the list of who hosted the Queen on progress in Cole's appendix in *The Portable Queen*. Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 206-225.

¹⁶² Cooper, "Centre and Localities", 132.

¹⁶³ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 135.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 136.

¹⁶⁵ These other historians include Patrick Collinson and Zillah Dovey. Collinson, "Pulling the Strings"; Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress*.

stability provides us with a new way of approaching the religious dynamics during Elizabeth's reign, there is still more that can be developed from the study of her progresses. Having the chapel royal on progress demonstrated to the localities the expectation of adhering to the *Book of Common Prayer*, enforced conformity, policed religious policies within the Church of England, and exhibited Elizabeth's royal supremacy.¹⁶⁶ The absence of the use of the Chapel Royal on progress from Cole's section allows us to expand on her work. This will build a deeper understanding of the connection between the centre of politics with the localities in religious matters, as well as highlight the ways that progresses strengthened and cultivated religious dialogue. Ultimately, this illustrates how religious discourse was spread and shaped.

In discussing "personal diplomacy", Cole concludes that progresses "created opportunities to deal directly with important people on personal or diplomatic matters."¹⁶⁷ This section of Cole's chapter focuses on two specific matters: firstly, the threat of Mary, Queen of Scots and the involvement of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk; and secondly, the details of marriage negotiations with foreign candidates. Cole highlights a very important point about progresses: that Elizabeth's "regal presence...signal[ed] support or criticism."¹⁶⁸ The political vacuum that existed in Norwich, along with the religious issues that both Cole and Collinson have explored, highlights the complexity and interconnectedness of political and religious matters that often existed on progresses, like the 1578 progress to Norwich. It presents the argument that, while the progress dealt with religious nonconformity, it was also dealt with obedience, allegiance and political nonconformity.

Finally, in concluding the analysis of Cole's work, her chapter on personal diplomacy ends with a discussion of how progresses assisted in highlighting "English military strength and [Elizabeth's] own divine responsibility for preserving the kingdom."¹⁶⁹ Military prowess was a crucial component of effective rulership. Scholarly work on the effectiveness of medieval and early modern rulership has stressed that a strong martial identity was vitally important to a sovereign's legitimacy. Sharpe's examination of Henry VIII's military prowess on both the battlefield and within the recreational pursuits of the jousts highlights that Henry was the "embodiment of martial prowess and magnificence," which were hallmarks of effective rulership and kingship. Furthermore, Henry achieved "martial glory" that "depict[ed] Henry as the ideal monarch."¹⁷⁰ Alternatively, ineffective rulership was visible in the case of Edward II and comparatively with Mary I. Edward II was "weak willed," as "Kings and songs of kings were bred to martial arts, exercises with lance and sword..." Yet Edward avoided this and after only a year, the leading noblemen within his court sought to restrict his

¹⁶⁶ Chapter 4 of this thesis examines the way that the Chapel Royal was utilised on progress and its influence in cultivating Elizabeth's sacredness and royal supremacy.

¹⁶⁷ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 145.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 154.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 155.

¹⁷⁰ Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 115.

power. Eventually, with the aid of his wife, Isabella, Edward was deposed in 1327.¹⁷¹ Edward II provides a fourteenth-century example of how the lack of royal progresses and the absence of martial prowess hindered the sovereign's social and political relations. Mary I has traditionally been remembered as an ineffective military leader, primarily through her loss of Calais in the Anglo-French War of 1557. Historians such as Anna Whitelock, John Guy, Anne McLaren, David Loades and Judith Richards have all debated the extent to which Mary can be labeled as an ineffective military leader and whether her reign should be remembered for her failed military engagements. However, the fact remains that England's engagement in the Anglo-French war was not prompted by Mary's councillors or even proposed by Mary herself. Philip of Spain, Mary's husband, "petitioned" to go to war with France.¹⁷² Both Mary and Philip ignored the marriage treaty that "precluded England from being drawn into Philip's foreign wars", while her councillors reminded them both of the treaty's clause.¹⁷³ Even still, Mary's desire to go to war was not based on military skill, counsel or knowledge but due to wanting to "be a supportive wife without compromising her domestic authority."¹⁷⁴ Despite her councillors urging for "nonintervention", England went to war in July 1557.¹⁷⁵ Philip served as Mary's commander and the military tactics were decided and implemented by Philip, not Mary. Additionally, Philip paid for the war with funds from his own country.¹⁷⁶ This highlights how much of a role Mary had in the military quest. The early victory at St. Quentin was credited to Philip. Yet, in January 1558, the French attacked Calais and the last English stronghold in France was lost.¹⁷⁷ The loss of Calais was blamed on Mary and Philip. Through this example, the fact that Mary did not actively participate in the planning and discussion of war signalled her ineffectiveness as a ruler to lead. Furthermore, the absence of her physical presence through progresses did not reassure her subjects in times of war or reinforce her sovereignty. Just like Mary I, Elizabeth I was a woman faced with concerns about her gender. It was against societal conventions for her to engage in military combat and war. They relied on male counterparts to serve as an extension of them. However, unlike Mary, Elizabeth used progresses to display her military leadership and her physical presence at Tilbury bolstered the troops. Additionally, Elizabeth acted as a commander that was advised by her generals in the deployment of troops in Ireland, Scotland and France.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷¹ Erickson, *Royal Panoply*, 82.

¹⁷² Anna Whitelock, "Woman, Warrior, Queen? Rethinking Mary and Elizabeth", *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth*, ed. Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 179.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 178-179.

¹⁷⁴ David Loades, *Tudor Queens of England* (New York: MJF Books, 2009), 203-204.

¹⁷⁵ Whitelock, "Woman, Warrior, Queen?", 178-179. Loades, *Tudor Queens of England*, 203-204.

¹⁷⁶ Loades, *Tudor Queens of England*, 204.

¹⁷⁷ Whitelock, "Woman, Warrior, Queen?", 179.

¹⁷⁸ Arthur Lord Grey served as leader of the siege against Leith in Scotland in 1560; Walter Devereux, first earl of Essex served as leader in Ireland in 1573; and Ambrose Dudley, Earl of

Building on Cole's examination of the ways in which Elizabeth "crafted for herself the military role of protector", the examination of Elizabeth hunting highlights how progresses provided the opportunities for the Queen to demonstrate her combat and military skill while projecting her martial leadership to those within her realm and to foreign ambassadors, and by extension to European leaders. This highlights another way that Elizabeth I was able to cultivate personal diplomacy that Cole has identified, along with "granting and denying access to herself."¹⁷⁹

Cole's study also includes the financial impact of royal progresses and challenges the long held conclusion that Elizabeth used royal progresses to punish her subjects or that the cost of these progresses came at the hosts' expense.¹⁸⁰ Cole concludes that "Elizabeth's progresses emphasised what was important to her as a monarch: her popularity, public ceremony, a lively court, her own safety and a caution that preserved her options."¹⁸¹ The discussion of the Queen's hunting activities below contributes to this understanding that the Queen's hosts did not incur the entire expense of royal visits, particularly as her chief advisor Cecil sought to control the royal finances, but this was also illustrated through the annual financial upkeep of her hunting staff that were maintained throughout her reign.¹⁸²

Cole's assertion that progresses highlighted what was important to Elizabeth I serves as a starting point for the exploration of the Queen's agency. However, Cole does not take this notion of the Queen's agency further. She does not demonstrate examples of where the Queen exerted her agency and how this was articulated, though she alludes to its possibility. For example, and important for this study, she states that Elizabeth visited Norwich and stayed with the Bishop of Norwich "as the town was embroiled in religious controversy."¹⁸³ The question raised here is what was this controversy? How public was it? And what was the extent of the controversy that would require the physical presence of the Queen? Additionally, how does this particular visit add or fit into Elizabeth's personal monarchy? Finally, was the Norwich visit just about addressing religious tensions, or were there other relevant factors? The questions raised here emphasise that there is more to investigate and analyze with regards to the use of progresses to develop the relationship between national and local government. Additionally, the questions raised will help us to determine the extent

Warwick in 1563. Paul E.J. Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars: War, Government and Society in Tudor England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 59-60.

¹⁷⁹ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 155.

¹⁸⁰ Cole cites Wallace MacCaffrey and Christopher Haigh as those historians, which have commented that progresses were at the expense of the hosts. Wallace MacCaffrey refers to progresses as "expensive privileges" used to punish courtiers who did not conform to the Queen's policies. This was particularly the case with the Earl of Hertford, in 1591. MacCaffrey, *The Shaping of the Elizabethan Regime*, 127. See also Wallace MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I, War and Politics, 1588-1602*, (Princeton University Press, 1994).

¹⁸¹ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 13.

¹⁸² With the newly discovered financial accounts (AO 3), the Queen's hunting staff and its use on progresses is explored in chapter 4. Cecil even tried to reform the household to cut down on expenses, which included Elizabeth's progresses. Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 58.

¹⁸³Ibid., 27.

to which progresses served to enhance the sovereign's power and authority, while allowing Elizabeth I to maintain control and influence through her agency. By determining the importance and specificity of royal progresses and their impact on or for Elizabeth I, we are able to understand that each progress had a specific intent and design, whether it was political, religious or personal.

As mentioned in the introduction, agency within this thesis refers to the deliberate construction and maintenance of a persona and the articulation and action of royal prerogative through which the sovereign's royal authority is exercised or deployed. It was a crucial element in Elizabethan royal progresses because in the chaos, Elizabeth's court and councillors, looked to her for decisions. Questions relevant to this understanding of agency include: who initiated these royal progresses? What were their aims, and whom did they benefit? It is absolutely essential to explore the Queen's agency in and on these progresses. Doing so helps us to understand the power dynamics of Elizabethan politics. In analyzing the pageants and entertainments performed on progresses, the characteristics of Elizabeth's queenship and reign are identified through the dialogue and the concerns raised within the contents of these spectacles by Elizabeth's subjects. For example, the Queen's visit to Deptford on her progress through Sussex and Hampshire in 1559 created an opportunity that produced a series of pageants surrounding a "mock naval battle" and was the moment when Francis Drake was knighted.¹⁸⁴ A few historians, Cole and Frye have explored this occasion briefly; however, the pageants of the mock naval battle would have been significant given that this was one of the few occasions where the Queen was represented and seen in a military or martial context. By exploring this particular event on progress, we gain more information about the interplay of politics and representation that aided in Elizabeth's identity as a martial leader, as well as the ways in which these performances gave the Queen agency. The gap between the valuable work of historians such as Cole, Mears and Collinson and the existing questions raised about the Queen's central role on progresses can be tackled through analyzing the available source material, like the eye-witness accounts of her visits and the pageants created for the Queen's visits, to identify examples and occasions of the ways in which agency, queenship and political culture were exercised, constructed and cultivated.

Cole states that movements between London palaces and local visits to the homes of members of Elizabeth's court, do not "form a progress." Her reasoning for this is that the "royal household officers faced few challenges and little expense", and the journey "did not

¹⁸⁴ Henry Machyn. *The Diary of Henry Machyn: citizen and merchant-taylor of London, from A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1563*, ed. John Gough Nichols (London: printed for The Camden Society by J.B. Nichols and son, 1848), 204. The editor John Gough Nichols was most likely John Nichols's son. See ODNB entry, Julian Pooley and Robin Myers, 'Nichols family (per. c. 1760-1939)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). An excerpt from Strype's *Annals* also highlights the event. Edited by Jayne Elisabeth Archer in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:156. Cole mentions this visit. Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 156.

have...impact on court life, finances and policy..."¹⁸⁵ While this assertion that the local visits did not involve as much planning and logistical preparation as longer and larger progresses away from London had, is a valid point, I would contend that local visits still involved the movement and transportation of the household and the material culture of the court between palaces. For example, beds, blankets and linens were transported between palaces as indicated by the chamber records. This is evident in the Exchequer and Auditor accounts where the household staffs were paid wages for their "apparreling and making readye" of houses and palaces which the Queen visited.¹⁸⁶ The language used in the financial records gives us insight into the way in which progresses were accounted and paid for. For instance, the expense for the visits to the London palaces and the visits on progresses were often paid together. In 1561, the account details the "item payde to...gentlemen vssher[s]...for ther three bylles subscribed...for the making ready the Q[ueen's] Ma[jest]es severall lodging at Wynchester Horsley and Mycheldevor" and also the "making ready of the Quenes Ma[jes]tes severall lodging at Horsley Grenewych Eltham and Hampton courte."¹⁸⁷ The entries also include the amount of time that it took for the preparations to occur. In 1569, the staff spent significant amount of time

makeinge readye for her Ma[jes]tie at Lambeth by the space of ij dayes... for makeinge readye for her Ma[jes]tie at O[a]tlandes and Okinge [Woking] by the space of viij dayes... makeinge readye at Aberton [Abbotstone] the Lorde St. Johns howse and at Subberston [Soberton] the Lady Lawraunces howse by the space of viij dayes... makeinge readye at Wherwell S[i]r Andryon poynnynges [Adrian Poynings] howse and at Steventon Sir Richard Pecksall [Pexall]howse by the space of ix dayes.¹⁸⁸

In total, it took the household staff twenty-seven days to prepare for the Queen's visits. The annual figures were consistently the same of about £1 per day. The very inclusion of the preparations of accommodations on the Queen's progresses signifies that it was a regular and common expense within the royal household. Cole's otherwise seminal work on the logistics of royal progress does not reference these specific details in the Exchequer accounts. This thesis will build upon Cole's work and further our understanding of royal progresses by considering these important details within the manuscript material—both well-known and newly discovered.

Furthermore, I argue that local visits still had an impact on court life and diplomacy as many of the political dialogues occurred at palaces other than Whitehall and within the localities around London. In July 1559, the Queen was at Greenwich where she met "with the Ambassadors" and entertained them, which was "undoubtedly the Queen's policy to accustome her nobles and subjects...to give all Countenance to the Exercise of Warfare,

¹⁸⁵ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 23.

¹⁸⁶ TNA, AO 3/127, fo. 23; E 101/417/5.

¹⁸⁷ TNA, AO 3/127, fo. 23 & 25.

¹⁸⁸ TNA, AO 3/127, fo. 121.

having such a Prospect of Enemies round about her..."¹⁸⁹ This visible display at court within the palace of Greenwich was to reinforce her martial leadership and her abilities as sovereign, not only to members of her court but also to the diplomats and ambassadors. Greenwich Palace was a prominent royal residence and, as Simon Thurley remarks, was used for diplomatic occasions of "welcoming and reception of ambassadors."¹⁹⁰ Furthermore, the close proximity of the naval dockyards of Deptford and Woolwich to Greenwich Palace served to highlight the navy as the "symbol of Tudor royal power."¹⁹¹ Therefore, Greenwich Palace became synonymous with military power and diplomacy. These spaces and structures were utilised in a variety of ways to highlight the sovereign's magnificence, from the ceremonial space serving as a representation of the English nation to foreign ambassadors, to displaying the sovereign as benefactor of the poor through rituals. In March 1573, the royal Maundy ceremony was held at Greenwich. The holding of this event at Greenwich required considerable ceremonial display. The presence of the royal court at this event would have reaffirmed the Queen's temporal and ecclesiastical body as well as enhancing her authority and power. Therefore, this signifies that it was not the physical location that gave magnificence to the occasions but rather the Queen's physical presence. Furthermore, the court was required for not only the reception of but also the acknowledgement of that power and magnificence. The presence of the court is a crucial element in understanding the impact of royal progresses and reinforces Cole's suggestion that the Queen was the sun and the court was the shadow that followed in the wake of the sun.

In July 1573, the Queen began her progress from Greenwich. From there, she went to the Archbishop's home in Croydon where she stayed for seven days. The visit to Archbishop Parker's home was a local visit, yet it still required "all her attendants" to prepare her lodgings.¹⁹² Additionally, the visit to the Archbishop of Canterbury included part of the court, including William Cecil, William Brooke, Thomas Radcliffe and Robert Dudley.¹⁹³ It was on

¹⁸⁹ Excerpt from Strype's *Annals of the Reformation*, copy-text in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:161. It is noted that the ambassadors mentioned within the quote were members of the French embassy that were present at the court to discuss and negotiate the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, which was to recognise France's right to keep Calais.

¹⁹⁰ Simon Thurley, "The Vanishing Architecture of the River Thames", in *Royal River: Power, Pageantry and the Thames.*, ed. Susan Doran (London: Scala Publishers Ltd., 2012), 24.

¹⁹¹ Susan Doran, "Tudor Power on the Thames", in *Royal River: Power, Pageantry and the Thames*, ed. Susan Doran (London: Scala Publishers Ltd., 2012), 38.

¹⁹² The source of the notation of the Queen's attendants was primarily Strype's account in *Annals of the Reformation* and *The Life and Acts of Matthew Parker*. However, editors have replaced Strype's accounts "with transcriptions from the original MSS" which are indicated as existing within the Lansdowne MS at the British Library and Petyt MS in Inner Temple Library. This source is edited by David J. Crankshaw in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:54-55. Cole has properly identified the source as Lansdowne MS 17, no. 44, f. 98; See Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 88 & 243.

¹⁹³ The Lansdowne MS, Strype's account, and Cole's discussion all indicate that Cecil, Brooke, Radcliffe and Dudley were with the Queen on this progress. This is an example of combining secondary sources with primary material to get a comprehensive understanding of the

this occasion that Queen Elizabeth and Archbishop Parker continued a “discussion...about the proclamation concerning religious conformity.”¹⁹⁴ These examples illustrate the point that visits to London palaces and to hosts within the vicinity of London did have an impact on the court and wider political and religious discourse. Additionally, the Chapel Royal moved between palaces along the Thames valley and provided the court with the facility to exercise their faith, thus influencing religious dynamics and discourse (both spoken and written) among the court relating to forms of liturgy (including sermons), access to and use of the royal pulpit, and the nature and structure of the Church of England.¹⁹⁵ Royal palaces along the Thames and visits to local hosts provided opportunities for courtly dialogue on social and political matters, and also for the Queen to engage in diplomacy. Finally, four notable palaces within the Thames valley and near London—Richmond, Greenwich, Hampton Court and Enfield—provided opportunities for the Queen to hunt, as these locations had dedicated hunting parks. The activity of hunting created moments of access to the Queen that were important in the courtly dialogue between the monarch and her courtiers, as well as cultivating diplomatic relations between the Queen and international ambassadors. London palaces and local visits served an important function and were part of the Queen’s progresses. These examples cannot be dismissed from the study of progresses because they demonstrate that these movements had just as much impact on the court as the much longer progresses outside of London.¹⁹⁶ The definition of progresses provided earlier must be explicit in its distinction. Thus a progress is defined as being the movement between one place and another, *and* involving, either simultaneously or individually, the movement of select members of court with the monarch. The definition also considers the involvement of household departments and being hosted by individuals of the sovereign’s court and government to be a significant component.

While Nichols’s primary sources and Cole’s secondary research constitute the foundation for the study of Elizabethan progresses, there are a few other scholars who have explored these progresses. Dovey takes the study of the Norwich progress and reconstructs the events and process of organization.¹⁹⁷ Dovey begins her monograph by identifying that

details of the progress. BL Lansdowne MS 17, no. 44, f. 98-99. Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:55-60. Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 88-89.

¹⁹⁴ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 88. This is further suggested in another excerpt from Strype’s *The Life and Acts of Matthew Parker* that Nichols included in the collection. The excerpt discusses the forms and order of worship that Parker considered for the Queen’s service. Copy-text, edited by David J. Crankshaw, in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:58-60.

¹⁹⁵ Peter McCullough goes into detail about the ways in which court discourse and debate played a role in influencing the early formations of the Elizabethan church and influenced the Queen. Peter McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in the Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 3.

¹⁹⁶ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 23.

¹⁹⁷ Dovey’s monograph provides a narrative of the 1578 progress to Norwich and helps scholars and researchers to understand the branches of the Queen’s government and household that were responsible for royal progresses. Dovey’s monograph was published in

Elizabeth used progresses to “maintain personal popularity among her people”, which was “one of the Queen’s major—and successful—policies.”¹⁹⁸ The significance of this monograph lies in Dovey’s ability to synthesise and illustrate the various departments at work; their functions, and how they were utilised and dispatched, as well as the timing and the tasks involved to make sure the Queen’s progresses went smoothly. Dovey’s work continues by exploring the Norwich progress, and she also helps to reconstruct the events leading up to the Norwich visit. The introduction provides the context for the way that progresses were organised and planned but focuses more on the internal dynamics of progresses rather than looking at the external dynamics. More specifically, the focus is on the impact of progresses in relation to the Queen’s household staff and her government officials.

While Dovey does provide the occasional reference for evidence and primary materials, the overall effect of the monograph is that it reads more as a narrative, than a historical study. This is not necessarily a negative critique as the descriptions that are provided are logical and sound. The difficulty is that the citations are not definitive and many of Dovey’s conclusions appears to be based on speculation, making it problematic to identify the evidence and review it for more detail. Dovey’s focus on the earlier travels before the main progress in 1578 was labeled as “A Minor Progress.” This label proves useful, as most of the locations listed in Dovey’s descriptions were visits made around London or within the Thames valley and reinforces the importance of identifying these movements as progresses. Dovey’s notation of the deer parks and pursuits of hunting at the “first five houses” suggests the popularity of the hunt as well as the Queen’s enjoyment of the pursuit.¹⁹⁹ The inclusion of the well-known hunting image from George Gascoigne’s hunting manual illustrates the availability of material on the topic.²⁰⁰ Dovey’s monograph does provide an interesting description of the mechanics of progresses, such as how the household staff prepared the next location for the Queen’s visit, while Elizabeth and her court continued to move. Furthermore, Dovey plots and briefly describes each visit on the smaller progresses. Dovey thus establishes a method of combining logistics and context in understanding the royal progresses. The concluding discussion of the motivations and plans for the larger summer progress to Norwich highlights the religious concerns in Norwich.²⁰¹

The journey leading up to the Norwich civic visit in August 1578, Dovey notes, was “a long journey into unfamiliar regions of East Anglia.”²⁰² This is an interesting claim, as Cole has in fact identified that there were parts of East Anglia, particularly Suffolk, which the Queen had visited previously. This visit to the area occurred over the course of six days in the

1996, three years before Cole’s definitive work was published in 1999. Surprisingly, Cole does not use Dovey’s work in her own study. Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress*, 39-62.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.,1.

¹⁹⁹ Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress*, 8-9.

²⁰⁰ However, it is important to mention that Dovey’s attribution of the image to Turberville and not Gascoigne is not uncommon. This is discussed further in chapter 3 of this thesis.

²⁰¹ Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress*, 15.

²⁰² Ibid., 21.

summer of 1561.²⁰³ By comparing Dovey's work with Cole's, we find that the scholarship relating to the royal progresses of Elizabeth I, particularly the progress to Norwich, has been advanced by Cole and new evidence has been identified that aids in cataloguing the Queen's progresses. Dovey goes on to describe the Queen's visits beginning with Greenwich on 11 July 1578 and up to visit to Audley End on 1 August 1578. The strength of this chapter is the compelling story and illustration of the ways in which Elizabeth's government and Privy Council continued to work while on progress. The affairs of state were continually addressed through correspondence with foreign powers on matters relating to foreign events, such as the Wars of Religion between the Huguenots and Roman Catholics in France, and the unrest in Ireland, as well as handling "judicial responsibilities."²⁰⁴

Dovey's monograph chronicles the route taken on progress into an area of England that had not been previously visited, Norfolk. She notes that this was far into East Anglia, where the Queen "had not been before—and would not go again."²⁰⁵ This statement suggests that there was a clear intent and motive for making the progress to this specific area. Dovey does not address this directly. The format for the chapter follows the previous chapters in that each visit is described with a context about the individual host, what happened during the visit and suggested reasons for the visit. For example, the Queen's visit to Lawshall Hall, the home of Henry Drury was possibly due to the fact that "Henry was a Catholic and was soon to suffer for his adherence to the old faith."²⁰⁶ Dovey does not elaborate on this occasion. However, through the subsequent visits listed, we are given a few examples where other Catholic nonconformists were identified, admonished and summoned before council.²⁰⁷ The chapter concludes with the details of the days leading up to the Queen's visit to the city of Norwich.

The climatic details of the Norwich visit highlight the ceremonial reception or royal entry of the Queen into the city, as well as the Queen's procession through the city. The preparations and civic orders given in the days leading up to the Queen's arrival illustrate the external dynamic of progresses. The sources that Dovey uses for this are the various antiquarian collections of the local history of Norwich, the *Records of Early English Drama*, the older edition of the John Nichols collection, state papers, and local records including the Mayor's Court Book and Norwich Assembly Minute Book. More importantly, Dovey uses Bernard Garter's account of the Norwich visit to extract details surrounding the way in which the city was decorated and the way that the pageants were staged. There is no discussion or analysis of the Garter's inclusion of the Queen's dialogue and interaction with the civic authorities of Norwich, which is important to note because this unscripted exchange emphasises the exceptions, such as the Queen's admonishment of unrest and the demand for

²⁰³ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 180.

²⁰⁴ Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress*, 25.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 25.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 47.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 54.

allegiance, that occurred on progresses. Another interesting point that Dovey mentions is the Spanish ambassador's account in which he notes that the Queen had "met more Catholics than she expected" and thus when a group of children approached the Queen, she responded with "Speak up! I know you do not love me here."²⁰⁸ Dovey concludes, "if there was any truth in this episode, Garter and Churchyard, not unnaturally, failed to mention it."²⁰⁹ Dovey's discounting of the Spanish ambassador's account highlights an example of where further studies of progresses can be done. While Churchyard and Garter did not record this specific episode, Garter did record an exchange that supports the idea that there were tensions between the Queen and the civic leaders of Norwich. The dialogue recorded by Garter and the incident described in the Spanish ambassador's account warrants our attention. These examples of dialogue extend beyond being a response to religious nonconformity, to include rebuking the equally important concern of political nonconformity.

Dovey also focuses on the "religious resistance" that occupied the Queen's Privy Council in the days after the Norwich visit.²¹⁰ Dovey suggests that the Privy Council chose to interrogate the nonconformists who had been identified prior to the visit to Norwich. This would further suggest that the 1578 progress and the pinnacle visit to Norwich had warranted an immediate response. Dovey is not the only historian to emphasise the religious motivations for the Norwich visit, but other historians such as Cole and Collinson have considered this as well.

Dovey recounts the return route of the 1578 progress to London and highlights the alterations to the route planned in advance by the Queen's household servants. Dovey does not identify specifically who made the decision to alter the route but remarks that "such changes of plan were unwelcome not only to the chamber officers but also to Lord Treasurer Burghley..."²¹¹ This is important because it again raises the question: did Elizabeth I assert her agency and make decisions regarding the route of the progress? While Dovey's monograph raises a few concerns regarding the citation of primary material in her descriptions, the method of combining both detail and context in examining on specific progress proves valuable. She establishes a format that can be used to develop further research on progresses. Dovey's work raises several interesting points regarding the motivations and aims in planning royal progresses. Dovey's work, along with the work of Cole and Collinson, will serve as core sources in reassessing the motivations of the 1578 progress to Norwich.

Caroline Adams's PhD thesis serves as a point of departure for my own thesis. Her investigation of royal progresses analyzes the details of individual visits to examine particular themes, including political boundaries, Elizabethan architecture and country

²⁰⁸ Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress*, 87. Dovey does not provide a citation reference for this source but it is discussed more in depth in chapter 2 of this thesis.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 87.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 88.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 125.

houses, social networks, and ultimately hospitality. Her thesis focuses primarily on how progresses “impact[ed]...local communities.”²¹² More specifically, she explores “the networks of the nobility and gentry in the region, and suggests that hospitality was a powerful motive in their relationship...confirm[ing] the cross-border operation of work and friendships.”²¹³ Adams surveys the history and county relationships that formed the nexus of political and social governance, cooperation and discourse. Her assessment of the regional dynamics effectively highlights the interplay of national with local administration to provide a detailed understanding of how sixteenth-century localities were shaped and operated. Adams’s discussion of the houses and influential families within Hampshire and Sussex helps to illustrate the significance of prosopography within the study of progresses. This approach also assists in emphasising the importance of individuals who “had power and influence within their locality, and who used it to cultivate relationship with the nobility...[and] the court.”²¹⁴ The concentration of influential figures within Hampshire and Sussex, Adams asserts, was the possible motivation for the 1591 progress.

Adams’s research builds on the work of Cole by expanding upon the logistics of progress to explore the nature of hospitality and the impact that progresses had on localities. One notable exception is Adam’s in-depth discussion of the social interactions performed by specific gentry members to illustrate how hospitality operated and its meanings. However, despite Adams’s assertion that “Elizabeth changed the agenda” referencing the itinerary of the progress, she glosses over Elizabeth’s role on progresses and commingles the Queen with the court.²¹⁵ The Queen and the court were bound together, but to generalise the Queen’s role and participation as being solely tied with the movements of the royal court diminishes the Queen’s agency and power. Furthermore, Adams’s frequently references the “motives and preferences” of Elizabeth, but does not offer a solid discussion or example where this was articulated.²¹⁶

Adams’s thesis provides the background and context that aids in understanding the motivations that led to Elizabeth’s visit in 1591. She briefly mentions the value of the progresses, particularly for the Queen, as they served as “displays” that moved away from “dynastic legitimacy and military power...to shows of wealth, magnificence, and sophistication”. This public display allowed Elizabeth “to cultivate her own style.”²¹⁷ While I agree with Adams that royal progresses provided the opportunity for the Queen to “cultivate her own style”, I argue that this style was a balance of projecting dynastic legitimacy and martial power, with the displays of magnificence, authority, and sacredness.

²¹² Adams, “Queen and Country”, 1.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 9.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 38.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 7.

²¹⁶ References to the “motives and references” of Queen Elizabeth can be found on multiple pages. *Ibid.*, 2, 7, 54, & 129.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 129.

The merits and level of research provided by Adams illustrates the value of examining the various visits of Elizabeth's royal progresses to emphasise the important role royal progresses had in the negotiation and construction of social, political, religious and cultural relations within and with the localities. Adams's research contributes to our understanding of sixteenth-century political culture and social networks. This study on hospitality utilises national and local archival materials and provides a framework for combining archival materials within Elizabethan scholarship to provide a comprehensive picture of national and local relations. My research uses Adams's important study to begin a reassessment of the motives, preferences, and actions of Elizabeth I to demonstrate her agency on progresses, and to emphasise the interdependence of the crown and localities.

In 2007, the organisers of the John Nichols Project, which had yet to be completed, released a collection of essays inspired by the works of John Nichols; a compilation of edited, primary sources that pertained to Elizabethan progresses. These essays developed from papers given at the Elizabethan Progress Conference, to which Cole and Collinson contributed, held three years prior to the publication of the collection. The expectation might be that this collection of essays would have addressed the gaps in previous studies, particularly those gaps relating to Elizabeth's agency, source materials in local archives, while offering new interpretations. This is not entirely the case. Several of the papers add clarity to the questions raised about royal progresses and introduce new perspectives, without fully addressing the gaps in analytical coverage. However, one specific example of how the collection raises several interesting points is when Archer and Knight comment:

No other English (or British) monarch has been so closely identified with the land. Nowhere perhaps, is that identification more powerful than in the Elizabethan progress—the ritual dance in which the Queen *performed* the mystical relationship between her 'Virgin' body and the fertile matter of England.²¹⁸

This reference to the ways in which the Queen "performed" and the "ritual dance" that occurred progresses is clearly the editor's reference to the concepts of Geertz. Geertz, as previously mentioned, analyzed Elizabeth's procession through London and various progresses to highlight the performances that were "fashioned for her out of popular symbolism of virtue, faith and authority".²¹⁹ These performances, he argues, allowed Elizabeth to not only accept that "transformation of [Elizabeth] into a moral idea" but that "she actively cooperated in it."²²⁰ Thus, she 'performed' and this suggests she exercised her agency within the pageants. Geertz affirms that these performances were "symbolics of power" and were crucial to "justify their [monarchs] existence". Therefore, "[monarchs] order[ed] their actions in terms of a collection" of spectacles and, as I argue, through the

²¹⁸ Archer and Knight, "Elizabetha Triumphans", 1.

²¹⁹ Geertz's notable contributions are mentioned on page 3 of this thesis. Geertz, "Centers, Kings and Charisma", 128.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 129.

visible performance of progresses.²²¹ The ritualised dance and performed symbolics of power were central to royal progresses and signalled the Queen's participation in political culture and contributed to the characterisation of her queenship. These performances are crucial to the study of royal progresses and its impact. The display of the Queen's physical presence through the ceremonial spectacles and pageants devised for progresses projected Elizabeth's authority and power, and offered a space in which the Queen, her court and her subjects interacted. The editors also allude to the fact that Elizabeth embodied the sixteenth-century idea of England: in other words, Elizabeth embodied the concepts of the motherly figure, the warrior leader, and the pious virgin that distinguished her as a chivalric prince closely bound up in the history and virtues of England. This depiction of Elizabeth contributed to preservation, stability and prosperity of England. This can be interpreted through Elizabeth's own words recorded by William Camden, in which she declared "I have already joined myself in Marriage to a husband, namely, the kingdom of England."²²² Levin remarks that this rhetoric should be taken to mean that this was "not a definitive claim that her body natural would never marry."²²³ While I agree with Levin, I would add that the use of this rhetoric was a way of rebuking Parliament for pressing her about marriage, or admonishing her subjects on progresses, was a way of signaling her intention of putting her country first by focusing on the issues of religious and political stability. Furthermore, Elizabeth's identification as a mother was demonstrated through her words: "a good mother of my contreye" and further emphasised by the statement: "for everyone of you and as many as are English, are my children."²²⁴ Finally, Hackett has commented, "[t]he images of Deborah, of mother of the nation and Elizabeth as God's instrument" were used by Elizabeth I and her court.²²⁵ The editors of the Nichols collection go on to state "the Elizabethan progress seems to demand - and defy - interpretation."²²⁶ The conflict presented by the editors of the new collection and the complex use of this rhetoric by Elizabeth and her subjects poses difficulties about who articulated power and who exercised power. Did Elizabeth's subjects give her power on progresses? Or did Elizabeth's presence exercise power; of which her subjects were merely acknowledging? It seems like a challenge has been issued and the editors state the need for further studies in Elizabethan progresses.

Cole's essay highlights and provides an overview of progresses that serves as a reflection of her work, *The Portable Queen*. There is one interesting addition by Cole that

²²¹ Geertz, "Centers, Kings and Charisma", 129.

²²² William Camden, *The History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth, late Queen of England* (1688), 27.

²²³ Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*, 42.

²²⁴ Christine Coch has discussed this speech and referenced the transcription to Janel Mueller. Christine Coch, "'Mother of my Countreye': Elizabeth I and Tudor Constructions of Motherhood", *English Literary Renaissance*, 26:3 (Autumn 1996), 423. The second quote is from Elizabeth I, *Collected Works*, 59.

²²⁵ Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen*, 41.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.

illustrates how Elizabethan progresses differed from those in France, citing the factors that made them different were “hospitality, ceremonial dialogue and royal agency.” However, there is no further discussion of or examples to illustrate these differences and how they were put into practice or an explanation of royal agency.²²⁷ Additionally, there is no exploration of Elizabeth’s own agency to provide a rationale for decision-making or assertion of power by any one specific entity of the Elizabethan political machine.

Patrick Collinson’s essay in the *Progresses, Pageants and Entertainments* collection focuses primarily on the politics, but more specifically “religious factors in the politics”, of the 1578 Norwich progress, and states that his study is “less Queen fixated.”²²⁸ The omission of analysis of Bernard Garter’s account of the 1578 Norwich progress from Collinson’s study is striking because Garter’s account includes a unique declaration by the Queen demanding their allegiance and obedience. Furthermore, Collinson’s study combines the Queen and Council together, and this technique continues to ignore the Queen’s own agency and power. Instead of examining the Queen as an independent agent and what her actions were regarding specific issues and events, Collinson and others continue to compare Elizabeth’s actions in opposition to those of her councillors or courtiers. Additionally, there is no discussion of the influence and connection to the local communities or sources of Norwich. However, Collinson’s work is immensely valuable because it not only illuminates an area of Elizabethan studies that deserves further attention, but also identifies a starting point to analyze the pageants and entertainments of the Norwich progress for responses to and commentary on the religious and political controversies evident in the region, as well as identifying and analyzing the Queen’s agency.

David Bergeron’s essay on the 1578 Norwich progress focuses primarily on the account of Thomas Churchyard. Bergeron’s argument gives us a window into how Churchyard constructed this particular source.²²⁹ Bergeron’s analysis prompts a twofold insight: first, that the agency of any one particular individual may overshadow the agency of another. This is evident to the extent that the account repeatedly refers to the actions of Thomas Churchyard and eclipses the Queen’s agency, in his hope for patronage. This argument could be applied to Cecil and his relationship with Elizabeth. In fact, it could be argued that Cecil’s overshadowing and putting himself right in line with the Queen, has hidden Elizabeth’s agency. The second point is that caution should be applied when consulting early modern source materials; the use of a variety of sources to demonstrate and paint the overall picture of an individual’s involvement is vital. Comparatively, Mears’s work is a prime example of how Elizabeth worked around the overwhelming influence of her

²²⁷ Cole, “Monarchy in Motion”, 29.

²²⁸ Collinson, “Pulling the Strings, 123-124.

²²⁹ Bergeron’s essay and Churchyard’s accounts are discussed at length in chapter 2. David Bergeron, “The ‘I’ of the Beholder: Thomas Churchyard and the 1578 Norwich Pageant,” in Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight, *The Progresses, Pageants and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 142.

councillors dealing with the marriage negotiations. Elizabeth also consulted absent Privy Councillors and members of her court privately on matters relating to marriage negotiations.²³⁰ Overall, this edited collection inspired by the John Nichols project serves to demonstrate the ways in which royal progresses can provide new interpretations on themes in Elizabethan history which have already been thoroughly studied, as well as within the larger context of Tudor progresses and European progresses.

The historiography relating to royal progresses, and more specifically Elizabethan royal progresses does deliver dynamic research and methods for which to contribute more scholarship on this subject. There is a distinct need to re-interpret and re-address issues within the scholarship relating to the Queen's own involvement in royal progresses. This thesis attempts to address those needs and argues that Elizabeth was not a pawn in the political game which her councillors tried to control; furthermore, Elizabeth did not just go along with the recommendations of her Council when it came to the destinations on progresses or that of political, religious, social and cultural policies. Instead she often ignored the counsel of her advisers and chose specific places to stay on progress, despite having had staff produce reports for places that were fit to host the Queen. The argument here is that she knew the power of her authority and asserted her agency when examined within the context of the three specific case studies presented here.

IV. Primary Sources and their Interpretation

A number of the primary sources for Elizabethan progresses are already well known to scholars working in this field. They include the easily accessible state papers at the National Archives, which are also available through the State Papers online project. The chronicled histories of Holinshed, Camden and Stowe have all provided a narration of the reign of Elizabeth I. The special manuscript collections at the British Library (Additional, Cotton, Harleian and Lansdowne) and the Bodleian Library (Rawlinson and Ashmole) have provided illuminating evidence about the relationship between the Queen and her subjects. The writings of John Knox, first-hand accounts of the Queen's visits on progresses, and legal records from the assizes courts have all highlighted the public responses to Elizabeth I and her government. Prominent historians of Elizabeth I have exploited these important sources abundantly. However, these sources have also not yet been exhausted. Each scholar approaches each source with a set of questions and a goal for their research. For example, Cole's utilises the state papers, Exchequer records, and eyewitness accounts to obtain details about details about the organization and logistics of progresses, while occasionally commenting on the intentions of specific visits. The interpretations historians, like Cole, derive from these sources are central to their arguments and furthers their research aims, which means, that certain information may be deemed as not relevant or glossed over within specific studies. Therefore, these sources can still be engaged to provide fresh perspectives

²³⁰ Natalie Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse*, 41.

within Elizabethan studies. The topic of royal progresses certainly is one of these topics that can be further explored, which is where my research comes in.

4.1 Manuscript Sources

The manuscript sources used in this study of Elizabeth I's progresses range from (but are not limited to): financial accounts and state papers, letters, pageants and plays, sermons and music. This material both provides context to the Queen's progresses, and draws attention to the exchange of communication and dialogue between the Queen and her courtiers on progresses. My research process has involved going to larger archives such as the National Archives in Kew, the British Library, the Bodleian Library, to access the bulk of materials relating to the progresses of Elizabeth. However, some of the sources that are incorporated within this thesis are sources that are located in the smaller, local archives throughout England such as the Norfolk Record Office, Oxfordshire Record Office, Warwickshire Record Office and Lambeth Palace Library archives. Through investigating the records at the local archives, there were between five-ten manuscript records at each archive that were relevant to Elizabethan progresses, particularly those in the town minute and account books, as well as personal records (i.e. letters, diaries, and household books). A large majority of the manuscript sources relating to Elizabethan progresses can be found in the National Archives and the British Library. The work conducted in the provincial archives consisted of weeklong trips to scour the records corresponding to the dates of the Queen's visits to review details of the visit. For instance, at the Norfolk Record Office, the accessibility of the Mayor's Court Book, Dean and Chapter Accounts, and Assembly Minute Books, helped to highlight the preparations and financial costs of the Queen's visit. These records were then transcribed and compared with printed sources from the Norfolk Record Office in Norwich.²³¹ Where the printed texts of specific manuscripts were not available, and even still, as a point of comparison, the original manuscripts and texts were consulted. The manuscripts listed in the discussion of the materials below (unless otherwise noted) were transcribed for this thesis.

In their examination of the Norwich visit, Cole and Dovey, have utilised some of these civic financial accounts—particularly to discuss the logistics and the costs of royal progresses.²³² By utilizing these financial and civic accounts from Norwich within this thesis, particularly chapter 2, I will be advancing the scholarship of the logistics of progresses to highlight the detailed plan for the Queen's reception, including the use of the Queen's Chapel Royal choristers and musicians for Elizabeth's service at Norwich Cathedral. This highlights the communication between the Queen's household staff and cathedral personnel in making

²³¹ NRO, NCR 16a/10 (Norwich Mayor's Court), NRC 16c/4-5 (Norwich Assembly Minutes Books), NCR 1/28 (City Court Rolls), MS Col. 13/194 (St. George Guild accounts), MS Col. 13/166 (List of fortifications and defense in Norfolk, 1581-1600).

²³² Cole, *The Portable Queen*. See also Cole, "Monarchy in Motion" and Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress*.

sure that the preparations were of the Queen's standard. Furthermore, this highlights the significance of this spectacle and ceremony in the Norwich visit. The first-hand account of Bernard Garter, located in the Norfolk Record Office, is one of the key sources used in the argument of the political motivations for the Queen's visit to Norfolk and Norwich in 1578. This source also highlights the importance of not relying on one specific piece of evidence for historical context.²³³ In chapter 2, the manuscript sources from the Norfolk Record office are studied together with the new edition of Nichols's collection, and other the various states primary sources to shed new light on the Norwich progress and the political significance of the progress illuminated.²³⁴

The discovery of primary manuscript material that has not previously been used within the scholarship on Elizabeth I is a rare occurrence. It is, however, by no means impossible. Through reviewing the printed (as distinct from electronic) catalogues of the various collections at the National Archives, I was able to discover a collection of material that has hardly been used by scholars. The obscure TNA AO 3 collection is labelled as the "Auditors of the Imprest and Successors Accounts."²³⁵ This record class suggests a further method of sixteenth-century record keeping besides the Exchequer accounts and the Lord Chamberlain's accounts that were produced. Although the AO 3 folios do not cover the entire Elizabethan period, they do provide a wide sample of Elizabeth's reign. Comparisons have been made with related Exchequer records, enabling the picture presented in this record class to be verified and supplemented. While some of the information contained within the

²³³ Bernard Garter, *Loyfull Receyuing of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie into hir Highnesse Citie of Norwich*, NRO, COL/7/1 (a). Traditionally, the printed account of Thomas Churchyard has been the authoritative text on the Norwich progresses. Churchyard's account has been widely used by historians such as Cole, Collinson and Bergeron. However, when we compare Churchyard's account with Bernard Garter's account, which has surprisingly not been extensively used, we discover that specific dialogues and details have been omitted from Churchyard's version.

²³⁴ These various primary sources include state papers from the National Archives, an account of the Duke of Norfolk's execution from the Bodleian Library Ashmole collection, a record from the British Library's Additional Manuscript collection discussing the arrest of a group of rioters, and a list of recusants in Norwich from the Hatfield House Archives, Bodl., MSS Ashmole 1729, fo. 7. BL, Cotton Galba, C/VI, f. 162. HHA, Cecil Papers 161/39. BL, Add. MS 26,056, f. 121.

²³⁵ TNA, AO 3/127 and 128. The National Archives details the collection as consisting of "consist for the most part of the particulars of accounts, vouchers and other documents subsidiary to the declared accounts to the Auditors of the Imprest and Commissioners of Audit and the Exchequer and Audit Department and frequently contain considerably more detailed information as to the several items of expenditure." This description is from both the printed catalogue and online at the National Archives. The two boxes (AO3/127 and AO 3/128) of the collection contain eleven bound folios, all in sixteenth-century handwriting. AO 3/127 has six folios dating from 1560 to 1570. AO 3/128 has five folios dating from 1570-1598. However, only the years 1560, 1561, 1562, 1563, 1564, 1576, 1586, 1588, 1590 are accounted for. Each folio details the financial expenditure of the various household positions, from the wardrobe to the musicians, which was compiled and produced by the "Treasurer of the Chamber" for Queen Elizabeth I from 1560 to 1590. Sir John Mason is listed as the Treasurer of the Chamber within these records of AO 3 from 1560 to 1566 until his death. Sir Francis Knollys succeeded him in the post.

AO records is also recorded in the Exchequer accounts, the auditor's accounts includes more information with regards to additional names of staff members and their positions, deceased individuals and details of the various locations that were prepared for the Queen by the household staff. This unique source expands our understanding of sixteenth-century administration and contributes more information about the Queen's chamber and court. These records have not been printed and I have transcribed a large bulk of this collection. Comparisons with Exchequer records are particularly useful when examining the hunting activities of Elizabeth I that are explored in chapter 3.²³⁶ The analysis of these records is combined with printed sixteenth-century hunting manuals; various entries referencing the Queen hunting while on progress in the Cecil Papers at the Hatfield House archives, and in the state papers in the National Archives; letters from various courtiers preserved at the British Library; and transcriptions of relevant letters from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.²³⁷

The Old Cheque-book, or Book of Remembrance of the Chapel Royal manuscript at Her Majesty's Chapel Royal archives at St. James Palace and the printed text at the British Library have been consulted together to illuminate the function and role of the Chapel Royal within Elizabeth's reign, specifically on progress, that is discussed in chapter 4.²³⁸ This manuscript source is paired with the records of AO 3 at the National Archives to identify the various individuals holding positions within the Chapel Royal. The other manuscripts that have been consulted and incorporated in chapter 4 are state papers, and manuscripts from various collections at the Bodleian Library and British Library.²³⁹

The difficulty in pinpointing Elizabeth's clear decision making role in establishing the itinerary for progresses was due to the two specific reasons. First, the Lord Chamberlain was responsible for organizing and drafting an itinerary of the Queen's progresses, which was then presented to her for approval. This would occur by sending a yeoman, like William Bowyer, to survey and inspect the homes along the intended route.²⁴⁰ This is evident in the surviving source of a map detailing the route from Thetford in Norfolk, to Richmond.²⁴¹ This was most likely the proposed route back from Norwich during the 1578 progress. However, Elizabeth and her retinue did not stay at all of the places that were inspected.²⁴² The leads to the second reason why the evidence for royal itineraries and identifying the Queen's actions

²³⁶ TNA, E 351/541.

²³⁷ HHA, MS Cecil Papers 58/83. HHA, MS Cecil Papers—Misc., 2:153. Transcriptions of French letters from the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) are provided by Dr. Estelle Paraque. Bnf, MS. Fr. 17932, fol. 10r°. Bnf, Cinq cents colbert, n° 24, fol. 98r°.

²³⁸ *The Old Cheque-book, or, Book of remembrance of the Chapel Royal, from 1561 to 1744*, Her Majesty's Chapel Royal, St. James Palace. *The Old Cheque-book, or, Book of remembrance of the Chapel Royal, from 1561 to 1744* (St. James's Palace: by Edward F. Rimbault, printed for the Camden Society, 1872).

²³⁹ Bodl., Rawlinson MS B, 146, f. 116.

²⁴⁰ Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress*, 18-19.

²⁴¹ TNA, SP 12/125, f. 46.

²⁴² Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress*, 18.

in planning the progresses is not available: she “changed the itinerary, once it had been established” due to “royal whim or weather.”²⁴³

Throughout her monograph, Cole contends that Elizabeth “controlled the itinerary”, but does not provide conclusive evidence that proves that Elizabeth planned the progresses.²⁴⁴ The Privy Chamber was administratively “informal” as it did not keep extensive records of all meeting, conversations and paper work that the Queen would have reviewed. Conversations and decisions were “unlikely to be recorded.”²⁴⁵ Therefore, providing evidence that recorded Elizabeth’s order or command in establishing an itinerary is virtually non-existent. However, we must rely on the details of source materials surrounding the progresses, including written correspondence, eyewitness accounts, and financial accounts. The commentary provided by Elizabeth’s contemporaries on progresses about changes to the route, extensions of a visit, or a delayed arrival that pointed to the Queen’s wishes helps to establish Elizabeth’s agency. Furthermore, these sources acknowledge Elizabeth’s agency and authority by articulating changes to the itinerary. For example, in a letter to Richard Howland, Cecil wrote that “her Maiesty stayeth here .3. or 4. Dayes longer than she ment.” He continued that “It is presently to be doubted, whyther hir Maiesty will go any funder into suffolk...if she do not, than it is lykly, she will chang hir progress.”²⁴⁶ The letter highlights the Queen’s prerogative to change the itinerary and illuminates her agency through Cecil’s recognition and articulation of the Queen’s prerogative. Finally, the itineraries of royal progresses are made up largely of the references in the Exchequer accounts and require scouring through extensive financial lists to compile an itinerary. However, in the obscure AO records, there is a single itinerary of the Queen’s progress from 1575. This record, a series of 5 folios (Image 5) that only pertained to the “hoole charges of the Quenes ma[jes]t[es] progresse”, included a clear itinerary with visits to: “Enfeilde Howse”, “Bysshops Hatfield”, “Teddunge [Toddington], L. Chaynes [Cheynes]”, “Mres Westons [Mrs. Elizabeth Weston—Chicheley]”, “Killingworth”, “Mr. Willowbys Howse”, “Lychefeild”, “Chartleyn thearle of Essex”, ‘Stafforde Castell”, “Mr. Gyffordes Howse [John Giffard—Chillington]”, “Dudly Castell”, “Hartlybery Castell”, “Sherborne M[aster] Duttons”, “Langley Manour”, “Woodstocke”, “Ricott. L[ord] Norris”, and “Bradnam [Bradenham]”.²⁴⁷ This confirms the itinerary that Cole listed in her table, but it also provides a visual and written itinerary of a particular progress.²⁴⁸

²⁴³ Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress*, 40 & 52.

²⁴⁴ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 150.

²⁴⁵ Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse*, 27.

²⁴⁶ “Letter from Lord Burghley to Richard Howland, 15 July 1578”, copy text, in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Procession*, 2:568-569. The original MS is located at CUA, University Letters, Lett. 9, item B. 13a (fo. 67).

²⁴⁷ AO 3/373, f. 1-5. Image 5, Appendix 5, 248. This is an image of the first folio.

²⁴⁸ This source is not identified in Cole’s list of printed or manuscript sources.

4.2 Reading John Nichols's *Progresses*

A number of the primary sources crucial to the study of royal progresses in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, especially for the reign of Elizabeth I, were assembled, edited, transcribed and commented on by the eighteenth-century printer and antiquarian John Nichols. *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I* offers a unique resource to Elizabethan historians, albeit until recently only available in its original format. The John Nichols Project at the University of Warwick published the new edition of Nichols's work in 2014, which became available in early 2015. This section examines the nature of the previously published editions (1788 and 1823) and the worlds in which they were created, along with a consideration of why John Nichols served as the principal editor of the collection. The original collection displays Nichols's editorial choices in the production and publishing of the texts. The new edition of the John Nichols collection also requires our attention because, as the editors have asserted, "much sets the new edition apart."²⁴⁹ Examining these two editions, and their differences, can contextualise the sources contained within and also the reasons behind the publication of a new edition. This will help us to recognise the value of this source for historians of the Elizabethan period and more specifically in expanding our understanding of the Queen herself, particularly her role on progresses.

The idea for a new edition of the John Nichols collection emerged prior to 2000 through discussions between Dr. Elizabeth Shewring and Professor J.R. Mulryne who were both members of the faculty at the University of Warwick. In 2000, the John Nichols Project was established at the University of Warwick's Centre for the Study of the Renaissance and was one of three projects to receive AHRC funding. This raises the question of why was a new edition important and why was it publically funded? The answer as to why the new edition was warranted can be found in the editors' comments that John Nichols "adopted editorial methods very different from those expected and required by a twenty-first-century readership."²⁵⁰ This would suggest that Nichols's previously published editions lacked the provenance and scholarly apparatus, which would be required of such a resource today. However, the editors of the new edition clarify this by stating that "Nichols...was able to make use of the archival and editorial work undertaken during this period [late eighteenth century]...[and] he was able to develop his understanding of what constitutes 'historical evidence' to include financial accounts, wages, food prices, household inventories, and other documents relating to what we would now term 'social history'."²⁵¹ The organization of the original Nichols collection is haphazard. Therefore, one of the key aims of the new edition was to address the issue and the problems associated with unclear references to the manuscript sources, pertaining to Elizabeth progresses, within Nichols's collection by

²⁴⁹ Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:7.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 1:7.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 1:15.

identifying where these sources can be located today. The lack of clarity in references was created by the antiquarian methods used by John Nichols.²⁵² Rosemary Sweet comments that antiquarian texts produced in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century period reflected a lack of integrity because “[e]mpiricism, fieldwork, and rigours of textual analysis had apparently disappeared.”²⁵³ Therefore, the antiquarian method of acquiring texts through written correspondence did not utilise the basic criteria of historical fieldwork. This was acknowledged by antiquarians to be fundamental as “[f]ieldwork was the basis of all antiquarian study, and without it the antiquary ran the risk of inaccuracy, false information, and perpetuation of errors.”²⁵⁴ Therefore, fundamental issues of trustworthiness with regards to these antiquarian collections prevail. It is with this in mind that the editors of the latest Nichols edition explain that the previous editions, including a third edition found by Julian Pooley, have been updated and dependability restored through the inclusion of several components. First, the inclusion of contextual and bibliographic notes of places, events and people helps to provide background to the references made within the source. Second, the inclusion of details relating to location, provenance, and accessibility of sources included in the collection (both manuscript and printed sources), enables the researcher to have more trust in the material, along with being able to retrieve it for further analysis. Third, the clarification of and examples of the historical usage of specific terms, helps scholars to know and appropriately use the language of the period. Fourth, the inclusion of notes and bibliographic entries provides a catalogue for scholars to utilise for further reading and research surrounding specific topics and entries. Finally, the inclusion of “new translations...[that] have been commissioned for all foreign-language materials”, helps to make the materials included in the collection and relating to the period more accessible.²⁵⁵ The value of this new edition is evident as it provides a “reliable” edition. The collection’s editors state that it is not to “provide the ‘last word’ on either Nichols or on Elizabethan progresses, entertainments, and court culture,” but to serve as “an authoritative collection of source materials for early modernists to be used as a gateway and tool for further research.”²⁵⁶ Adding to this is the fact that this thesis extensively uses this resource, combined with other primary source material not included in the collection, to provide a

²⁵² In G.H. Martin and Anita McConnell’s entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* on John Strype discusses the problems inherent of the antiquarian method that “were in keeping with the historiographical practice of his [Strype’s] time.” G. H. Martin and Anita McConnell, ‘John Strype (1643-1737)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). The antiquarian method consisted of manuscripts and chronicled histories being gathered together, without any regard of a specific aim or objective in their selection, by passionate eighteenth and nineteenth-century collectors. The issue with this method was that antiquarians did not engage with or follow the rigours of historical analysis that distinguished the significance and weight between sources.

²⁵³ Rosemary Sweet, “Antiquaries and Antiquities in Eighteenth Century England”, *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 34:2 (2001), 182.

²⁵⁴ Sweet, “Antiquaries and Antiquities, 189.

²⁵⁵ Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:8.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 1:25.

richness of materials in exploring distinct themes and questions like the three concepts of this thesis: agency, political culture and queenship.

This still leaves us to question why did Nichols dedicate so much effort, time and expense to the publication of *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I*? Born in Middlesex in February 1745, Nichols was the eldest of six children. He was educated at John Shield's Academy for Young Gentlemen in Islington before becoming an apprentice at the Bowyer Printing office. During his apprenticeship Nichols's education by William Bowyer continued and included Bowyer "setting him Latin exercises", and introducing him to authors whose work they published. It was at the end of Nichols's apprenticeship that Bowyer made him a partner.²⁵⁷

Upon Bowyer's death in 1777, Nichols took over the printing company, which at the time was the primary printer for the Society of Antiquaries and the Royal Society. This early interaction with the Society of Antiquaries played a large role in Nichols's development as an antiquarian, which continued despite the Society of Antiquaries moving to a cheaper printing office. The antiquarian community in England, during the late eighteenth century, argues Rosemary Sweet, focused on British nationalism.²⁵⁸ For antiquarians in Britain, studying antiquities "merited attention because they were...an essential part of the continuum of British history."²⁵⁹

Nichols was close friends with Richard Gough, who served as the director of the Society of Antiquaries from 1771-1797. This demonstrates Nichols's involvement in and influence on the antiquarian movement. In fact, Nichols edited the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which was a periodical that highlighted antiquarian news.²⁶⁰ The expansion of the Society of Antiquaries in the eighteenth century and the prominence of the *Gentleman's Magazine* signaled the rise of the antiquarian movement in England.²⁶¹ Given the nationalist focus of British antiquarians, the cultural interests in Renaissance literature, and the growing texts on local and geographical histories in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, it is not surprising that antiquarians were fascinated by the reign of Elizabeth I.²⁶² This was due to the richness of literature that was a primary component of the pageants and entertainments on progresses, as well as the variety of geographic routes and places that were visited on Elizabeth's progresses. Furthermore, A College (or Society) of Antiquaries was formed in

²⁵⁷ Pooley and Myers, 'Nichols family (per. c. 1760—1939)', *ODNB*.

²⁵⁸ Sweet, "Antiquaries and Antiquities", 181-183.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 187.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 186.

²⁶¹ Pooley and Myers, 'Nichols family (per. c. 1760—1939)', *ODNB*.

²⁶² Sweet highlights that the interests of antiquarians evolved from a focus on Renaissance literature as a study of the structure of language and grammar, to "local history and antiquarian topography" that illustrated "glory upon Britain." Sweet, "Antiquaries and Antiquities", 191-193.

1586.²⁶³ The founders of this early society were some of the most influential English chroniclers and figures of Elizabethan society including William Camden, Sir Robert Cotton, Matthew Parker, and John Stow.²⁶⁴ The sixteenth-century antiquarian society “met to discuss the topography, customs and institutions of England”, which was surely influenced by the Queen’s royal progresses. The early formations of an antiquarian society most likely served as the inspiration and revival of eighteenth-century antiquarianism, which was formalised in 1717.²⁶⁵ With the prominence of Elizabeth in English history, it is easy to conclude why Nichols dedicated himself to the task of collecting sources of Elizabeth’s progresses, which he himself asserts that “the spirit of the times encouraged these splendid amusements...”²⁶⁶ Furthermore, the editors of the new edition comment how Nichols’s editing of the collection and “choice of epigraph tells us a great deal about his vision of Elizabeth and his purpose in compiling the Elizabethan *Progresses*.”²⁶⁷ Nichols’s desire to undertake the task of collecting materials relating to Elizabeth’s royal progresses was a manifestation of his desires to look back to a simpler time when England was predominantly Protestant and celebrated royalty. These were characteristics that he identified with and believed in as “he lived ‘in an age when religion and morality [were]...neglected.’”²⁶⁸

The editors of the new edition also comment on Nichols’s reflection of Elizabeth I and the source material, stating that “Nichols’s Elizabeth is a monarch who ‘deigns to move’ in public, seeing and being seen by her people...She is a figure of justice and national unity, inspiring feelings of religious devotion and love in her subjects.”²⁶⁹ Nichols seemed to understand the power and magnificence of Elizabeth and the value of her royal progresses. Furthermore, the editors explain that Nichols acknowledges the Queen’s own decision-making by “making [herself] visible to [her] subjects...[and] create occasions for words of ‘praise’: [her] movements in and among their people inspired the creation of texts.”²⁷⁰ Therefore, we can summarise Nichols’s intention of editing and publishing a collection of

²⁶³ The sixteenth-century antiquarian society “emerged from a culture of learned counsel that intractably linked historical knowledge and political advice.” However, this was problematic for James I as he “promulgated a pro-Spanish, pacifist policy” and further reformed the Church of England. Therefore, the “use of historical evidence” of the “historical culture” of the sixteenth century conflicted with James’ vision and “threatened the contemporary order.” Thus, the Society of Antiquaries was disbanded after James I disapproval in 1607. See Nicholas Popper, *Walter Raleigh’s History of the World and the Historical Culture of the Late Renaissance* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 2012), 209-210 & 248.

²⁶⁴ Archer and Knight, “Elizabetha Triumphans”, 5.

²⁶⁵ The reason why the Elizabeth Society of Antiquarians most likely served as inspiration is because in 1602 the Society petitioned Elizabeth I to establish a library for the “study of Antiquities and History”; see Archer and Knight, “Elizabetha Triumphans”, 5. See also, Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004), 84.

²⁶⁶ Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:2.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 1:2.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 1:3.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 1:2.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

sources that emulated the period of Gloriana that had yet to be seen in Britain since Elizabeth's reign. The Elizabethan period cultivated a period of art, drama, majesty that defined England and highlighted British nationalism. The interactions between Elizabeth and her subjects that existed at the core of sixteenth-century royal progresses, and the fact that Elizabeth's progresses occurred only in England emphasise a sense of Englishness, would have had considerable appeal to the antiquarian's focus of British nationalism. The considerable number of progresses that Elizabeth went on compared with that of her predecessors, along with the substantial amount of literary compositions created specifically for her progresses, resulted in a large amount of material in which exchanges between the Queen and her subjects were chronicled. As a consequence, these interactions on the Queen's progresses highlight the dialogue and performance that are a critical element of Nichols's collection and would have been of significant interest to Nichols and his fellow antiquarians.

Considering the antiquarian focus of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, along with Nichols's motivation for the collection of Elizabeth's progresses, we can now examine the methodical approach and editorial process through which Nichols assembled the collection. The first question we must tackle is: how did Nichols acquire his sources? The editors of the new edition point out that in the first edition "Nichols makes it quite clear to his later eighteenth-century readers that the idea for such work did not originate with him..." but with "Mr. Tyson."²⁷¹ The Tyson Nichols refers to was fellow antiquarian Reverend Michael Tyson. In the second edition, the "suggestion" of compiling a collection of materials on Elizabeth's progresses came from the "Rev. Dr. Percy, afterwards Bishop of Dromore."²⁷² Identifying these individuals as fellow antiquarians is more important than discussing who they were because this highlights the intricacies of the eighteenth-century network of antiquarians. This network engaged in the exchange of historical materials between private collections, public records offices and antiquarian texts. The key exchange and acquisition of source materials occurred through antiquarian correspondence and dialogues. Richard Gough, previously mentioned, was "perhaps Nichols's principal collaborator and correspondent in the production of Elizabethan progresses."²⁷³ The collection and production of *Progresses* occurred over the course of fifty years.

The various Nichols editions published in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the new edition are by no means comprehensive in their presentation of materials relating to progresses of Elizabeth I. Nichols's editorial choices of what to include and not include are evident in the difference between the first edition (1788-1821) and the second edition (1823). It is interesting to note that Nichols, according to the editors of the new edition, developed "his understanding of what constitutes a historical source" and began

²⁷¹ Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:9.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, 1:9.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 1:11.

including materials such as financial accounts and household inventories.²⁷⁴ Furthermore, his omissions of sections of other antiquarian sources suggest that he places significance on the original materials. Nichols's intent to seek out these specific, original early modern sources was visible in the adverts that were placed in the *Gentlemen's Magazine*.²⁷⁵ The first edition had four volumes published over the course of thirty-three years and were "printed as the several articles were acquired."²⁷⁶ This suggests that there was not a deliberate editorial choice in which documents were included in the first three volumes. The first edition also includes "descriptions of the Queen progresses...usually written in a 'modern' (i.e. late eighteenth century) editorial voice." Furthermore, the first edition "draws heavily on the...glut of early modern and antiquarian texts," such as Holinshed's *Chronicles* and Strype's *Annals of the Reformation*.²⁷⁷ This is significant because it shows the importance of incorporating both contemporary and antiquarian texts in piecing history together. However, it also highlights the limitations posed to scholars in using this method.

The second edition of Nichols's *Progresses* is in three volumes and is considered "the 'definitive' edition."²⁷⁸ The second edition was more organised as the materials were placed in "chronological order; each volume has continuous pagination;...and...indexes of people and places."²⁷⁹ However, the critical and, according to the editors of the new edition, more important addition to the second edition is the "bridging narrative."²⁸⁰ The 'bridging narrative' was used to connect the "larger 'stand alone' texts," and provided details about the Queen's daily movements.²⁸¹ This narrative posed a problem for the modern editors because of the particular style in which it was written. The editors decided to keep the part of "Nichols's narrative where it continues to provide important contextual information, deleting any parts that relate to texts not included in the present edition [1823 edition]...and revising any parts that contain historical inaccuracies."²⁸² Hence, approaching this new edition and reading Nichols's *Progresses* is to understand that the modern five-volume collection is a collaboration between the editors and contributors of the John Nichols project and Nichols himself.

Therefore, the new edition provides the scholar with a process through which they can approach specific sources, assess the validity of the materials and carefully use the source in the historical arguments. For example, John Strype's *Annals of the Reformation* is an eighteenth-century collection of both sixteenth and seventeenth-century materials. Strype was a notable eighteenth-century antiquarian and has, according to historian W.D. J. Cargill

²⁷⁴ Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:15.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 1:14.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 1:11.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 1:12 & 18.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 1:14.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 1:18.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 1:18.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 1:30.

²⁸² *Ibid.*, 1:30.

Thompson, been a “standard source for the study of English church history in the sixteenth century.”²⁸³ Strype’s collection incorporates many sixteenth-century texts and manuscripts, which included extensive details about Elizabeth’s progresses and visits. He acquired these materials as an antiquarian and he “made a point of reprinting original records...”, such as Henry Machyn’s diary, the Cecil/Burghley papers, the manuscripts of Archbishop Matthew Parker and many others.²⁸⁴ Nonetheless, the problems associated with Strype’s method of including these early modern sources include typographical errors and significant historical discrepancies made by Strype. This includes omissions of specific materials, paraphrasing materials that he did not have in his own collection, and the lack of sufficient references to materials. Some of the sources included are copied by hand, which led to words being “misread...and documents...[being] conflated” that contributed to the “confusion of subsequent readers.”²⁸⁵ Additionally, Strype, much like Nichols, as the editors of the new collection assert, was a “staunch and complacent Anglican”, who was biased in his selection of materials and passages that were included in the collection. It is possible to conclude that Nichols included extracts, specifically those pertaining to Elizabeth’s royal progresses, of Strype’s collection because the two antiquarians were similar in their personal beliefs and that Strype’s prominence in the antiquarian community would have given validity to Nichols’s collection. Thompson suggests that using Strype as a source of evidence should be done with caution, as “one should never quote an unverified statement by Strype as authoritative”: thus “a new annotated edition” is needed.²⁸⁶ This is where the value and significance of the new edition of the Nichols collection becomes clear. The editors of the new collection have kept the antiquarian sources that Nichols has included but they have annotated the sources and passages that were included.²⁸⁷ These annotations include explanations of where the original, authoritative early modern sources used by Strype can be found and corrections have been implemented and noted. Thus, by utilizing the new edition in academic research, scholars can be sure they are using carefully authenticated and annotated sources that provide reliability and historical integrity to their scholarship.

Therefore, the question now put forth is how must the new edition of Nichols’s collection be approached and what is the value of this new resource? How does it inform current research? The key value of this resource is threefold. First, a team of forty scholars, from a variety of disciplines, has approached each source providing details, context and clarity to the sources that were not present in the earlier editions. This allows for the academic relevance of the new edition to be established, assists in the contextualization of

²⁸³ W.D.J. Cargill Thompson, “John Strype as a source for the study of Sixteenth-Century English History”, in *The Materials, Sources, and Methods of Ecclesiastical History, Studies in Church History*, ed. Derek Baker, Studies in Church History, no. 11 (Oxford, 1975), 237.

²⁸⁴ Cargill Thompson, “John Strype as a source”, 239-240.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 241-242.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 246-247.

²⁸⁷ Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:28.

individual research, and provides a critical understanding of the texts. Second, the editors have included (where possible) the “early modern materials”, rather than providing the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century editions of those materials.²⁸⁸ This does not mean that the antiquarian texts are not used but rather that these texts are supplemented with the original sources that antiquarians copied. Furthermore, the sources within Nichols’s collection were polished as old-spelling transcriptions were provided and multiple copies of early modern texts were collated. Changes are not made to the texts that distort the sixteenth-century meaning and reception of these primary materials; however, the presentation of this resource and its early modern materials allows for historical expansion. Finally, the accessibility that this resource provides is immense as it allows scholars to approach each source with more precision and focus in terms of analyzing their own research aims and questions. Therefore, more time is spent on critically engaging with the arguments, rather than engaging in the technical modes of authenticating, transcribing or translating.

Accordingly, this source gathers a variety of important primary materials together, and along with extensive scholarly comments and contexts, presents a fairly comprehensive picture highlighting crucial political, social, religious, economic, and cultural details. These details add multiple dimensions and inform a particular visit or topic relating to progresses. For example, the eyewitness accounts, letters, along with financial records and civic records on Elizabeth’s progresses reveal that activities such as hunting or the use of Chapel Royal staff were not only engaged by the royal household or Queen, but their uses produced an effect on Elizabeth’s court, landed gentry and common subjects. This advances research from a single discipline approach to a multidiscipline approach. Therefore, this source helps inform the research in this thesis by moving beyond the logistics and organization of progresses to constructing a picture that changes our understanding of Elizabethan social dynamics and that Elizabeth was not a reactive or passive queen, but a Queen that was a shrewd, clever negotiator, that curbed the influence of her councillors and court on progresses, and enhanced her power through interacting with her subjects.

Alternative arguments could be made that there is no substitute for accessing the original, authentic texts, a sentiment with which I agree, but this resource is not to be used as a means of replacing the method of accessing the original text but serves as a referential tool to speed up the research process. Furthermore, this resource supplements primary materials that were not included in Nichols’s original edition. For example, the Nichols collection does not include the extensive availability of state papers that notate and reference Elizabeth’s progresses. The incorporation of this methodology of combining the new edition of the John Nichols collection with other primary material allows for arguments to be given depth and greater nuance is given to the key themes and questions within the research.

²⁸⁸ Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:25.

4.3 Other Primary Source Collections

Printed primary sources are just as important as manuscript sources. The value of these sources is that they have been authenticated, transcribed and printed as a resource and reference tool for scholars. One important source in the study of Elizabethan royal progresses is E.K. Chambers's *The Elizabethan Stage*.²⁸⁹ Published in 1923, this collection aids in cataloguing and documenting the twenty-three progresses and the 400 hosts that Elizabeth I visited through the evidence of extensive pageants, entertainments and performances created for the Queen's amusement. A modern companion piece to these sources of entertainments is the *Records of Early English Drama*, which help with translation, transcription and getting through the extensive materials quickly.²⁹⁰ The *Records of Early English Drama* do not exist for all cities or regions and some specifically relate to civic visits, with the exception of the visits to the universities. They are important in helping us to piece together information relating to Elizabeth's civic visits. However, this particular source should serve as a supplement to the new edition of the Nichols collection because specific records do exist in both—for example the pageants created by Churchyard and Garter are available in the Nichols collection and the *Records of Early English Drama-Norwich*.

Early English Books Online is a digital database that provides primary materials from the early modern period. The manuals, treatises, poems, plays and various literature produced, including the histories compiled by Camden, Holinshed and Stowe, during Elizabeth's reign, especially on progresses, are included in the database and have been incorporated here. The *Book of Common Prayer* utilised in chapter 4, has come from two particular sources. The 1559 version of the *Book of Common Prayer* cited within chapter 4 has been obtained from the online database. However, it has been supplemented and cross-referenced with Brian Cummings' printed versions of the 1549, 1559 and 1662 *Book of Common Prayer*.²⁹¹

Finally, this thesis incorporates a variety of printed primary materials that have been made available throughout the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first century. This includes the various collections of government documents such as the *Collection of Ordinances and Regulations, Articles and Injunctions, History of the King's Works*.²⁹²

²⁸⁹ E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923).

²⁹⁰ There are 25 volumes of the *Records of Early English Drama* (REED), and edited by many scholars. The volumes are searchable and available online at <https://ereed.library.utoronto.ca>. *Records of Early English Drama* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press).

²⁹¹ Brian Cummings, *Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). Church of England, *The Book of Common Prayer* (1559).

²⁹² *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household Made in Divers Reigns. From King Edward III. to King William and Queen Mary* (Printed for the Society of Antiquaries by John Nichols, London, 1787). Howard Colvin, *History of the King's Works*, (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1963), 3:189. *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, Vol. II, ed. W.H. Frere and W.P.M. Kennedy (London: Longmans Green and Company, 1910). *The Zurich Letters, comprising the correspondence of several English bishops and others, with some*

V. Moving Forward: The Continuing Studies of Royal Progresses

The study of the function and impact of the sixteenth-century royal progress argues that it was a valuable instrument in the cultivation and reinforcement of the monarch's royal authority and power. The primary evidence for progresses illuminates an interesting and unique dialogue that occurred on various levels. Letters, state papers, and accounts of local visits highlight the dialogues between Elizabeth and her councillors; Elizabeth and civic authorities; Elizabeth and her courtiers; between central government and the localities; civic leaders and their citizens; between English and international diplomats; and finally, a dialogue between politics, society and culture. More critically, by using the evidence of royal progresses, we are able to explore beyond the bounds of this thesis the concepts of travel, transcultural exchange, cultural connections, and individual identity. This is important to mention because this thesis serves as a start to the dialogue about the ways in which progresses can expand beyond the parameters of the current historical narrative, particularly within Elizabethan studies. Furthermore, the various individuals and groups that Elizabeth interacted with on progress can help us to distinguish transcultural exchange and cultural connections. The visible displays produced on progresses such as pageants and entertainments contain literary devices that provide a snapshot into the rhetoric and representation employed about early modern people and culture. They provide us with the language enabling us to explore how "Englishness" and English perceptions were shaped and shared.

The study of royal progresses casts new light on our understanding of the historical context and narrative of the early modern period and of Elizabethan interactions. Progresses highlight the problems and success of politics and government; the developments and breakdown of society; and the creation and destruction of culture. Therefore, royal progresses can no longer remain on the periphery of historical analysis. They must serve as a valuable component of the study of Elizabethan history.

Chapter 2: Political Obedience and Allegiance: Elizabeth I and the 1578 Progresses

This chapter examines the 1578 progress that ended in Norwich, and reassesses the traditional narrative of this progress by focusing on the three central themes of this thesis: agency, queenship and political culture. This visit raises several questions: why did the Queen demand obedience and allegiance from her subjects? Why did she visit the city of Norwich only once despite the city being historically and politically important? Investigating these questions will enhance our understanding of how royal power was cultivated and authority articulated. Historians, such as Cole, Collinson and Dovey, have concluded that the 1578 progress to Norwich concerned religious conformity. This chapter does not dispute these previous works or arguments, but rather adds to the context of this progress by identifying the political elements of the progress. It argues that along with religious conformity, the progress was also intended to cultivate political conformity. The chapter also highlights the mechanisms used to cultivate political culture, the occasions when Elizabeth I exerted her agency and the ways in which her queenship was shaped and represented. The chapter begins with an overview of the importance of civic progresses and establishes the route ending in Norwich to highlight the logistics and planning of the progress. This is followed by the political contextual history of Norfolk to establish that East Anglia was not only a region of religious concern but also an area of political importance for the Elizabethan regime. The factors leading to the Norwich progress are then identified and discussed to give insight into the motivations for the visit. This is followed by the progress itself and an analysis of the events that occurred on the progress. Finally, the chapter concludes with a discussion of the impact of the 1578 progress. In the end, the chapter argues that Elizabeth I should not be underestimated. She was a powerful stateswoman on progresses who sought religious *and* political conformity. She voiced her discontent about the affairs of state, social relations, and interplay of politics. By exercising her agency and articulating her concerns, Elizabeth influenced the shape and structure of the sixteenth-century public sphere.

On 16 August 1578, Elizabeth I entered the city of Norwich. It was the first and only time that she ventured on progress to the far eastern region within her kingdom, and it was one stop in a progress that aimed to deal with political and religious issues. Elizabeth stayed in the homes of her most influential Privy Councillors and courtiers, and the dynamics between her and these individuals highlights the nature of political culture. The Queen and her Councillors addressed issues arising both within the kingdom and abroad, particularly the issues surrounding the Wars of Religion that were wreaking havoc on the continent, and each day the Queen was faced with difficult decisions. In Norwich, the last stop of this difficult progress, the Queen was entertained with elaborate spectacles that exalted and praised her. However, after being given the sword to the city and welcomed by mayor, aldermen and

citizens of the city, she chose to make an unscripted declaration. She demanded obedience and “the heartes and true allegiance of our subjects.”²⁹³

The chaotic nature of progresses, previously mentioned, created a unique setting through which the Queen exercised her agency. The Queen’s progresses proved problematic and inconvenient to her Privy Councillors, foreign diplomats and her court because progresses were informal. Informal in that there was no established routine, dedicated place to conduct the business of state governance, and there was no constancy. Government functions were hindered because the Queen was not in a central location and not subject to the formal and efficient protocols of governing, particularly in terms of court lodging, correspondence dispatch, council meetings, and audience with the Queen. These duties and functions were essential for the operation of state administration. The confusing nature of the Queen’s progresses effectively directed the focus of “the court’s eyes...[to be] on the monarch at its center.”²⁹⁴ This allowed the Queen to act independently. Progresses afforded the Queen opportunities to make decisions and respond to social and political interactions in her own way. This can be illustrated through three scenarios. For example, progresses enabled the Queen to delay decisions or ignore requests for audiences because she was moving between locations, engaged in interacting with her hosts, or unavailable. The Dutch ambassador, Noel de Caron, noted that he was unable to discuss a matter relating to the States General because they did not know where the Queen was.²⁹⁵ The next scenario involved the fact that often the Queen’s privy council was lodged at a different location and had to either deal with matters by pre-organising arguments so that the Queen could address them quickly when a moment arose or she caused matters to be delayed. This is highlighted by the occasion on which Sir Thomas Smith commented that he was unable to establish authorization for a task for the Council of the North because the Queen would not sign the authorization because Cecil was not with her in Winchester.²⁹⁶ Finally, progresses created uncertainty when it came to the contents and forms of pageants, entertainments and ceremonies, thus allowing the Queen to react and respond unscripted or unrehearsed. The incident at Euston during the 1578 progress illustrated this: Elizabeth “commanded” an icon of the Virgin Mary be thrown into “the fyre” when she spotted it during the entertainments prepared for her.²⁹⁷ Through these examples and many others on progresses, the flexibility and the spontaneity of progresses advanced Elizabeth’s agency. They provided opportunities for the Queen to act independently

²⁹³ Garter, *loyfull Receyuing of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie into hir Highnesse Citie of Norwich*, NRO, COL/7/1 (a), f. 6. See also the copy text in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:790.

²⁹⁴ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 35.

²⁹⁵ TNA, SP 84/34, f. 47.

²⁹⁶ BL, Harleian MS 6991, no. 7, f. 15. Cole also highlights this incident. Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 38.

²⁹⁷ “Letter from Richard Topcliffe to Earl of Shrewbury, 30 August 1578”, copy-text, printed in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:771. The original manuscript is located at Arundel Castle, “Correspondence: Autograph Letters, 1513-1585”, no. 82. The incident is discussed in Collinson’s essay. Collinson, “Pulling the Strings”, 130.

and deliberately articulate her royal authority, prerogative and persona, as we shall see during the 1578 progress to Norwich.

I. Civic Visits on Progress

Progresses consisted of two types of visits: civic and personal. Civic visits involved ceremonial entries and processions, hosted by the officials of the area such as the aldermen and leaders of guilds. Personal visits consisted of an interaction between the sovereign and the individual in their homes. Personal visits often took place because the host was a favourite of the sovereign, but they could also be political in intent, aiming to enforce religious conformity, remind the nobles of royal authority, or (in very few cases) exact punishment.

Both types of visits on progresses contained elements of spectacle and display. Pageants on progress during Elizabeth's reign functioned as a form of what Leahy has identified as a "pastoral mode of representation, whilst the [royal] entry invoked a more spectacular and historical specific mode of address."²⁹⁸ The combination of elaborate pageants and magnificent royal entries on progresses exploded into awe-inspiring spectacles, a key characteristic of Tudor progresses that had not previously been witnessed in England. These spectacles were at their height during civic visits. The pageants and entertainments of civic visits highlighted the city's historical significance within the realm and its support for the sovereign. Most of the civic visits consisted of the sovereign's presence soliciting a public display of the city's honour and allegiance, along with its citizens and industry proclaiming their loyalty. Personal visits also contained elements of spectacle through the means of pageants and entertainments. Ultimately, these components celebrated the Queen and aimed to please her rather than just serve as a sign of support.

Alternatively, civic rather than personal visits had a long history as an important means of developing royal legitimacy and authority. The lack of support from specific cities left the sovereign and realm vulnerable to disorder, dissension and rebellion. Cities were a microcosm within which "governments...watched anxiously for signs of unrest among the common people."²⁹⁹ After the Battle of Bosworth in 1485, Henry VII went to York. The visit to York was to make sure that the city, which had formerly served as the "heartland of the Ricardian regime", was loyal to the crown.³⁰⁰ This progress was a "critical opportunity for the new and untried monarch to demonstrate his adherence to the requisite princely qualities of piety and magnanimity," but also display his royal authority and power.³⁰¹ It was important that the city of York saw their new monarch with their own eyes. This provided stability for Henry's throne and the unity of the city and their sovereign. The display of Henry's "qualities

²⁹⁸ William Leahy, *Elizabethan Triumphal Processions* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 1.

²⁹⁹ Keith Wrightson, *English Society, 1580-1680* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1982), 149.

³⁰⁰ Anglo, *Spectacle, Power and Early Tudor Policy*, 21-23; Cavell, *The Herald's Memoir*, 26.

³⁰¹ Cavell, *The Herald's Memoir*, 26.

of kingship” on this civic visit was important in “securing the acceptance of the crown’s demands.”³⁰² While Henry was not the first king to make civic progresses, he began a tradition of spectacle that included the ceremonial ritual of court participation and, I argue, this Tudor spectacle (along with the dialogue exchanged on progresses) was amplified by Elizabeth I.

Progresses contained an extensive amount of dialogue because this form of itinerant mobility provided rare opportunities for access to the sovereign and for the localities and their citizens to engage and connect with their monarch. Progresses and the dialogue that was produced provided opportunities for the expression of identity: civic identity, individual identity and the identity and characteristics of the sovereign’s kingship or queenship. Additionally, this dialogue contributed to the cultivation and circulation of Tudor propaganda. In fact, the dialogue and expressions of loyalty, devotion and allegiance could be either spontaneous or crafted, and they were no less significant for being uncoordinated. J.P.D. Cooper asserts that away from the royal court, royal propaganda depended far more upon surrounding “elites” (parishes and Churchwardens included) than “the artists, poets and image makers.”³⁰³ The creation of pageants, entertainments and literary devices by the elite civic leaders and hosts along with artist, poets and image-makers on progresses highlights another important vehicle in the spread of Tudor propaganda and the exchange of dialogue. Therefore, civic visits were essential in the development of stability, unity, legitimacy, prosperity and royal authority.

The best example of a civic visit that highlights the critical dialogue between sovereign and state, the royal propaganda of Elizabeth’s reign, and the importance of the interaction between the sovereign and localities is the 1578 progress, which ended with the visit to Norwich. The analysis of the visit to Norwich will demonstrate the power vacuum created with the execution of the Duke of Norfolk in 1572, the fear of uprisings by loyal followers of the Duke of Norfolk, the disorder and tensions between Flemish refugees and citizens of Norwich, the vulnerability and threat of invasion from foreign powers evidenced by the reinforcement of coastal fortifications, and the religious dissension within Norwich all led to the Queen’s visit to Norwich in 1578.

While the studies of Cole, Collinson, Bergeron and Dovey have provided detailed analyses of this progress and the individuals and cities that hosted the Queen, their studies have specifically focused on one element of the progress: religious conformity. Cole’s contribution argues that the progress to Norfolk and Norwich “revealed the limitations of the queen’s ability to reconcile religious difference at the national and local levels.”³⁰⁴ Cole’s argument is persuasive, providing a context to progresses that had previously been absent in the historiography. Collinson argues that the issues in Norwich in 1578 highlight the

³⁰² Cavell, *The Herald’s Memoir*, 26.

³⁰³ Cooper, *Propaganda and the Tudor State*, 3-4.

³⁰⁴ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 141.

“fundamental fault line in Elizabethan polity,” or more specifically, the relationship and interdependency between religion and politics. While Collinson does discuss political elements that made the visit imperative, his particular focus was “the religious factors in politics.”³⁰⁵ Bergeron’s study of the 1578 progress specifically analyses the pageants of the Norwich progress and argues that one of the main creators of the pageants, Thomas Churchyard, “astutely, relentlessly and purposely shapes the pageant text to put himself in the best possible light as reporter and author.”³⁰⁶ This argument will be analysed further in connection to the textual components of the pageants later in the chapter. However, despite alluding to “ongoing political issues” in Norwich, Bergeron does not extend beyond the literary analysis of Churchyard’s pageants and account of the progress.

Finally, Dovey’s monograph serves to recount the itinerary of the 1578 progress to Norwich, adding a few comments about the political, social and religious implications of the progress rather than engaging in an in-depth study.³⁰⁷ Her work is important to our understanding of both how royal itineraries were created and the movements of the monarch and court. By utilizing these scholarly studies, along with the discussions of the political intentions of this progress, the research reveals that religious conformity and political conformity cannot be studied separately. As progresses were instruments of power, they had competing motivations and dealt with various issues at the same time. While there is merit in analyzing one specific component to glean greater detail, the conflict is that this process minimises the significance of the other components. This potentially obscures the factors that led to the Queen’s explicit demand for allegiance and obedience. Through using this process, we are able to make connections between people, events and individual actions that illuminate the collective consciousness and difficulties faced by the Queen and her councillors.

II. Reconstructing the 1578 Progress

Reconstructing the movements of the Queen on progress in the summer of 1578 is important, not only to give us a mental picture of the grand scale in which these progresses took shape, but also to analyze the interactions and literature devised for the Queen on her route. The plans for the Norwich progress began as early as May 1578, as indicated by the report by Gilbert Talbot, a politician and Elizabethan courtier. Talbot reported “it is thoughte her Maiestie will goe in progresse to norfolke this yeare.”³⁰⁸ By June, the town of Norwich was notified to expect the Queen’s arrival in August. The Queen began her progress 7 May 1578, setting out from Greenwich to Theobalds, where she remained 3 to 4 days longer than planned. From there the Queen travelled to “Standsted Abbas [Abbots]” and Copt Hall before

³⁰⁵ Collinson, “Pulling the Strings”, 123.

³⁰⁶ Bergeron, “The ‘I’ if the Beholder”, 142.

³⁰⁷ Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress*.

³⁰⁸ The report of Gilbert Talbot is cited in Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress*, 17.

arriving at Wansted, the home and seat of Robert Dudley. It was at Wansted that the Queen was entertained with a dramatic interlude, written for the occasion by Sir Philip Sidney. The Queen's court included Robert Dudley, William Cecil, Henry Carey and Dr. Thomas Wilson.³⁰⁹ The significance here is that Thomas Wilson had previously acted as an interrogator "for the Privy Council", in the examination of "political prisoners, Catholics and suspected traitors."³¹⁰ In fact, Dr. Wilson did more than just assist in the interrogation of prisoners. Between 1571 and 1577 he served as Master of Requests within the Court of Requests. He was elevated to more prominent positions between 1577 and 1581, serving on the Privy Council and as deputy principal secretary to Francis Walsingham.³¹¹ The significance of Dr. Thomas Wilson's presence is that his most important examination was that of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk. His participation in the interrogation and trial suggests that Dr. Wilson had knowledge that would be useful to the Queen during her visit to Norwich. Wilson's close connection to Norwich and the Duke of Norfolk is further reinforced by the "Memorial of the Duke of Norfolk", which was directly addressed to Dr. Thomas Wilson. This indicates that he had a prominent role in the Duke's downfall.³¹² Furthermore, given that by May 1578, when Wilson was with the Queen at Wansted, it was known that she would be going to Norwich. Therefore, his inclusion on the progress to Wansted is not coincidental.

The visit to Hertfordshire and Essex in May 1578 was less formal and most likely served as a pleasure trip for the Queen and members of her court, as there were no Privy Council meetings held during this period. Another indication that the trip was less formal was the fact that there was "no chamber kept."³¹³ The presence chamber within royal palaces functioned as ceremonial spaces involving the royal court to give public audiences to visitors. Therefore, progresses were adapted to create informal and temporary spaces that served as the presence chamber.³¹⁴ The clearest example of a constructed presence chamber on progress is visible in the 1585 painting titled "Queen Elizabeth receiving the Dutch Ambassadors" by an unknown artist.³¹⁵ The painting (41) depicts a richly ornate presence chamber with walls covered with tapestries in an intricate pattern. The informality and small size of the space, along with small number of individuals in the room signifies that this space manufactured on progress, as the presence chambers in royal palaces were larger and

³⁰⁹ Copy text of Nichols's narrative. The individuals that were with the Queen on progress is noted by the editor of the new edition and references the *Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Volume 12, 1577-1578*, ed. Arthur John Butler (London, 1901), 685-686 & 689-690 as a back up source. Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:546-548.

³¹⁰ Susan Doran and Jonathan Woolfson, 'Wilson, Thomas (1523/4-1581)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

³¹¹ Kinney and Lawson, *Titled Elizabethans*, 3, 5, & 39.

³¹² *A Collection of State Papers, Relating to Affairs in the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth*, Vol. 2: 1571-1596, ed. William Murdin (London: William Bowyer, 1759), 171; Doran and Woolfson, 'Wilson, Thomas (1523/4-1581)', *ODNB*.

³¹³ Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress*, 8

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.

³¹⁵ "Queen Elizabeth I receiving the Dutch Ambassadors", c. 1585, Neue Galerie, Kassell, Germany. See Image 1, Appendix 1, 244.

projected majesty. The room also included minimal but significant furniture and furnishings including the chair of estate and royal cushions. Along with the Dutch ambassadors kneeling before the Queen, this image depicts how the presence chamber was fabricated and represented on progress.³¹⁶

The May progress was cut abruptly short as the Queen returned to London and the Council met on 17 May to discuss the growing hostility towards Protestants in the Low Countries and to address the Duke of Casimir's plans to aid the Protestants. Elizabeth wrote to the Duke of Casimir pledging her support, "assuring...that wee will never desert you," and reaffirming to the Duke that he "may be sure that you have increased the affection which we bear you." The letter was dated 15 May 1578, from Wansted.³¹⁷ On the same day instructions were sent to William Davidson, signed by Burghley, Leicester, Hunsdon, and Dr. Thomas Wilson.³¹⁸ During the time back in London, the Queen and her Council focused on two major concerns: the refusal of Catholics to accept the Protestant religion and the situation in the Netherlands.³¹⁹

The Queen resumed her summer progresses on 12 July 1578. Departing from Greenwich, the Queen and her court went to Hunsdon House, the home of Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, an influential member of the royal court and cousin to the Queen.³²⁰ From Hunsdon House, the Queen moved into Essex and towards Havering, which was a royal residence.³²¹ The movements of the Queen can be tracked by the letters of government that were dispatched by Elizabeth's right-hand man, Lord Treasurer and chief advisor, William Cecil; this is evidenced by the letter from Cecil to Richard Howland on 15 and 25 July 1578, in which he wrote from Havering and Standon.³²² When the Queen was on progress, both the members of her Privy Council and members of her court had to follow, and it was Elizabeth who decided the direction accordingly to the accounts of her courtiers. In 1564, Cecil wrote to Edward Hawford of the "Quenes maiesties intention to repayre thither in her progresse."³²³ In 1572, Nicholas Bacon wrote to Cecil expressing concern that "the Quenes Maiestie meanes

³¹⁶ Nutt, "Making Progress with the Queen", 59.

³¹⁷ TNA, SP 81/1, f. 148.

³¹⁸ TNA, SP 83/6, f. 133.

³¹⁹ Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress*, 16.

³²⁰ Nichols's narrative serves as part of the evidence for this, which is reinforced by the copy text of a letter from Lord Burghley to Mr. Randolph. Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:565. The *ODNB* entry by MacCaffrey also confirms this. Wallace T. MacCaffrey, 'Carey, Henry, first Baron Hunsdon (1526–1596)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

³²¹ Havering as a royal residence is indicated in Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 190.

³²² The copy text of this letter, "Letter from Lord Burghley to Richard Howland, 15 July 1578", is printed in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public*, 2:571. The original letter is available at CUA, University Letters, Lett. 9, item B. 13a, f. 67-68.

³²³ "The triumphs of the muses; of the grand reception & entertainment of Queen Elizabeth at Cambridge, (6 Eliza) 1564. Containing I. Sir William Cecill chancellor of Cambridge to [Edward Hawford, S.T.P. master of Christ's college, &] his vicechancellor of that university...", copy-text, in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:380. The original manuscript is located at CUL, University Archives, Collect. Admin. 5, fo. 156[a].

to come to my howse.”³²⁴ In 1573, Matthew Parker recounted how the Queen chose to stay “a further three days” at Sissinghurst.³²⁵ The Privy Council was split because some of the members had to remain in London to serve as representatives for the Queen to handle or receive diplomats and maintain order. By having a split council, Elizabeth was able to exercise agency because without the Privy Council operating a full capacity, they relied on the Queen for the ultimate determination in state affairs. Furthermore, the fact that she chose to stay at each of these locations shows agency in accepting the hospitality of the host but also through exercising her royal prerogative. Elizabeth still governed while on progress, as evidenced by her Council’s instructions to the city of London that “her Majesty wished...it [London] still to be well governed in her absence.”³²⁶

Havering in Essex served as the political centre as the Queen and Council conducted state business during the six days of their stay there. The conflict in the Netherlands continued to be a major concern for both the Queen and the Privy Council. The issues regarding the Netherlands conflict were addressed at Havering. This is necessary to point out because the Queen’s destination for the 1578 progress would be Norwich, which already had a close connection to the political issue being discussed at Havering: refugees fleeing persecution from the Duke of Alva. Refugees had settled in Norwich in 1565, and had been a source of unrest in the city. It was from Havering that a letter was dispatched to inform the occupants of Audley End when the Queen could be expected to arrive. It appears that she was set to arrive on the 22 July but this was changed to the 26 July as it was indicated that the Queen “stayeth here [at Havering] 3 or 4 dayes longer than she ment.”³²⁷ This again shows the Queen’s agency as even Cecil alludes to it being the Queen’s decision. From Havering, the Queen moved to Mark Hall, also in Essex, and then to Standon, “Mr. Sadleir’s house in Hertfordshire.” Sir Ralph Sadler, along with the Duke of Norfolk, was an instrumental figure in the military intervention in Scotland in 1560.³²⁸ It was at Standon that Cecil confirmed the

³²⁴ “Letter from Nicholas Bacon to William Cecil, 12 July, 1572”, copy-text, in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:24. The original manuscript is located at the British Library, BL Lansdowne MS 14, f. 176.

³²⁵ “Matthew Parker, et al., *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ*”, copy-text, Latin translation by Martin J. Brooke, with David J. Crankshaw and Sarah Knight, in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:71. The original manuscript is located at Lambeth Palace Library, MS 959, fos. 329-331.

³²⁶ Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress*, 18.

³²⁷ Quote from “Letter from Lord Burghley to Richard Howland, 15 July 1578”, copy text, Nichols, *The Progresses and Public*, 2:569. The original letter is available at CUA, University Letters, Lett. 9, item B. 13a, f. 67.

³²⁸ The military intervention sought to expel the French who were there protecting the regency of Mary of Guise, from Scotland. Sadler provided financial support, on behalf of the Queen and her councillors, to the Lords of the Congregation in Scotland. The Treaty of Berwick, negotiated by the Duke of Norfolk who served Lieutenant General of the North, established that the Scottish Lords of the Congregation were the authority in Scotland. After it was signed, the English fleet and army were dispatched to Scotland upon Sadler’s urging that the port of Leith be seized and the French expelled. After the military action and siege of Leith, Sadler negotiated the Treaty of Edinburgh between England, the Scottish Lords of the

Queen's planned arrival at Audley End for the next night.³²⁹ Audley End belonged to the Duke of Norfolk, through his marriage to Margaret Dudley. After his execution in 1572, it was passed on to his son and heir, Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk.³³⁰ It was confirmed that the Queen had intended to go to Norfolk by the 26 July as indicated by the Matthew Stokys's account.³³¹

At Audley End, the Queen was greeted by an envoy from Cambridge consisting of the "Vicechauncelour and Heddes of Colledges, who were instructed by Cecil that they should shewe themselves at courte and welcome her grace into their quarters."³³² It was during the visit that the Queen heard a few disputations from the scholars of Cambridge. She was presented with four folios of Latin poems, devised by a native of the area and fellow of Cambridge's Pembroke College, Gabriel Harvey.³³³ It is important to note that the visit by Cambridge scholars was not merely happenstance, but orchestrated to gain support for their institution and also to "counsel" the Queen.³³⁴ The Queen had previously visited the

Congregation and the French representatives of King Francis II of France, the husband of Mary, Queen of Scots. The treaty concluded the siege of Leith, replaced the Auld Alliance with France and specified peace between England and Scotland. *CSP-Scotland*, 1:292-293, January 1560, etc. Particularly the following entries pertain to the details relating to the treaties and military intervention— 20, 22, 24 January 1560, 27 February 1560; Gervase Phillips, 'Sadler, Sir Ralph (1507-1587)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 190; Michael A.R. Graves, 'Howard, Thomas, fourth duke of Norfolk (1538-1572)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

³²⁹ Cecil confirms that "hir Maiesty Will be at Avdley end to morrow at night." From "Letter from Lord Burghley to Richard Howland, 15 July 1578", copy text, Nichols, *The Progresses and Public*, 2:570. The original letter is available at CUA, University Letters, Lett. 9, item B. 13a, f. 68.

³³⁰ Pauline Croft, 'Howard, Thomas, first earl of Suffolk (1561-1626)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

³³¹ Account from "Stokys's Book", copy text, in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*. 2:571. Matthew Stokys was the University of Cambridge's registrar from 1558-1591. He compiled the records of the university's business and accounts. At the time of Elizabeth's visit, he was an officer in charge of the ceremonial events, known as the bedell, at the University of Cambridge. He would have not only been a part of organizing the ceremonies but participated in the University processions in major events. Therefore, his account of the Queen's visit was a first hand account. Given his role as an officer of the ceremonial events at the University and his account of Queen Elizabeth's visit, he would have been of significant interest to John Nichols and been an important addition to Nichols' collection. Stokys' collection, known as "Stokys's Book" is important because it was a collection of primary records from the sixteenth century, composed and compiled by Stokys. His collection is also "responsible for the earliest surviving records of the University courts." Information about Matthew Stokys comes from the editors of the collection in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:375.

³³² From "Stokys's Book" in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:571.

³³³ From the annotation about the Queen's visit to Audley End and Gabriel Harvey's a collection of Latin poems of praise that was given to Elizabeth on her 1578 progress. Edited by Jayne Elisabeth Archer and Elizabeth Goldring in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:576.

³³⁴ Siobhan Keenan, "Spectator and Spectacle: Royal Entertainments at the Universities in the 1560s", in *The Progresses, Pageants and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, eds. Jayne

university in 1564. During the earlier visit, the Queen was not pleased by the controversial nature of the disputations regarding religious reform and the fervent push of religious counsel that she “stormed...[off] in anger” at the end of the visit.³³⁵ Given the Queen’s displeasure, this orchestrated visit at Audley End most likely occurred to please and praise the Queen to make up for the previous visit. This is illustrated by Richard Howland’s letter that expressed the intent was “not to offende, but greatly to delite” the Queen.³³⁶

From Audley End, the Queen moved through Suffolk stopping at Barham Hall, Kedington, De Greys, Long Melford, Lawshall and Bury St. Edmunds. It was at Lawshall that the register documented that “[i]t is to be remembred, that the Queens Elizabeth highnesse, in hir progresse riding from Melford to Bury [...] to the great rejoycing of the said parish & Country there abouts.”³³⁷ The Queen continued on to Onehouse, Stowmarket and Euston Hall.³³⁸ Finally, on the 12 August 1578, the Queen and her traveling court proceeded into the county of Norfolk, first stopping at Kenninghall where the Earl of Surrey hosted her.³³⁹ On the 16 August 1578, Elizabeth was at Bracon Ash, hosted by Thomas Townsend, although she dined with Lady Style, according to Garter’s account.³⁴⁰ From Bracon Ash the Queen headed to the city of Norwich. Holinshed noted, “after so long an introduction of serious matters in

Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring, & Sarah Knight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 102.

³³⁵ *Records of Early English Drama: Cambridge*, ed. Alan Nelson (University of Toronto Press, 1989), 2:1143.

³³⁶ “Letter from Richard Howland to Lord Burghley, 15 July 1578”, copy-text, in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:568. The original manuscript is located in the HHA, Cecil Papers, Vol. 161, f. 38r.

³³⁷ From Nichols’s narrative that incorporates references from Lawshall Parish Register (under marriages for 1578), Suffolk Record Office. Copy text in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:711.

³³⁸ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 191.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*, 191.

³⁴⁰ Thomas Townsend is listed as the host in Mary Hill Cole’s table, however Bernard Garter points out that Queen Elizabeth specifically dined with Lady Style. Lady Style was the wife of local magistrate Thomas Townsend. Interestingly, the *ODNB* does not list information for either Thomas Townsend or Lady Elizabeth Styles. Thomas Townsend was the son of Sir Robert Townsend who was a native of Norfolk and attended the Duke of Norfolk at the reception of Henry VIII and Anne of Cleves. He was knighted at Hampton Court in 1545. He was a Lord Chief Justice a post he retained during the reigns of Edward VI and Mary I. His son, Thomas, inherited his father’s estate in 1555 and married Lady Elizabeth Styles, daughter of George Periente. He was Lord of the Manors of Hethil, Pennes, Standfield Hall, Carlton Curson, Carlton Peveral and held other manors including Bracon Ash. It is noted in the Genealogy of the Townsend family “had it not been for this family’s Popish proclivities he would have been knighted, as Her Majesty conferred that honour on several of his neighbors. James C. Townsend, *Townsend-Townshend, 1066-1909: The History, Genealogy and Alliances of the English and American House of Townsend* (New York: Press of the Broadway Publishing Company, 1909), 24-26. For Garter’s notation of “Lady Style” (which is partially obscured by water damage) see Garter, *Loyfull Receyuing of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie into hir Highnesse Citie of Norwich*, NRO, COL/7/1 (a), f. 3 or see the copy text in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public*, 2:786.

Norfolk”, the Queen had finally gone to meet her “well affected subjects.”³⁴¹ After dinner on the 16 August, the Queen rode north towards Norwich. She was first greeted by the “Dutch congregation” who had “waited upon her” to welcome her. One of the Dutch “stranger” ministers “made a Latin speech to her, in grateful knowledgement of the favours shewed them, and the freedom of their religion...[they] presented her with a representation of Joseph...he [the minister] aptly applied Joseph’s history to Queen Elizabeth’s sufferings and advancement.”³⁴² The Queen continued onwards via Hartflet [Hartford] Bridge where she was met by the mayor of Norwich about “one of the clock the same happy day.”³⁴³ From Hartford Bridge, the Queen was brought towards the city of Norwich, stopping just outside the city at the Castle of Norwich to be entertained with a pageant. The mayor escorted the Queen through the city of Norwich, through Town Close to St. Stephen’s Gates and St. Stephen’s Parish to the market place, where she was entertained with a second pageant. It was then that the Queen was taken to the cathedral church and then the “pallaice” of the Bishop of Norwich, where the Queen lodged until the 22 August.

With the reconstruction of the path that the progress took and the events leading up to the arrival of the Queen in Norwich, it is clear to see that every decision and visit was intentional. The following contextual analysis of the festivities of the Norwich progress is based on two major accounts, which have been made available in their entirety in the newly edited Nichols collection. The two accounts were created by two figures, one more notable than the other: Thomas Churchyard and Bernard Garter. While their accounts are vividly detailed, the different narratives that they include are cause for scrutiny. For example, Elizabeth’s meeting with Dutch strangers was noted in Strype’s *Annals* but was not noted in Churchyard’s account. However, it was detailed in Garter’s account, though it happened on a different day than what was noted by Strype. Therefore, we must approach the material carefully and query whether we are getting the whole picture. This omission by Churchyard, either intentional or unintentionally, is important in understanding that Queen’s 1578 progress and the visit to Norwich.

III. Norwich and Norfolk: A Region of Disorder, 1565-1575

In order to emphasise the importance of the 1578 progress through Norfolk and to establish this progress as a case study, the history and circumstances of the county must be discussed. Adams’ case study of the 1591 progress to Hampshire and Sussex provides the model with which to approach the region of East Anglia. In her doctoral research, Adams

³⁴¹ From Holinshed’s *Chronicles*, copy text in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:715.

³⁴² John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation: A New Edition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1824), 2:2:204-205.

³⁴³ Garter, *Loyfull Receyuing of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie into hir Highnesse Citie of Norwich*, NRO, COL/7/1 (a), f. 3. See also the copy text in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:786-787.

briefly chronicles the history of the southern counties to “set the scene for examining the impact of the progresses.”³⁴⁴ Therefore, by exploring the history and background of the county of Norfolk and city of Norwich as it relates to the reign of Elizabeth, the political issues of disobedience, non-conformity and conflict are illuminated, along with religious concerns. This establishes the context in which the 1578 progress was planned and transpired. The Queen’s visit was atypical in that it caused, as Adams contends within her research, “an interruption to normal life in the county”, and helps to expose the instances where interactions and dialogues deviated from the normal pattern of exchange in Elizabethan England.³⁴⁵ Accordingly, this reaffirms the argument that the 1578 progress was not just a recreational escape but also a politically and religiously motivated trip through which the Queen’s agency was employed, her authority asserted, and her subjects disciplined.

3.1 Historical Context: County and City Economics and Politics

The city of Norwich and county of Norfolk have historically and politically been an interesting and dynamic region. It was established as an important city during the Norman Conquest in 1066; the castle and cathedral served as the “centralization of authority” and this centralization “led to investment...[and] economic expansion.”³⁴⁶ The prosperity and political importance of Norwich led to it being given political authority.

The geography, physical landscape and spatiality of Norwich made it a commercial hub and “offered room for expansion.”³⁴⁷ The low hills and water supply, along with its proximity to the coast, made Norwich a sustainable and economically viable city.³⁴⁸ The county of Norfolk was important to England’s overall production of grain, wheat, corn and barley, as well as dairy products, cattle and sheep. Along with its major fishing trade, these commercial trades made Norwich and Norfolk successful, prosperous and an important industrial area within sixteenth-century England. During the medieval period, Norwich and Norfolk were the “wealthiest and most densely populated” city and county in England. Yet, by the sixteenth century, the city’s industries were in considerable decline, despite its growing population.³⁴⁹ Furthermore, while the city and county grew during Elizabeth’s reign, their large populations affected the county’s viability and made it susceptible to disorder. In fact, regional historian A. Hassell Smith argues that Norwich’s early prosperity “stimulated...civic assertiveness.”³⁵⁰ This assertiveness continued, regardless of the waning prosperity in the

³⁴⁴ Adams, “Queen and Country”, 27.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 29.

³⁴⁶ Brian Ayers, “The Urban Landscape”, *Medieval Norwich*, ed. Carole Rawcliffe and Richard Wilson (London: Hambledon and London, 2004), 19.

³⁴⁷ James Campbell, “Norwich Before 1300”, *Medieval Norwich*, ed. Carole Rawcliffe and Richard Wilson (London: Hambledon and London, 2004), 29.

³⁴⁸ Campbell, “Norwich Before 1300”, 29; Ayers, “The Urban Landscape”, 20.

³⁴⁹ Ayers, “The Urban Landscape”, 20.

³⁵⁰ A. Hassell Smith, *County and Court: Government and Politics in Norfolk, 1558-1603* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), 9.

early years of Elizabeth's reign. This was due to the increased dependence on, influence and ascendancy of, county noblemen. For Norwich and Norfolk, the powerful county magnates were the Dukes of Norfolk.

The political backdrop of Elizabethan Norwich depended entirely, as Cooper has contended, upon "the co-operation of local elites and subjects."³⁵¹ More critically, Cooper affirms that the cultivation of the relationship between the Crown and localities was aided by the sovereign and government having "nurtured the allegiance of the localities through ceremonials, print and the pulpit," of which progresses played a significant role.³⁵² The interaction between the sovereign, government, and the localities through the use of spectacles, pageants, entertainments and dialogues was the very foundation of political culture. However, the question that is raised here is: how did the localities function politically and in accordance with monarchical authority and policies? Did progresses play a role in facilitating royal authority to the localities? Additionally, how were these policies policed and enforced? The answer lies in the presence of the noblemen and other representatives of the sovereign's government. This is important because noblemen served as mediators between the monarch and the localities; their presence served to secure order within these areas and prevent disobedience. This was not always the case, and the delicate relationship between the monarch and leading magnates in areas throughout the realm had to be carefully cultivated and preserved. Furthermore, this complex relationship signalled a dual government: the sovereign and central government and the government within the localities. Collinson has noted that this dual government was "never more nakedly exposed" than with the dynamics within Norfolk and Norwich between the mid-1560s and early 1570s, culminating in the 1578 progress to Norwich.³⁵³ These dynamics and events leading up to the progress in 1578 are worthy of analysis because they highlight the point at which Elizabeth asserts her agency and demands obedience and allegiance from the local civic leaders and subjects, highlighting the juxtaposition of political culture.

Historically, Norwich was "the second city of the kingdom" and under the Tudors the city's prosperity fluctuated. Politically, Norwich had "achieved administrative autonomy in two early fifteenth century charters."³⁵⁴ However, under Elizabeth I "law and government in the localities depended on an unpaid royal official."³⁵⁵ These unpaid royal officials were county magistrates or justices of the peace who enforced the laws and Queen's authority. The Queen mostly appointed these officials. In rare cases, specific local magnates appointed these officials. In spite of that, loyalty did not necessarily stay with the Queen. The justices of the peace, in specific locations, were influenced by the "quality of social relations", particularly

³⁵¹ Cooper, "Centre and Localities", 130.

³⁵² *Ibid.*, 130.

³⁵³ Collinson, "Pulling the Strings", 124.

³⁵⁴ Smith, *County and Court*, 8.

³⁵⁵ Cooper, "Centre and Localities", 133.

with the “presence...of a dominant magnate family.”³⁵⁶ This was certainly the case with Norwich, given the prominent Howard family. During Elizabeth’s reign, Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk, was a considerable force in the region. He was the one who would submit a list to the Queen for suggestions for individuals to fill the roles of justices of the peace. In fact, there were occasions, specifically in August 1561, when the Duke of Norfolk entertained many individuals in Norwich. One particular dinner included the justices of the peace, and judges of the assizes.³⁵⁷ This suggests that the relationship between the Duke of Norfolk and the county magistrates was a close one and that their loyalty may have been invested in the Duke. However, with the Duke of Norfolk’s fall from grace and favour in 1572, the county’s political environment transformed “from one of unchallenged aristocratic supremacy to one of endemic petty conflict between gentry factions.”³⁵⁸ This led to an increased number of justices of the peace being appointed in the county through the suggestion of civic authorities. Cooper asserts that “Norfolk saw its magistrates bench almost double to sixty-one over the course of Elizabeth’s reign.” This could in large part be due to the factional conflicts after the Duke of Norfolk’s execution. Furthermore, the increasing number of poor citizens that existed in Norwich, as elsewhere throughout England, created a crisis that resulted in the formation of the poor laws. Thus, the lack of a royal representative of the Queen, the increasing numbers of poor within the county, the conflict between citizens and rise in litigation proceedings within the county highlights the political instability of the region.³⁵⁹

3.2 The “Prince” of Norwich

In 1569, the Queen and her Privy Council were dealing with the dangerous matter involving Thomas Howard, the fourth Duke of Norfolk and Mary, Queen of Scots. This significant event led to the downfall of the Duke of Norfolk and created a political vacuum in the county that would not stabilise until 1578. The Duke of Norfolk was a great and influential nobleman during the reigns of both Mary I and Elizabeth I. Despite how his contemporaries have painted him, he was a self-professed Protestant at the time of his death.³⁶⁰ There was even a “dittie” that was devoted to the Duke of Norfolk, composed by Bernard Garter, labeling the Duke a “prince” in the region of Norfolk. In this particular “dittie,” which is titled “A Dittie/In the worthie praise of an high and mightie Prince”, Garter writes an eloquent devotion to the man who was the “second chylde of fame”, which refers to

³⁵⁶ Hindle, “Country Government in England”, 98.

³⁵⁷ Neville Williams, *Thomas Howard, Fourth Duke of Norfolk* (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1964), 69.

³⁵⁸ Hindle, “Country Government in England”, 99.

³⁵⁹ Andy Wood, *The 1549 Rebellions and the Making of Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 194.

³⁶⁰ Graves, ‘Howard, Thomas, fourth duke of Norfolk (1538-1572)’, *ODNB*.

Norfolk being second to Elizabeth.³⁶¹ Additionally, Garter boasted that Norfolk was “monarch of all he surveyed, and it was a demesne worthy of its lord.”³⁶²

The fourth Duke was instrumental in the county of Norfolk and Suffolk and served as a political ally to the Queen in the region. Additionally, Howard helped Norwich to rebuild from the devastation of 1549 rebellion, to establish a viable economic trade, and to be heard and seen at the national level. In fact, the Duke’s involvement in rehabilitating both the cities of Norwich and Great Yarmouth as well as the county of Norfolk was so extensive that he garnered significant loyalty from the citizens. His active involvement began when he inherited the Dukedom of Norfolk in 1554, which consisted of a considerable amount of lands and estates, including 56 manors and 37 advowsons, and which expanded further through his marriages.³⁶³ Norwich flourished during the period of the Duke of Norfolk’s supremacy. With the granting of the city’s 1565 petition to receive artisan immigrants and the influx of refugees, the city grew in size as 3,000 ‘strangers’ moved in.³⁶⁴

Howard’s influence, due to his high position at court, cannot be underestimated. His social standing and influence on Elizabethan court culture illustrates the ways in which political culture operated in Elizabethan England. Political culture consisted of the interactions between councillors, gentry, court, clergy and Parliament in all aspects of Elizabethan government. It was a reciprocal system as favours were exchanged for the promotion of an individual; each part contributed to the other and functioned in tandem. The Duke of Norfolk was no exception as he was responsible for the Queen’s coronation in 1559 and served on the Privy Council. In addition, he served as an agent in the Scottish venture and helped in the investigation of Mary, Queen of Scots’ involvement in the murder of her husband in 1570. He was able to influence the appointment of members of Parliament because of his extensive land holdings in Norfolk and Suffolk. Garter comments on the Duke’s unique position at court writing “[i]n peace, a courtier at court, a second Mars in the camp.”³⁶⁵ This is again a reference to the Duke’s extreme influence and a prominent figure within the Queen’s court and government. Furthermore, Garter writes that the Duke was “in peace a Soloman, in warre so stoute a prince.”³⁶⁶ Camden also attests to the Duke’s political significance and influence by stating: “[i]ncredible it is how deerely the people loued him...[t]he wiser sort of men were diversely affected about him. Some were terrified with the

³⁶¹ Bernard Garter, *A Dittie in the worthie praise of an high and mightie prince*, (London, 1566).

³⁶² From the Burghley State Papers as cited in Williams, *Thomas Howard, Fourth Duke of Norfolk*, 65.

³⁶³ John Martin Robinson, *The Dukes of Norfolk: A Quincentennial History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 54.

³⁶⁴ Williams, *Thomas Howard, Fourth Duke of Norfolk*, 71.

³⁶⁵ Bernard Garter, *A Dittie in the worthie praise of an high and mightie prince*, (London, 1566).

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

greatnesse of that danger which, while he liued seemed to threaten [the state] by meanes of him and his faction.”³⁶⁷

Yet, despite, or in light of, his popularity and due to what has been characterised as his naivety and lack of ruthless intellect, he was implicated in a treasonous plot to marry Mary, Queen of Scots.³⁶⁸ After a lengthy trial, he was sentenced and the execution warrant was issued on 9 February 1572. However, knowing the influence and popularity of the Duke, in the weeks leading up to the Duke’s execution, the Queen considered the consequences of his execution. A letter of revocation was sent to Cecil on the night before the execution was to take place on 11 February 1572, in which Elizabeth stated that the execution warrant was a “rashe determination vpon a very vnfit day” and determined to stop it before an “irrevocable dede be in mene while com[m]ited.”³⁶⁹ Two more execution warrants were issued and each time Elizabeth revoked them. The final execution warrant was signed on 10 April 1572. Elizabeth’s agency asserted here demonstrates her ability to go against the established patriarchal norms (by ignoring or rejecting the decisions of the Parliamentary courts and her councillors). Furthermore, this highlights how Elizabeth enforced her rule and demonstrated her capability to understand the implications and precarious balance of power that existed in sixteenth-century England. Elizabeth was able to methodically place herself in such a way that her court and councillors were never sure what her true intentions were. In fact, one antiquarian historian, Thomas Carte, alludes to Elizabeth’s intent behind revoking the warrant as being a pretence.³⁷⁰ This is what I call playing the patriarchy. This means that Elizabeth understood her role as a woman in a patriarchal society and the expectation that she was to heed the advice of her councillors, and thus positioned herself to where her councillors neither knew what she was going to do or did not know her stance regarding certain policies or people. She could not afford to come across as ruthless, irrational or dominant, as this would have led to criticism regarding her ability to rule and undermined her authority. Accordingly, Elizabeth created ways to manipulate the patriarchy to strengthen her rule. The incident with the Duke of Norfolk is one example of this manipulation and playing of the patriarchy. Elizabeth could not just ignore the fact that executing the Duke outright might provoke an uprising given his influence. However, Elizabeth could also not ignore the threat that the Duke posed to her own throne and his involvement in the Ridolfi Plot. Therefore, Elizabeth manipulated both sides of the situation: she appeared to show the

³⁶⁷ William Camden, *Annals or, The Historie of the Most Renovvned and Victorious Princesse Elizabeth, late Queen of England containing all the important and remarkable passages of state both home and abroad, during her long and prosperous reign* (London, 1635), 154.

³⁶⁸ Graves, ‘Howard, Thomas, fourth duke of Norfolk (1538-1572)’.

³⁶⁹ Bodl., MS Ashmole 1729, fo. 7.

³⁷⁰ Thomas Carte is an antiquarian historian who wrote about the Duke of Norfolk’s execution based on the correspondence of the French ambassador, Bertrand de Salignac de La Mothe Fénelon, in his *History of England*. Carte’s work and conclusions were utilised in Charles C. Jones, *Recollections of Royalty, from the Death of William Rufus, in 1100, to that of the Cardinal York, the last lineal descendant of the Stuarts, in 1807* (London: Saunders and Otley, Conduit Street, 1828), 107.

Duke mercy by writing a letter to revoke the warrant for his execution, which delayed his execution until June 1572, but at the same time she condemned his actions and sided with her councillors by keeping him in prison. This is Elizabethan political manoeuvring at its finest. Eventually, Elizabeth's revocation was removed following the advice of her councillors, primarily Cecil (who may have disliked the Duke of Norfolk and found ways to make sure he was implicated), who stressed that in the eyes of the law the Duke of Norfolk was guilty and must be executed in accordance with the law.³⁷¹ In this case, Elizabeth's agency was effective because she was able to prevent widespread rebellion, to present appearances of hesitation with regards to his execution, but also followed through with her councillor's advice to execute the Duke, all while removing the threat to her own rule.

The execution of the Duke of Norfolk had a domino effect on the political stability of Norwich. As Smith argued, it heralded an end to a period in "Norfolk's administrative, social and political affairs."³⁷² His death created a power vacuum that left the city susceptible to chaos. More specifically, this power vacuum, so definitively and clearly expressed by Smith, came from the top down as it:

created a hiatus in all aspects of county life since the only remaining nobleman in the county lacked sufficient status [...] In administrative and political affairs Norfolk gentry were compelled to find new patrons and to establish fresh channels of communication with the Court; they were forced to think constructively about procedures which they had taken for granted under the Howards.³⁷³

While there was local law enforcement in the area to keep the peace and make sure the laws were followed, the factional conflict that existed in Norwich did not effectively enforce the Queen's authority.

3.3 The Fear of Rebellions, Risings and Invasion

Understanding the administration and governance of the localities is important for understanding Elizabethan political culture. The shifting of power and authority between national and local government was never more visible and central than on the 1578 progress. The history of the county illustrates the religious and political concerns that continued to plague the Elizabethan regime. Kett's Rebellion in 1549 was an agrarian uprising that had a disastrous impact on the city and county. The rebellion itself signalled growing discontent with national governance, not only within Norfolk, but within the southern counties as well. This discontent concerned the "nature of county government" and the needs of the sovereign and national government to bring about a "unified stable sovereign state" through "pacif[ing] their over mighty subjects...and to transform them...into servants of the regime in the

³⁷¹ Robinson, *The Dukes of Norfolk*, 60-66.

³⁷² Smith, *County and Court*, 47.

³⁷³ *Ibid.*, 47.

localities.”³⁷⁴ This was certainly evident in Elizabeth’s reign. As previously noted, the Duke of Norfolk’s influence in the county created a distinct region that was far removed, both physically and politically, from central government. Therefore, Elizabeth and her councillors positioned the Duke within her court and government to manage his influence while encouraging his loyalty to the Queen. This helped to bring out about the ‘unified state’ that Hindle refers to, but it also brought stability. With the Duke’s downfall, that stability and unity in Norfolk was threatened. The memory of the 1549 rebellion resurfaced and Elizabeth and her councillors became increasingly concerned. In fact, contemporary writings and Elizabethan propaganda reveal that the 1549 rebellion was a part of the national consciousness. Stow’s 1566 *Summarie* briefly detailed the “comotion in Norfolk” and referenced the execution of Robert Kett.³⁷⁵ In 1569, after a thwarted uprising, one Suffolk lawyer commented that the “last rising”, alluding to the 1549 rebellion, was a source of motivation for the failed rising.³⁷⁶ The Archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker, had “witnessed the rebellion first hand.”³⁷⁷ In fact, before he was made Archbishop, Parker delivered a sermon, in 1549, among “the rebel camp” on Mousehold Heath in Norfolk about the sin of rebellion.³⁷⁸ With the condition of the poor prompting government response, particularly in Norfolk, Parker was involved in the drafting of an act for poor relief in 1572. His experience with the 1549 rebellion most likely contributed to his efforts to provide relief and to avoid another rebellion. Rebellion also featured in several of Parker’s sermons. The various homilies on the topic of rebellion signified the ways in which Elizabeth and her government sought to admonish rebellion that not only developed out of the two 1549 rebellions (in Cornwall and Norfolk) but also fuelled by the 1569 Northern Rebellion. The increased number of homilies printed and circulated throughout the realm during the 1570s highlighted this.³⁷⁹

The success and stability of a monarch’s reign relied on the cooperation and interplay between the central government and localities. While the placement of “office-holding aristocratic elite” within the counties where they had ties and connections served to extend the sovereign’s authority, the physical presence of the monarch reinforced that authority and power, thus demanding obedience and allegiance from their subjects.³⁸⁰ With Kett’s Rebellion, the relationship between local aristocratic representatives of the crown and the local citizens eroded. The rebellion was a response to the move to enclose common land and

³⁷⁴ Hindle, “Country Government in England”, 98.

³⁷⁵ John Stow, *A Summarie of English Chronicles* (London, 1566), 168-169; Wood, *The 1549 Rebellions*, 230.

³⁷⁶ Krista Kesselring, *The Northern Rebellion of 1569: Faith, Politics and Protest in Elizabethan England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 13.

³⁷⁷ Wood, *The 1549 Rebellions*, 199.

³⁷⁸ Barrett L. Beer, *Rebellion and Riot: Popular Disorder in England During the Reign of Edward VI* (Kent State University Press, 2005), 96 & 115.

³⁷⁹ Cooper, *Propaganda and the Tudor State*, 230.

³⁸⁰ Hindle, “Country Government in England”, 98.

furthered the disparity between the elites and ordinary subjects. However, the “grievances” drafted during the rebellion pointed to a list of issues, including rents on land, the conduct of religious services and the accumulation of land by religious leaders, the participation and regulations of local politics and office holding, and accessibility of spaces for commercial needs, such as fishing.³⁸¹ This is not unlike the events leading up to Elizabeth’s visit to Norwich in 1578, as citizens were concerned with several issues: the decline of their economic stability, continued agrarian crisis, the presence of refugees in the city and conflict with citizens, the rising numbers of poor within the city and county, the loss of a beloved county magnate, and the religious non-conformity of both Protestants and Catholics. The fear of insurrection did not go away, and, if anything, it increased. By 1578, the Queen had not only known about the events of the 1549 rebellion in Cornwall and in Norfolk, but she had dealt with the difficulties and impact of the Northern Rebellion in 1569. The Northern Rebellion related to the county of Norfolk for two specific reasons: the participation of local Norfolk citizens and the Duke of Norfolk’s role in the rebellion.

The summer and autumn of 1569 was full of political intrigue and conspiracy. Graves argues that this tumultuous period was due to the “growing and widespread aristocratic hostility and resistance to Cecil...and disgruntled courtiers...[who] sought not only personal advancement but national security.”³⁸² The two definitive events, the Ridolfi Plot and the Northern Rebellion (though separate events), were closely linked due to the Duke of Norfolk’s involvement. Though historians, Williams and Graves, have reached different conclusions about the extent of the role the Duke played, they both agree that he was a central character in the narrative. Williams recounts how Norfolk wrote to his tenants and the citizens in Norfolk to assist in the rebellion.³⁸³ Graves suggests “conspirators [of the rebellion] engaged Norfolk’s support.”³⁸⁴

The Ridolfi plot intensified in the summer of 1568, when Elizabeth appointed Norfolk and several other noblemen to investigate the charges against Mary Stuart in York. It was during the Duke’s time in York that he met with William Maitland of Lethington, a close courtier of Mary Stuart, to discuss the proposed marriage arrangement between the Duke and Mary. By 4 September 1569, while on progress and hosted by Lady Southampton at Tichfield, the Queen confronted the Duke about his involvement in the marriage conspiracy. After the confrontation, the Duke was “shunned” from court and left the Queen’s progress and court without permission on 15 September 1569.³⁸⁵ Just ten days later he was ordered, by the Queen, to return to court, at which point he knew he was going to be arrested. Before leaving, he sent an “urgent dispatch” to the northern earls to “call off the proposed” rebellion

³⁸¹ BL, Harleian MS 304, f. 75.

³⁸² Graves, ‘Howard, Thomas, Duke of Norfolk’, *ODNB*.

³⁸³ Williams, *Thomas Howard, Fourth Duke of Norfolk, 165-169*.

³⁸⁴ Graves, ‘Howard, Thomas, Duke of Norfolk’, *ODNB*.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid*.

for if they persisted “it should cost him his head.”³⁸⁶ Unfortunately, his words fell on deaf ears and, while imprisoned in the Tower, the rebellion broke out in November 1569.

The Northern Rebellion of 1569, led by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, began when the earls and their followers stormed Durham Cathedral and proceeded to rip “apart all Protestant books, overturned the communion table and celebrated Catholic mass.”³⁸⁷ During the event, the earls made their declaration that they sought to remove “disordered and evil disposed persons” within the Queen’s inner circle that worked to subvert “the true Catholic faith, ancient nobility, and the rightful succession.” This rebellion had both political and religious motives. This significant event had similarities with the 1549 rebellion in Cornwall that opposed the changes to have the liturgy be conducted in English as well as the conflicts that occurred with local and national government.³⁸⁸ However, in the autumn of 1569 the news of the rebellion in the north quickly spread throughout the country, particularly in the county of Norfolk, leading to intense vocal and organised support for the rebellion. Norfolk citizens began to gather and “combine action against foreign artificers [refugees] with aid for the Northern rebels.” John Welles, a Norfolk sawyer, pressed his fellow citizens to help the cause of the “two earls amongst others in the North.” He also urged that they help “their duke”. This urging was rumored to include “Norfolk tenants ...exclaim[ing] ...the whole county would live and die with him.”³⁸⁹ Thomas Shuckforth, a local Norfolk husbandman spoke “approvingly of the stir” and linked it to the arrest of the Duke of Norfolk. John Barnard, a Norfolk linen weaver, discussed plans for obtaining equipment from the Duke of Norfolk’s Kenninghall estate, to aid in the rising.³⁹⁰

In October 1571, rumblings of “dissatisfaction among the people” with regards to the Duke of Norfolk’s situation and imprisonment continued.³⁹¹ Yet they were not just rumblings. In January 1572, Edmund Mather and Kenelm Barney plotted to kill members of the Privy Council and rescue the Duke of Norfolk. Both Mather and Barney were natives of Norfolk and were close followers of the Duke of Norfolk.³⁹² Even at the Duke of Norfolk’s execution “the concourse of people was large and shouts so general that a way little more aid and he would

³⁸⁶ Graves, ‘Howard, Thomas, Duke of Norfolk’, *ODNB*; Williams, *Thomas Howard, Fourth Duke of Norfolk*, 165-169.

³⁸⁷ Kesselring, *The Northern Rebellion of 1569*, 1.

³⁸⁸ Cooper, *Propaganda and the Tudor State*, 61-65.

³⁸⁹ Kesselring, *The Northern Rebellion of 1569*, 15 & 146; Williams, *Thomas Howard, Fourth Duke of Norfolk*, 169.

³⁹⁰ Kesselring, *The Northern Rebellion of 1569*, 147.

³⁹¹ TNA, 12/81, f. 129.

³⁹² TNA, 70/107, f. 52; TNA, 70/111, f. 14. *Calendar of Manuscripts of the Most Hon. The Marquis of Salisbury, preserved at Hatfield House* (London: HM Stationary Office, 1888), 2:1 & 8; *Collection of State Papers Relating to the Affairs in the reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward I, Queen Mary I, and Queen Elizabeth I*, ed. William Murdin (London: William Bowyer, 1759), 203 & 208; Brian Harrison, *Tower of London Prisoner Book* (Leeds: Royal Armouries, 2004), 217, 219-220.

have been liberated.”³⁹³ Additionally, many of the citizens and gentry of Norwich and Norfolk were “astonished at his death, he being so great a man.”³⁹⁴ The situation involving the Duke’s execution provides a context in which the Norwich progress can be understood. The Duke of Norfolk was not the only person from Norfolk directly implicated in the Ridolfi Plot. A servant, Robert Higfords, was condemned at Westminster for his involvement in February 1572, but was spared because of his cooperation and as a “reward for assistance he had given.” William Barker, an MP for Great Yarmouth and secretary to the Duke of Norfolk was committed in 1572 and pardoned in May 1574.³⁹⁵ This continued loyalty towards the Duke of Norfolk even after his death was certainly a cause for concern because in 1574 there were rumours of a rising that resulted in “twenty gentlemen and a great lady...brought [as] prisoners from Norfolk on suspicion of an intention of a rising.”³⁹⁶

Cooper contends that the way that Elizabeth and her regime addressed these fears was through “printed propaganda”, but I would add that these fears were addressed through the Queen’s physical presence displayed on progresses.³⁹⁷ The city’s declining trade and industry, the increasing number of poor individuals, the political vacuum, and lack of local enforcement of peace between citizens, along with growing religious extremism, all contributed to Elizabeth’s decision to visit Norwich.³⁹⁸ The rebellion also illustrates that the “presence or absence of a dominant magnate family...influence[d] the exercise and experience of authority in the localities” as well as the response of local citizens to this authority.³⁹⁹

Throughout the period of 1565-1575, the threat of imminent invasion was high. In fact, Elizabeth and her government made a list of ports and havens throughout Norfolk and Suffolk in 1565, and a further survey was done in 1575. This list was an assessment of not only the defenses along the coast but it also identified areas along the coast that could be affected by conspirators and foreign agents of Spain and France. Additionally, musters were gathered and sent to the coast along with training for men in 1572, 1573, 1574 and 1577.⁴⁰⁰ With the St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre in August 1572, and the slaughter of Huguenots in October 1572, the Queen and Privy Council sent out a call to arms to the coastal counties in Norfolk and Kent as well as within Devon and Sussex.⁴⁰¹ As early as 1567, there was

³⁹³ From the *CSP-Spain (Simancas)*, 2:335, 9 September 1571, cited in Graves, ‘Howard, Thomas, fourth duke of Norfolk (1538-1572)’, *ODNB*.

³⁹⁴ TNA, SP 15/23, f. 48.

³⁹⁵ Harrison, *Tower of London Prisoner Book*, 219-220.

³⁹⁶ BL, Add. MS 26,056, f. 121.

³⁹⁷ Cooper, *Propaganda and the Tudor State*, 238.

³⁹⁸ Hindle, “County Government in England”, 98-99.

³⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 98.

⁴⁰⁰ TNA SP 12/89, f. 85; SP 12/91, f. 135; SP 12/97, f. 66; SP 12/112, f. 1; SP 12/114, f. 9; SP 12/116, f. 23; SP 12/139, f. 66.

⁴⁰¹ Anna Whitelock, *Elizabeth’s Bedfellows: An Intimate History of the Queen’s Court* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013), 144-145.

“intelligence, by good information, of great preparations making by the King of Spain for the invasion of England.” Further reports of an invasion were indicated in 1570 and 1571.⁴⁰²

The Duke of Norfolk’s position in the county required him to be involved in the maintenance, management and governance of the county and region. As High Steward of Great Yarmouth and sporadic service as Lord Lieutenant of the realm, he was responsible for commanding and the “training of local militia”, along with ensuring the working “condition of Yarmouth harbor.”⁴⁰³ This was significant because both the local militia and Yarmouth harbour were at the Duke’s disposal. In 1559, the Queen ordered the Duke of Norfolk to defend the coast “in case of an attempted invasion.”⁴⁰⁴ The decline and decay of the harbour was a concern in 1565. The Duke of Norfolk spent much of his time working on improving the state of the harbour for both economic and strategic reasons. The Queen’s concern over Yarmouth harbour was legitimate because it was the planned location that the Duke of Alba’s invasion was to land.⁴⁰⁵ With Norwich absent of local crown authority, as well as dealing with civic conflict and instability due to the religious dissension, it became important to make sure that Norwich/Norfolk conformed to the crown and would fight for the defence of the coasts and realm.

In the summer of 1568, Elizabeth’s progresses remained within the vicinity of London as Catholic “troubles” were becoming more prevalent, despite being “beloved...by her subjects.”⁴⁰⁶ With the Northern Rebellion of 1569 and the number of supporters from the county of Norfolk, foreign plots to invade were certainly on Elizabeth’s mind, particularly as Catholics sought to place Mary, Queen of Scots on the throne. In late 1569, with concerns about possible French and Spanish invasion, orders were given for Yarmouth’s defences to be strengthened.⁴⁰⁷ Therefore, the period between 1565-1575 sets the stage for the events leading up to the Queen’s visit in 1578.

3.4 The City’s New Citizens

The 1560s were fraught with tensions between Catholics and Protestants. The continent was full of “civil, religious and economic upheavals” and England “was extremely conscious of...[its]...status as Europe’s most prominent Protestant state.”⁴⁰⁸ Despite the carefully crafted diplomatic relationship, Catholic leaders throughout Europe, particularly Philip II of Spain and Catherine de Medici, were keen to see Queen Elizabeth fail in her religious policies. Therefore, foreign policies required careful handling. Discussions, throughout the 1560s, centred on England’s foreign policy, state of affairs in Europe, and

⁴⁰² TNA SP 12/44, f. 116; SP 63/32, f. 16.

⁴⁰³ Williams, *A Tudor Tragedy: Thomas Howard Fourth Duke of Norfolk*, 73-75.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 77.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 73-75.

⁴⁰⁶ CSP—*Spain (Simancas)*, 2:46-63, 10 July 1568, Guzman De Silva to the King.

⁴⁰⁷ Colvin, *History of the King’s Works*, 406.

⁴⁰⁸ Laura Hunt Yungblut, *Strangers Settled Here Amongst Us: Policies, perceptions and the presence of aliens in Elizabethan England* (London: Routledge, 1996), 2.

policies of refugees. Nicholas Throckmorton commented that “[n]ow when the generall Desygn [i]s to extermynate all Nations dyssentyng with [the]m in Relygion...what shall be com off us, when the lyke Professors with us shall be destroyed [i]n Flanders and Fraunce?”⁴⁰⁹ In 1561, a congregation of Flemish and French refugees landed along the English coast in Deal. They travelled to Sandwich, which happened to be a “decayed town.”⁴¹⁰ Upon hearing this, the Queen, in letters patent, chose to “give and graunte lycence to all and every persons strangers...to inhabite within our said towne and porte of Sandwich.”⁴¹¹ The town of Sandwich began to prosper with the influx of refugees and this prosperity was noted by other cities throughout England. The catalyst for the 1561 wave of refugees, specifically French refugees, was the civil unrest in areas throughout France, especially in Dauphiné and Provence, which had escalated at alarming rates. The sheer volume of refugees flooding to England’s shores was cause for Elizabeth and her government to commission surveys on the number of refugees within the localities. Between 1562 and 1571, for example, five surveys were conducted for central London and Westminster. The number of refugees in this particular area rose from 4,534 in 1562 to 9,302 in 1568.⁴¹² These London and Westminster surveys were, according to Yungblut, just a few of the surveys that were conducted throughout England during this period.⁴¹³

In September 1562, Elizabeth wrote to Philip II of Spain stating that she and her kingdom “have been much troubled and perplexed from the beginning of these divisions in France...considering the quarrel was discovered and published to be for the matter of religion.” She asked that Philip withhold from furthering the divisions of religion with aid and to “live in good peace...and to save to our realm.”⁴¹⁴ In December 1562, John Young, the mayor of Rye on the eastern coast in Sussex, wrote to Cecil stating that “maney pore people as men, women and chydren of Roen and Deipe” had arrived and were seeking refuge.⁴¹⁵ The growing number of refugees and the correspondence pertaining to the plight and persecution of Protestants on the continent forced Elizabeth and her government address their policies

⁴⁰⁹ HHA, Calendar of MS, Misc., Vol. I, 363. This particular exchange was also commented on by David Potter. See David Potter, “Britain and the Wider World,” *A Companion to Tudor Britain*, eds. Robert Tittler and Norman Jones (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 189.

⁴¹⁰ William Boys, *Collections for a History of Sandwich in Kent* (Canterbury: Simmons, Kirkby and Jones, 1792), 740.

⁴¹¹ Ibid. Strangers were considered alien people, or non-English immigrants seeking refuge from their native lands in England. See below.

⁴¹² Yungblut, *Strangers Settled Here Amongst Us*, 21

⁴¹³ Ibid., 18-20.

⁴¹⁴ Elizabeth I, *Collected Works*, 113-114. While the letter references the “restitution of the town of Callice [Calais]”, the religious tensions are clearly evident and Elizabeth writes about the possibility out of goodwill, given Philip’s marriage to her sister Mary, indicated by her reference to him as “good brother.” Furthermore, given the increasing amount of refugees seeking haven in England, it is possible that Elizabeth’s wish to regain Calais was two fold: to regain the English territory that had been important to her father, Henry VIII, and to provide refuge for the citizens displaced by the religious wars by having English territory on the continent.

⁴¹⁵ TNA, SP 12/26, f. 11.

regarding the admission of aliens into England. This included assessing the impact this would have on the communities and religious stability within England. Additionally, the reference to these refugees in the source material as “strangers” illustrates the skepticism by which English people regarded these displaced people.

The tensions and issues of religious belief on the continent continued to increase. By 1565, “strangers came over for refuge ageynste the persecution then rayed agaynste them by the power of the Duke Alva, principall for the King of Spayne.”⁴¹⁶ The reference to the event involving the Duke of Alva signaled a mass displacement of people in Protestant countries like the Netherlands and areas within France, where Protestants were being persecuted and religious policies were becoming increasingly strict. In May 1567, Lord Cobham wrote to Cecil reporting that warlike preparations were happening in Flanders and in August 1567 the Duke of Alva arrived in the Netherlands to “crush religious unrest,” which erupted into full blown warfare signaling the beginning of the Wars of Religion.⁴¹⁷

At the same time, Norwich’s economy was in a serious state of decline and the mayor of Norwich, Thomas Sotherton, drafted a petition in 1565 to the Queen and her government regarding Norwich’s industry, seeking “to redress this poor state” that resulted “by reasons that the comodities of worsted makynge is greatlye decayed.” The mayor specifically notes that “after manye consultacons and devices what trades be practized,” the city “was geven intelligence that diverse straungers of the Lowe Countryes were now come to London and Sandwiche and had gotten lycens of the Quenes maiestye to exercise the makynge of Flaunders comodities.”⁴¹⁸ It was during this time that Elizabeth and her government began focusing on three main objectives, identified by E.I. Kouri, that aimed to establish England’s foreign policy and the benefits associated with it: “defense against invasion, maintenance of the dynasty, and a search for economic opportunity.”⁴¹⁹ Certainly, the petition by the mayor of Norwich would have fulfilled one of the aims of Elizabeth and her government’s foreign objectives. On 1 June 1565, the Queen granted the petition and the license allowed for thirty master artisans from Sandwich, along with their family and servants, not exceeding three hundred, to settle in Norwich and aid in boosting the poor economy and textile industry there. The Duke of Norfolk probably influenced the granting of the license as the Norwich petition mentioned that a motion was made to him.⁴²⁰ These events highlight two specific points. First, that despite having an independent governing municipality, the civic authority

⁴¹⁶ Rev. William Hudson and John Cottingham Tingey, *Records of the City of Norwich*, (Norwich: Jarrold and Sons LTD, 1910), 2:332-333.

⁴¹⁷ TNA, SP 12/42, f. 168; The source and the situation in France are discussed and assessed in both R.J. Knecht, *French Wars of Religion, 1559-1598*, 3rd Edition (London: Routledge, 2010), 39 and Thomas Colley Grattan, *The History of the Netherlands* (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, and Blanchard, 1835), 115.

⁴¹⁸ Hudson and Tingey, *Records of the City of Norwich*, 2:332-333.

⁴¹⁹ E.I. Kouri, *England and the Attempts to Form a Protestant Alliance in the Late 1560s: A Case Study in European Diplomacy* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1982), 2.

⁴²⁰ BL, Lansdowne MS 7, f. 196; Hudson and Tingey, *Records of the City of Norwich*, 2:332-333.

in Norwich relied on the Queen and her goodwill. Second, that the influence and mediation between the localities and central government, like Norwich, relied on noble elites to help them in times of crisis. They also served as representatives and sources of influence at the Queen's court.

The settlement of "strangers" in Norwich was not exactly peaceful, despite an upturn in economic and commercial prosperity. Tension between the new citizens of Norwich and the existing citizens began to grow. In 1567, the mayor of Norwich, Thomas Walle, who was noted to have "never liked them [strangers], would have turned them out," established a set of ordinances that placed restrictions on the "strangers" which were identified later in the document as either Dutch or Walloons.⁴²¹ In 1569, Walle, who was by this time identified as Justice Walle and no longer mayor, spoke to the Privy Council where he stated that there were "continual difference between the English and strangers."⁴²² The Lords made the decision of remanding the issue to be resolved by the mayor and aldermen of Norwich. The Norwich municipal government concluded and ordered that the strangers in Norwich were "to remain here, but suffer no more."⁴²³ However, this led to a rising as a conspiracy was orchestrated in 1570 to expel the strangers from the city and realm. This treasonous act did not go unnoticed as on 28 July 1570 the Queen ordered the Lord Keeper, Nicholas Bacon, to organise the trials of leading conspirator John Felton and "other seditious and rebellious persons in Norfolk and the city of Norwich."⁴²⁴ Ten people were indicted of high treason for their actions and condemned on the 21 August 1570. It was revealed through the trial proceedings "the strangers whom they hated, found favour and were continued in their trades, by which they got much riches and employed abundance of the poor."⁴²⁵ This confirms that the conflict between citizens of Norwich and the "strangers" was not motivated solely by religious differences but was also spurred by economic disparity.

By April 1571, the "Norwiche Booke of Orders ffor the Straungers" was drafted by the Queen and her Privy Council to bring order to the city and resolve issues between the strangers and citizens of Norwich. Yet in November 1571, there were reports of "unrestful dissention betwixte the straungers themselves."⁴²⁶ Issues with the strangers continued in 1575: this time they were noted to have been found to "maintain the horrible and dampnable error of the anabaptistes."⁴²⁷ The Anabaptists were perceived as a threat not only because they were radical Protestants who did not believe in infant baptism, but also because they

⁴²¹ Francis Blomefield, *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk, Vol. 3, the History of the City and County of Norwich, Part I* (London: W. Miller, 1806), 270-360.

⁴²² Ibid.

⁴²³ Ibid., 270-360.

⁴²⁴ TNA, SP 12/71, f. 151.

⁴²⁵ Blomefield, *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk, Vol. 3*, 270-360.

⁴²⁶ TNA, SP 12/77, f. 135; The source is explored and discussed further, along with supporting evidence in Blomefield's *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, 3:270-360.

⁴²⁷ Ibid., 3:359.

opposed the clerical hierarchy and believed to be nonconformists.⁴²⁸ This event led to the creation of articles of which all “straungers of the city...give their assent and subscribed.” By 1576, the issues concerning the strangers in Norwich seemed to be resolved.⁴²⁹

3.5 Norwich and Religious Conformity

Norwich, though removed from the centre of tempestuous religious change in London, was mixed in religious affiliations among its citizens. Yet Norwich remained “relatively unscathed. The executions [under Mary] did not directly deplete the ranks of Protestants in the city, nor were Norwich’s most vocal advocates of reform forced into exile.”⁴³⁰ It was not until 1561 that religious tensions began to show after Elizabeth’s accession. Conservatives and secret Catholics held much of the religious hierarchy in Suffolk and Norfolk. In fact, the Howards “exercised great influence” over many of these positions in Norfolk and Norwich.⁴³¹ However, by the late 1560s, the Norwich religious community was made up entirely of Protestants, despite the region being a location where Catholic sympathisers and Catholics themselves hid. It was here that there was a rise in puritan activity and the discourse between conservative Protestants and vocal Puritans began to emerge. By the mid-1560s, issues were mounting between the Flemish refugees and the citizens of Norwich. Protestant refugees came to settle in Norwich in 1565 and eventually added to the growing religious tensions. With the Northern Rebellion in 1569-1570, Protestant attitudes began to harden towards Catholics and against the refugees. In May 1570, several “Norfolk gentry and a Norwich gentleman of known Catholic sympathies began to frequent Norwich and talk openly of rallying the common people, to eject Dutch and Walloon strangers from Norwich.”⁴³²

The main arguments regarding religious conformity in Norwich, particularly by Collinson, have focused on the need to restore religious order. However, the practicality of how this was to be carried out was the point over which Elizabeth and her Privy Councillors disagreed. This disagreement signalled that the Queen was not silent, but made her thoughts known. Additionally, the fact that her Privy Councillors were hesitant about how to move forward and did not override the Queen’s wishes reinforces our understanding of the ways in which Elizabeth’s authority and agency were exhibited. The Queen favoured “strict conformity to the terms of the ecclesiastical settlement, Catholic and Puritan dissidence to be

⁴²⁸ Cummings, ed., *Book of Common Prayer*, 749; Nicholas Terpstra, *Religious Refugees in the Early Modern World: An Alternative History of the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 186. Brad Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe*, (London: Harvard University Press, 1999), 197-249.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*, 270-360.

⁴³⁰ Muriel McClendon, *The Quiet Reformation* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 191.

⁴³¹ McClendon, *The Quiet Reformation*, 203.

⁴³² *Ibid.*, 224.

handled with equal severity.”⁴³³ Collinson asserts that the opposition from a majority of the Privy Council was due to the fact that they “favoured the middle ground” in terms of religious stability and adherence.⁴³⁴ It is possible to further conclude that the opposition from the Privy Council regarding the demand for conformity from both Catholics and Protestants and for non-conformity to be treated with “equal severity”, was due to the fact that several members of the Privy Council, and those they associated with, did not fully conform. Edmund Freke owed his appointment as the Bishop of Norwich, in November 1575, to the Earl of Leicester, Robert Dudley. In the absence, and without the influence, of the Duke of Norfolk, the local gentry “jostled to fill county leadership” and Freke’s newfound role put him in a position of authority in the county.⁴³⁵ However, throughout 1576 and 1577 Freke’s reputation came into question, especially as he began putting many Catholic sympathisers “on the county benches.”⁴³⁶ Two important Norfolk figures, Nathaniel Bacon and William Heydon, were the most vocal, and contributed to the attack on Freke’s reputation by stating that “known Catholics” were rumoured to have been appointed to his household.⁴³⁷ Both Bacon and Heydon shared their concerns with Leicester. Therefore, Leicester’s association and elevation of Freke could have reflected on him. The “dissidence” and issues of non-conformity were not just coming from the general population but from ecclesiastical leaders like Freke and also leading county noblemen. This was one of the motivations for the 1578 progress, as the Privy Council sought to address Freke’s flexibility in religious non-conformity, as well as to appear to be following the Queen’s command. The self-professed Protestant, the Duke of Norfolk, and his influence in the county of Norfolk and Suffolk, coupled with the influx of Protestant refugees from the continent, would shed light on the increased puritan activity within the region. Despite having been implicated in the Ridolfi plot, which was Catholic by its very nature, the Duke of Norfolk’s popularity, with both Protestants and Catholics, attest to his religious leanings. Additionally, Smith has noted that puritan beliefs flourished in specific areas of the county, especially in “cloth making districts” and that Norwich “had [a] particularly vigorous puritan community.”⁴³⁸

It is these issues that formed the basis for the 1578 progress to Norwich. Religion and politics were so closely intertwined in sixteenth-century society that it is hard to separate the two. Therefore, while Collinson and Cole have done exemplary scholarly work on the religious motivations behind the 1578 progress, I argue that the social and cultural conflicts present in Norfolk, and the public dialogue exchanged between the Queen and her subjects in Norwich, illustrated that along with the demand for religious conformity, Elizabeth exercised

⁴³³ Collinson, “Pulling the Strings”, 127.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*, 129.

⁴³⁵ C.S. Knighton, ‘Freke, Edmund (c. 1516-1591)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁴³⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁷ Collinson, “Pulling the Strings”, 128.

⁴³⁸ Smith, *County and Court*, 202.

her agency to demand political conformity, obedience and allegiance. The combination of the Duke of Norfolk's downfall that created a political vacuum and absence of crown representation, the conflicts between refugees and citizens, the rising number of the poor, and risk of invasion, all point to a political concern that needed to be addressed. The lack of loyalty, stability and allegiance left the region vulnerable to violence and unrest. The details surrounding the Queen's visit must be viewed in light of the political factors, in conjunction with the religious factors pointed out by historians like Collinson and Cole that have been laid out in the preceding sections. This will enable us to further understand Elizabethan political culture, examine occasions where Elizabeth exercised her agency to deliberately reinforce her authority, and build on how Elizabeth's queenship was constructed and the events that helped characterise it.

IV. The 1578 Progress as a Political Venture

The 1578 progress to Norwich, and through the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, highlights the fragmentation between national and local government. The accounts of both Churchyard and, more importantly, Garter are important for reconstructing and understanding the Norwich progress. These accounts not only detail their involvement in creating pageants to entertain the Queen but also provide details of the visit that point to this fragmentation. By comparing these accounts, deeper insight can be obtained into the meanings of the dialogues that occurred during the progress. Garter was a poet, scribe and composer originally from London.⁴³⁹ He was originally called upon to write the descriptive account of the Norwich progress at the request of Sir Owen Hopton. What makes Garter even more important was the fact that his account was used in the 1587 version of Holinshed's *Chronicles*. The *Chronicles* are a widely used source for early modern studies and studies on the reign of Elizabeth I. Yet Garter's account has received little attention.

Thomas Churchyard, on the other hand, has received much scholarly attention, particularly from a literary perspective. The background of these two authors may account for why one has received more attention than the other: Churchyard was quite a character and his life and works reveal that he was self-serving. He claimed to have been a gentleman but Lyne has confirmed there is no evidence of this. He did, however, write three autobiographical poems.⁴⁴⁰ He is noted not only for his literary works but also for his military career, which he began in 1537 under the command of the Earl of Surrey, Henry Howard. His

⁴³⁹ Sidney Lee, 'Garter, Bernard (*fl.* 1565–1579)', rev. Matthew Steggle, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁴⁴⁰ Raphael Lyne, 'Churchyard, Thomas (1523?–1604)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). According to Lyne, Churchyard's three autobiographical poems are: 'A Tragickall Discourse of the Unhappy Mans Life' (in *The Firste Parte of Churchyardes Chippes*, 1575), 'A Storie Translated out of Frenche' (in *Churchyardes Charge*, 1580), and 'A Pitefull Complaint in Maner of a Tragedie, of Seignior Anthonio Dell Dondaldoe's Wife', first published in *A Generall Rehearsall of Warres, called Churchyardes Choise* (1579).

experiences as a soldier served as the basis for his literary works; many of them focused on his military exploits. Churchyard is also noted for his literary contributions to the Queen's royal progresses in 1575, 1575, and 1578.⁴⁴¹ It is interesting to note here that Churchyard was a native of Norwich.⁴⁴²

Churchyard published his lengthy literary piece in August 1578, presumably right after the Queen's visit. The piece was titled *A Discourse of the Queenes Maiesties Entertainment in Suffolk and Norfolk*. Churchyard desired to "not only report of the noble receiuing of the Queenes Maiestie into Suffolke and Norffolke, but also of the good order, great cheere and charges that hir highnesse subiectes were at..." Yet Churchyard also highlights himself throughout the piece because he "sawe most of it, or heard it so credibly rehearsed, as I know it to be true....", and he notes that the festive good "cheere" was due to the extraordinary pageants created to which Churchyard asserts "the like of this entertaynement hath not bin seene...I was employed to sette forth some shewes."⁴⁴³ The language presented here reflects the nature of patronage and by writing this account and dedicating it to someone who had not requested it serves to solicit patronage from the receiver. Churchyard opens the piece by telling the reader that the "Prince was entred in their boundes, by a meere motion of homage and fealty, a generall consent of duetie and obedience was seene thorough the whole Countrey [county]."⁴⁴⁴ He makes no reference to the civic and political unrest in the area, however his use of the word obedience seems to suggest that the question of obedience should be addressed. The term obedience was not rhetoric typically used in the literary devices of pageants. Therefore, its use here denotes that all is not as it seems.

Garter had a prolific repertoire of literary credits including the tribute to the Duke of Norfolk. However, his contribution to the Norwich pageants seems to be in an assistant capacity. He noted that another poet, Henry Goldingham, who was a trusted servant of the Earl of Leicester, also penned pieces of the pageants in Norwich.⁴⁴⁵ These individuals were responsible for the production of the festivities. Writers were often employed as both devisers of pageants and actors.⁴⁴⁶ What makes Garter unique is the mystery that surrounds him. The biography in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* is superficial at best and mainly details Garter's literary works. There is not a lot of information about Garter as an individual and his involvement in Elizabethan society.⁴⁴⁷ The brief mention of Garter's lineage comes from two different sources. The first is the collection *Visitation of London*, which was

⁴⁴¹ Lyne, 'Churchyard, Thomas (1523?-1604)', *ODNB*.

⁴⁴² Collinson, "Pulling the Strings", 122.

⁴⁴³ From Thomas Churchyard's "A Discourse of the Queenes Maiesties entertainment in Suffolk and Norfolk", in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:716-717.

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 2:717.

⁴⁴⁵ Information pertaining to Goldingham is located in footnote 309, edited by Elizabeth Goldring, in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:308.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 2:308.

⁴⁴⁷ Lee, 'Garter, Bernard (fl. 1565-1579)', *ODNB*.

an index of genealogies of the citizens of London. The second source to provide information about Garter's lineage was provided by Joseph Hunter in his *Chorus Vatum Anglicorum*.⁴⁴⁸ Both of these sources are not consistent with the information pertaining to Garter's lineage. This poses the question, who was Garter? Lyne has an interesting theory. She suggests that Garter was a pseudonym, and the individual's real name was Barnabe Googe, about whom we have more information. Googe's life is more illuminating as he was a gentleman and his father an MP. Googe wrote under his real name as well, but the subject of his work tended to focus on religious discourse.⁴⁴⁹ While there is no definitive evidence to say with certainty that Garter was Googe, the absence of in-depth information on Garter's life suggests there is a real possibility that Garter was a pseudonym. This possibility is reinforced given Googe's devout Protestantism and his prominence in Elizabethan society, and the decision to write under a pseudonym was most likely due to the fact that his poems and literary creations as Garter were fantastical and informative: playing around with ideas.⁴⁵⁰ Furthermore, writing as Garter allowed for more flexibility in writing the account so as to include details that might not have been seen favourably or guided by a specific purpose.

Churchyard and Garter were very different in personality and writing style. Garter wrote in a descriptive and narrative style, while Churchyard wrote in a reportive yet theatrical and self-fashioning style. They both offer accounts of the progresses, yet the approach is different: Churchyard specifically focused on the pageants that he created, while Garter is more observant in his account and includes more of the materials that were not created by Churchyard. Churchyard even remarks that "Maister Garter...dyd step in after, an brought to pass that alreadye is sette in Print in a booke...that...my meaning...have here playnely drawn out my Deuice."⁴⁵¹ Bergeron suggests that Garter's account was written first and "seems to anticipate Churchyard's" account.⁴⁵² Therefore, to explore the dialogue that occurs we need to examine closely the 1578 accounts of the Norwich festivities of both Garter and Churchyard.⁴⁵³

After discussing the four specific factors that contributed to the Queen's progress through Norfolk and acknowledging the religious motivations established by previous scholars, we can now turn our attention to the details of the Queen's visit and interactions at

⁴⁴⁸ Henry St. George, *The Visitation of London, Anno Domini 1633, 1634, and 1635* (London, 1880). Joseph Hunter, *Chorus Vatum Anglicanorum: Collections concerning poets and verse writers of English nations*, 1838. Hunter was a nineteenth-century antiquarian and given the difficult and discrepancies of antiquarian methods, the information provided in *The Visitation of London* serves as the more authoritative source.

⁴⁴⁹ Under the name Barnabe Googe, he wrote a dedicatory poem condemning the "naughty whore" of Rome in *A Briefe treatise, conteyning a playne and fruitful declaration of the Popes usurped primacye*. Raphael Lyne, 'Googe, Barnabe (1540–1594)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁴⁵⁰ Lyne, 'Googe, Barnabe (1540–1594)', *ODNB*.

⁴⁵¹ From Churchyard's "A Discourse" in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:721.

⁴⁵² Bergeron, "The 'I' of the Beholder", 145-148.

⁴⁵³ Thanks to the newly edited John Nichols Collection, the copy text accounts of both Garter and Churchyard are available in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:715-832.

Norwich. After the tumultuous period of 1565-1575 and brief quietness in Norwich, the Queen travelled to Norwich to make her displeasure clear to the city's citizens through articulating her royal authority and engaging in the civic ritual of having loyalty and allegiance bestowed on her through spectacle and display. This ritual was an important interaction between the monarch and her subjects. Cooper asserts that Elizabeth's accession to the throne occurred when "the principle of absolute monarchy had been questioned...it was no longer enough to preach the gospel of obedience; the crown would have to engage with those who saw power of any earthly monarchy as limited by God."⁴⁵⁴ Therefore, the Queen's progresses in general, particularly civic visits and the progress to Norwich, were exactly that: not a form of preaching and demanding obedience from the safety of London, but demanding obedience face to face. Elizabeth was displaying her authority and power in person.

The Norwich progress and the pageants and entertainments presented to the Queen demonstrate that this was not a normal civic visit. As previously detailed, Elizabeth entered the city of Norwich to a great spectacle. Its dialogue only appears in Garter's account; it is not mentioned in the account of Churchyard, who was the sole creator of most of the Norwich pageants. Interestingly, Churchyard's account only describes the Queen's progress through Norwich according to the pageants that he devised. Churchyard explicitly states that "Nowe to returne to the shewes and purposed matter penned out by me...I thought it conuiente to printe them in order, as they were inuented: for I was the fyrst called."⁴⁵⁵ The issue with Churchyard's account, though vivid in detail, is that it was a biased account, more so than normal because Churchyard's account "records what should have been performed at Norwich" and "hardly provides an idealised account of events."⁴⁵⁶ It is a good source to help reconstruct the Norwich pageants and give a broader picture but it does not reveal the interactions and dynamics between the monarch and citizens of Norwich. David Bergeron studied the self-focused writings of Churchyard. Comparatively, by positioning Churchyard's account alongside Garter's account, which was more observational, we are able to highlight and extract instances where the accounts differ and establish more contextual details surrounding the Queen's visit. This also demonstrates the significance of Garter's account.

Firstly, the 1578 progress to Norwich is very interesting because the format and structure of the first pageant was remarkably similar to the civic progress to York that Elizabeth's grandfather, Henry VII, took in 1486. Like Norwich, York, after the War of the Roses, was a place of unrest. To ensure the loyalty and security of the region, Henry VII went to York, where he was elaborately received. Upon entering the city of Norwich, the Queen

⁴⁵⁴ John Cooper, *The Queen's Agent: Francis Walsingham at the Court of Elizabeth I* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 2011), 38.

⁴⁵⁵ From Churchyard's "A Discourse" in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:720.

⁴⁵⁶ Matthew Woodcock, *Thomas Churchyard: Pen, Sword & Ego* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 194.

was greeted with an entourage of people that went to meet Elizabeth and bring her through the city. The account of the ceremonies began:

Sir Robert Woofe, then Esquire and now Knight, Maior of the same Citie, at one of the Clock the same happy day, sette forwarde to meete with hir Maiestie in this order: First there roade before him well and seemly mounted, three score of the most comelie yong men of the Citie as Bachelers, appareled all in blacke sattyn doublets, blacke Hose, blacke Taffata Hattes and yeallowe Bandes...layde about with siluer lace; and so appareled, marched forwards two and two in ranke...⁴⁵⁷

After the initial greeting from civic leaders, Elizabeth was then approached by the mythological figure Gurgaunt, who was believed to be the first king of Norwich. The interaction at this stage of the dialogue contained in the mayor's oration consisted of the rhetoric of praise, honour and loyalty. This was the custom of Tudor civic visits; rituals and ceremonies included the bestowing of gifts. This form of exchange, as Cole emphasises, was demonstrated "through actions, word, clothes, [and] objects" of which "both civic host and royal visitor participated."⁴⁵⁸ The mayor remarks that the Queen's presence and visit was filled with "the light of this Realme...now at length, after long hope and earnest petitions...appeare."⁴⁵⁹ He further refers to the fact that "by your [Elizabeth's] authoritie we rule." This statement identifies the way that the power dynamics between the sovereign and localities were not only perceived but also conducted. The mayor then began to talk about the issues within the city, but specifically refers to religion and that "the people therein....first most studious of God's glory and true religion," thus confirming their conformity. Yet within the account, the mayor does not address any of the other issues. It is at this point that the queen responds after the oration, in an unscripted address to which she declares:

We hartily thanke you, Maister Maior, and all the reste, for these tokens of goodwill, neuertheless Princes haue no neede of money: God hathe endowed vs abundantly, we come not therefore, but for that whiche in right is our owne, the hartes and true allegeaunce of our Subiects.⁴⁶⁰

With the conclusion of the mayor's oration and the Queen's declaration, Elizabeth officially entered Norwich and was given the sword to the city.

Another piece of evidence that highlights the dual purpose of the progress and contributes to the state of the relationship between the Queen and the citizens of Norwich, is

⁴⁵⁷ From Garter's, *Loyfull Receyuing of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie into hir Highnesse Citie of Norwich*, NRO, COL/7/1 (a), f. 3. See also Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:786-787.

⁴⁵⁸ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 9.

⁴⁵⁹ From Garter's *Loyfull Receyuing of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie into hir Highnesse Citie of Norwich*, NRO, COL/7/1 (a), f. 4. See also Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:789.

⁴⁶⁰ From Garter's *Loyfull Receyuing of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie into hir Highnesse Citie of Norwich*, NRO, COL/7/1 (a), f. 5. See also Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:790.

the letter to the Spanish king from his ambassador, de Mendoza. In the letter, de Mendoza, wrote:

When she entered Norwich large crowds of people came out to receive her, and one company of children knelt as she passed and said, as usual, 'God save the Queen.' She turned to them and said, 'Speak up; I know you do not love me here.'⁴⁶¹

This part of the letter alone signified the contentious nature of the visit. The Queen was proclaiming that the city was disloyal. The reason for this becomes clear through the subsequent lines in the letter, where de Mendoza recounts:

A very curious thing happened here lately. A countryman was found, buried in a stable, three wax figures, two spans high and proportionately broad; the centre figure had the word Elizabeth written on the forehead and the side figures were dressed like her councillors, and were covered over with a variety of different signs, the left side of the images being transfixed with a large quantity of pig's bristles as if it were some sort of witchcraft. When it reached the Queen's ears she was disturbed, as it was looked upon as a augury, and great enquiries have been set about it, although hitherto nothing has been discovered.⁴⁶²

The body and figures found in Lincoln's Inn Fields in London were sent to the Queen and her councillors in Norwich.⁴⁶³ The fact that these figures were sent to Norwich, where the Queen and her councillors could examine the evidence, reinforces that importance of progresses serving as an extension of government and the exercising of royal authority. The affairs of state continued on royal progress.

However, the incredibly detailed account of this incident and the presence of these figures identifies two key transgressions, both religious and political.⁴⁶⁴ First, the issue of political treason was present with the description that the figures were to represent the Queen and her councillors. This was taken as "evidence of a plot to kill the queen and two of her advisers."⁴⁶⁵ Any instance that mentioned the Queen's suggested death or a plot to kill her was considered high treason. Second, the suspicion of witchcraft by the use of signs and symbols on the figures, and the suspicion of Catholicism through the Catholic belief in iconography, confirms the religious transgression. In fact, as Dell notes, "Protestant

⁴⁶¹ *CSP—Spain (Simancas)*, 2:609-618, 8 September 1578, Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

⁴⁶² Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:609-618.

⁴⁶³ A few Society of Antiquaries fellows have discovered a map dated from 1583 that identifies the location of these bodies and wax figures. The map was displayed during the Society of Antiquaries "Blood Royal" exhibit. A discussion of the map can be found on the Society of Antiquaries website under the section titled "Loyalty and Dissent": <http://www.blood-royal-exhibition.com>.

⁴⁶⁴ The availability of primary evidence such as the records of those connected with the dung hill and the barn of where these figures were found hinders a full picture of this event. The main concern here is the fact that the incident occurred while the Queen was on progress and it was dealt with on progress. It was also a symptom of the larger problem of religious conformity and political conformity that was at the heart of the Norwich visit.

⁴⁶⁵ James Sharpe, *Instruments of Darkness: Witchcraft in England, 1550-1750* (London: Hamish Hamilton LTD, 1996), 45.

propagandists made the imaginative leap” from witchcraft and Catholics as parallels were established “between this supernatural attempt on the queen’s life and the ‘satanic’ pope’s repeated efforts to undermine her rule through his own ‘demonic’ agents: the Spanish.”⁴⁶⁶ Both elements of this situation required immediate censure of the populace. Furthermore, this situation caused major concern for the Queen and her councillors. In fact, Elizabeth, concerned with the ominous nature of the figures, sent for John Dee so that he could provide “counter magic.”⁴⁶⁷ This counter magic can be interpreted to mean two things. First, a possible counter spell to protect the Queen and her Councillors was cast. Second, the counter magic could be seen to cleanse the city of Norwich of its own evil intentions. Though difficult to confirm the exact intention of Dee’s presence, the fact that it happened in Norwich and the Queen verbalised her displeasure to the citizens signifies the problems in Norwich and the Queen’s intent to address these transgressions. The Queen’s response cannot be considered out of place or the ranting of a madwoman, but if we place the incident within the context surrounding the intent for the visit then we can understand why the Queen’s reproving words are important. The incident relates to the political and religious non-conformity that existed within Norwich, as well as throughout England. Elizabeth’s presence and progress served to demand and enforce conformity. Furthermore, Elizabeth’s spoken words and request for John Dee signals her agency to address this disloyalty, particularly in Norwich. It was a deliberate expression or response by Elizabeth to address the challenge to her royal authority and persona. Despite the concerns that Elizabeth and her councillors had regarding the county of Norfolk and city of Norwich, the visit was very much a performance of dialogue and ceremony that masked the real relationship between not only the Queen and her citizens but also the relationship between the central government and the localities. The ritual of allowing the Queen and her government to enter demonstrates the city’s ceremonial acknowledgement her authority. The fact that the account does not reveal any negative responses to the Queen’s declarations was an acceptance of her demand and their willingness to pledge their loyalty, allegiance and obedience to the Queen. The granting of the sword to the city and the scene surrounding the Queen’s formal entrance into Norwich mirrors that of Henry VII’s York progress. Anglo comments that Henry’s progress to York was “an important and traditional instrument of royal propaganda. The King [...] could show himself at various key-points of the realm, and thereby impress the populace with the reality of an authority

⁴⁶⁶ Jessica Dell, “‘A witch, a quean, an old conzening quean!’: Image Magic and Shakespeare’s *The Merry Wives of Windsor*”, *Magical Transformations on the Early Modern English Stage*, ed. Lisa Hopkins and Helen Ostovich (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 187.

⁴⁶⁷ The information pertaining to Dee’s visit can be found in Glynn Parry, *Arch Conjurer of England* (London: Yale University Press, 2011), 48-49. Carole Levin writes an interesting piece on the significance of Dee’s presence in Norwich in a public article for the British Library. This can be found at: <https://www.bl.uk/shakespeare/articles/witchcraft-in-shakespeares-england>.

which must [...] have seemed very remote.”⁴⁶⁸ Furthermore, upon Henry VII’s arrival in York, he was received by “civic dignitaries.” Again similarities arise when the King, much like Elizabeth, was thanked for his generosity to the city and in the first pageant Anglo asserts that the mythological figure Ebrank, the founder of York, greeted “the King and present[ed] him with the keys of the city, ‘being thenheritance of the saide Ebrank, yielding his title and his crowne unto the King...”⁴⁶⁹ This reinforces the long-established ritual of exalting the monarch (as only a pseudo-king passed on his royal rank) and submitting to the authority of the sovereign (seen through the founder acknowledging the supremacy of the visiting monarch).

The ritual and dialogue continues with the city’s demonstration of allegiance to the Queen, both verbally and physically with decoration.

Then hir Maiestie, drewe neare the Gates of the Citie called Sainct Stephens gates...The Queenes Armes were moste richely and beautifully set forth in the chiefe front of the gate, on the onside thereof...on the other side, the armes of the Cittie: and directlye vnder the Queenes Maiesties armes was placed ye Falcon, hir hyghnesse Badge in due forme, & vnder the same were written these words, *God and the Queen we serue*.⁴⁷⁰

This highlights how devotion and loyalty were clearly expressed both physically and verbally. Furthermore, this expression of loyalty contributes to the argument, posed in this chapter, that prior to the Queen’s visit there were issues within the county of Norfolk. This is reinforced in the following excerpt from Garter’s “pamphlet”:

The Inner side of the gate...was placed by discent, the armes of the Queene, and vnder that were written these two verses: DIVISION kindled strife, Blist VNION quenchte the flame: Thence sprang our noble PHAENIX deare, the pearless prince of FAME.⁴⁷¹

While this description has been similarly evoked throughout the Tudor period and the War of the Roses, referring to the union of the houses of York and Lancaster, in this context it was referencing and acknowledging Elizabeth’s legitimacy as the rightful ruler of England.

The pageants and entertainments at Norwich were designed not only to flatter but also to pay homage to the Queen. This was an important component of political culture: the mixture of advice and praise. Individuals could not run the risk of insulting the monarch or overstepping, for fear of losing the sovereign’s favour or patronage. These spectacles and rituals aided in the cultivation of Elizabeth’s queenship and established a connection with the monarch. The representation and rhetoric crafted in pageants and on progresses were ways in which the Queen’s subjects could interact with her and participate in the dialogue.

⁴⁶⁸ Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy*, 21.

⁴⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 24-25.

⁴⁷⁰ From Garter’s *Joyfull Receyuing of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie into hir Highnesse Citie of Norwich*, NRO, COL/7/1 (a), f. 7. Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:792.

⁴⁷¹ From Garter’s *Joyfull Receyuing of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie into hir Highnesse Citie of Norwich*, NRO, COL/7/1 (a), f. .See also Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:792.

The prominent Elizabethan historian Roy Strong observes that “through the eyes of those who created the fabric of these visions” in pageants and on progress, it was patrons and men of the court who contributed to the imagery, portraits and representations of Elizabeth.⁴⁷² The progresses certainly added to this fabric and the construction of the Queen’s image. In one of the Norwich pageants presented to the Queen, there was the comparison to the figure Deborah, a biblical figure who was not only a judge in pre-monarchic Israel, but also a warrior and military leader who brought peace to a troubled land for forty years. The second pageant, according to the pamphlet, had Deborah speak as Elizabeth approached stating that God:

Appointed me Debora for the iudge of his elect...
So mightie prince, that puisaunt Lord, hath plaste thee here to be,
The rule of this triumphant Realme alone belongeth to thee.
Continue as thou hast begon, weede out the wicked route,
Vpholde the simple, meeke and good, pull downe the proud & stoute.
Thus shalt thou liue and raigne in rest, and mightie God shalt please.
Thy state be sure, thy subiects safe, thy common welth at ease
Thy God shal graunt thee length of life, to glorify his name,
Thy deedes shall be recorded, in the booke of lasting fame.⁴⁷³

Though this is a wonderful glorification of the Queen, it is also a celebration of Elizabeth’s anointed role as Queen by God; similarly, Deborah was the only female judge noted in the Bible. Additionally, and most importantly, the figure Deborah in the pageant was offering advice to the Queen on how to rule properly. Thus, the public was reminding Elizabeth of her role to protect, secure, defend and morally guide the realm. This principle at its most basic was political. It was also a clear acknowledgement of Elizabeth’s authority and power. Another interesting point is that the comparison was to another female figure—a clearly acceptable female figure in the eyes of her subjects—instead of a male figure. It shows the acceptance of a female head of state as long as she exhibits qualities of good, just, and pure nature: the hallmarks of a strong guardian.

V. Conclusion: After the 1578 Progress

After Elizabeth left Norwich, William Goldingham, wrote a short piece to the city’s inhabitants reminding them of the Queen’s visit. Goldingham said that because of the Queen’s visit their “former renown has been restored,” thus encouraging the city and its people that they should “[t]o this end all have one cry, that the glory of the Kingdom has arrived.”⁴⁷⁴ The

⁴⁷² Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth* (London: Pimlico, 1999), 16.

⁴⁷³ From Garter’s *Loyfull Receyuing of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie into hir Highnesse Citie of Norwich*, NRO, COL/7/1 (a), f. See also Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:796-797.

⁴⁷⁴ From Goldingham’s verses devised for the Norwich entertainments. The verses were in Greek and translated by Richard Ashdowne and Sarah Knight. Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:837.

piece served to both inspire and advise, thus clearly indicating that the city had once been in ill favour with the Queen, but her visit had resolved tension. Her physical presence and agency demanded and receive the city's allegiance and obedience.⁴⁷⁵

The Queen's departure from Norwich also provided the opportunity for the Privy Council to address the cases of recusants. On 22 August 1578, the recusant trial hearings began. Sixteen names appear in an order of which "such recusants as were comanded to appeare...by her ma[jes]tes comandment."⁴⁷⁶ The Queen left Norwich the same day as the trials began and over the next month she progressed through Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, Essex and Hertfordshire.⁴⁷⁷ Her first stop was Kimberley, the home of Sir Roger Woodhouse. From there she went to Woodrising Hill and was hosted by the young Robert Southwell's stepmother, Lady Paget, which proved fruitful for Southwell. In the years following the Queen's visit, Southwell rose to prominence in service to the Queen. He was made Lord Admiral of England in 1584 and was later made knight and also Vice-Admiral of Norfolk. He proved loyal, as he was captain of the ship *Elizabeth Jonas* during the invasion of the Spanish Armada.⁴⁷⁸ The Queen left Woodrising on 25 August and headed towards to Thetford. She was hosted by Sir Edward Clere between 26-27 August 1578. The city had been an important religious centre before the Dissolution of the Monasteries in 1536. The city had petitioned for their first royal charter, which was granted in 1573, thus allowing them to be governed independently but in cooperation with the Crown. Clere had been knighted prior to the Queen's visit. Thetford had been another area influenced by Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk. He owned several houses in the area and the visit to Clere's house served to cement his place in the city. The Queen's visit was a move to make sure that the Crown's authority was represented and enforced, and to see how the town was operating.

The Queen left Thetford and continued to Hengrave Hall, which was owned by Sir Thomas Kitson. Kitson had been implicated in the Ridolfi plot because of his association with the late Duke of Norfolk, and was imprisoned in the Tower in 1569. When questioned, he shared the information he knew regarding the Duke and recanted his faith to the old religion. The Queen's visit served to make sure that Kitson was still loyal but also sought to ensure conformity. What she found must have pleased her, for he was rewarded with a knighthood

⁴⁷⁵ It is interesting to note that William Goldingham is not noted in the ODNB despite coming from a distinguished family within the region that is noted in Thomas Wright's *The Topography of the County of Essex*. The editors of the John Nichols collection also mention that William Goldingham was mistaken for his brother Henry who was also a poet. The editors point out that the source clearly indicates that it was William Goldingham who assisted with the Norwich pageants. See annotation by Matthew Woodcock in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:778; Thomas Wright, *The History and Topography of the County of Essex, Vol. I* (London: George Virtue, 1836), 544-545.

⁴⁷⁶ HHA, Cecil Papers 161/39a.

⁴⁷⁷ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 191.

⁴⁷⁸ The ODNB does not list the young Robert Southwell. The story of the young Southwell and his preferment was pieced together by the materials provided by Dovey and Smith. Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress*, 98-99; Smith, *County and Court*, 65 & 324.

on her progress.⁴⁷⁹ The Queen stayed for three nights, during which time the Council met and discussed the mounting issues of religion, foreign unrest, and the continued situation with the Low Countries. It was at Hengrave that the Queen issued a lengthy letter to the ambassadors in the Low Countries seeking several assurances, particularly “conditions for peace...[and] for repayment than hitherto had been given for other sums.”⁴⁸⁰

Continuing through Cambridgeshire, the Queen visited Roger, Baron North, at Kirtling Hall from 1-3 September. North had accompanied the Queen earlier on her progress from Audley End to Norwich.⁴⁸¹ North was a devout Protestant and supported puritan causes.⁴⁸² He served as a diplomat for the Queen, particularly during the negotiations for the Treaty of Blois in 1574. Given the Wars of Religion raging through the Netherlands and France, and given North’s service to the Queen and his religious faith, the visit most likely culminated in a discussion of the situation in Europe, and therefore the Queen sought North’s advice on the situation. This is confirmed by the fact that the Spanish ambassador, de Mendoza, reported that the Queen and North were “talking...for more than an hour...overheard to say...many Englishmen...organized in regiments in the Netherlands.”⁴⁸³ The visit certainly did put North on notice with the Queen as she ordered him to go to the Netherlands with the Earl of Leicester in 1585. The relationship between North and Leicester also highlights that dynamics of political culture and the shaping of individual lives, as it is noted that it was North who “converted Leicester to Puritanism.”⁴⁸⁴ The Queen’s visit in 1578 continued to address the political situation throughout the kingdom and within Europe.

From Kirtling Hall, the Queen travelled into the county of Essex and stayed with Edward Tyrrell at Waltons and Horeham Hall, the home of Sir John Cuttes. Horeham was not in the report of houses that were inspected by Bowes and the visit signals Elizabeth’s agency in choosing to stay there.⁴⁸⁵ One reason she chose this particular location was because she had already been to Horeham in 1571.⁴⁸⁶ Another reason was to avoid London, as it was reported that the plague was present in the capital.⁴⁸⁷ It was during the visit to Horeham that Elizabeth addressed the pressing suit of the Duke of Alençon and stated, “she would not agree

⁴⁷⁹ Joy Rowe, ‘Kitson family (*per. c.*1520–*c.*1660)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁴⁸⁰ TNA, SP 83/8, f. 53.

⁴⁸¹ Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress*, 114.

⁴⁸² From annotation by Jayne Elisabeth Archer in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:834.

⁴⁸³ *CSP—Spain (Simancas)*, 2:609-618; 8 September 1578, Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

⁴⁸⁴ John Craig, ‘North, Roger, second Baron North (1531–1600)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁴⁸⁵ Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress*, 125.

⁴⁸⁶ The list of the Queen’s visits on the 1571 progress is from the household expenses in the Exchequer accounts. It is edited by Gabriel Heaton and reproduced in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:703. The original Comptroller’s account of the household expenses is located at TNA, E 101/431/2.

⁴⁸⁷ TNA, SP 12/125, f. 137.

to marry anyone she had not first met.”⁴⁸⁸ Further political issues were addressed during her visit at Horeham, including the request from the Netherlands for more aid.⁴⁸⁹

Leaving Horeham, the Queen was nearing the end of her 1578 progress. She visited Hadham, Hyde Hall, Theydon Bois, Loughborough and finally Wansted.⁴⁹⁰ On 23 September, the Earl of Leicester hosted the Queen again. The progress had come full circle, as Wansted was where the progress had ventured earlier in May. The Queen arrived back in London on the 25 September and retired to Richmond Palace.⁴⁹¹ The visits and progress after the climatic visit to Norwich reveals that it dealt with issues of religion but, just as importantly, it dealt with political issues regarding the Wars of Religion, marriage negotiations and continued obedience and conformity.

The Queen did not forget the refugees in Norwich. In fact, the Queen sent £30 to Norwich to “aid Dutch and Walloon communities.” An even more revealing example of the Queen’s interaction with the refugee communities in Norwich occurred in October 1578: there was a report for the consideration to “drawe the merchant straungers from the ...Low Countries.” The report stated that there “be greate cawse to ...drawe...straungers to Englande.”⁴⁹² Furthermore, in December 1578, a document specifying that the Dutch and French strangers were going to pay charges to the city, thus making them more integrated as citizens. The document also specified that “they pay euery tyme they goe beyond to seas for a pasporte of the said cittie.”⁴⁹³ This demonstrates that the Queen’s visit to the city of Norwich on progress helped to resolve issues within the city. It is also possible to conclude that the mention of the “pasporte” was to deter strangers from returning to the Low Countries to contribute to the unrest in the Netherlands and France.

Finally, the 1578 progress illustrates that both political and religious concerns in Norwich, at least for the short term, were addressed and admonished. In 1588, the city and county of Norfolk, along with other cities along the coast, prepared for and stood against the Spanish Armada. The events and the visits on the 1578 progress displayed the nature of political culture and how each individual played a role in shaping not only the politics and religion but social and cultural aspects of Elizabethan England. Furthermore, Elizabeth’s agency in choosing the places she stayed with the court and elevating members of court was evident on progress. The pageants, entertainments and literature produced contributed to Elizabeth’s queenship as an exalted and benevolent sovereign with a genuine concern and care for her subjects and the realm.

⁴⁸⁸ Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress*, 127.

⁴⁸⁹ BL, Cotton MS, Galba C/VI, f. 162.

⁴⁹⁰ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 190-191.

⁴⁹¹ Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress*, 152; Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 190-191.

⁴⁹² TNA, SP 12/126, f. 59.

⁴⁹³ TNA, SP 12/127, f. 140.

Chapter 3: The Queen and the Political Art of Hunting

This chapter aims to fill the gaps within the Elizabethan scholarship in relation to the Queen's hunting activities and investigates Elizabeth's active participation in the hunt. The analysis of the hunting excursions on royal progresses begins by highlighting and discussing the historical context through an examination of the contemporary literature and establishing how prevalent hunting was in early modern culture. Then, combined with the historiography of hunting, the second section will focus on the political significance of hunting. The third section explores and illustrates the logistics of royal hunting during the reign of Elizabeth I. This includes examining those who were present at the hunts, where the hunts happened, what types of hunting took place, and the financial records pertaining to hunting staff, and the extensive use of the staff on the activities of the hunt. This will establish the popularity of hunting during Elizabeth's reign and her own involvement in the hunt. The final section explores the relationship between hunting and politics in greater depth, highlighting the ways in which the Queen used the hunt to establish a martial identity and how the hunt was used as a form of, and response to, counsel.

Female martial identity, particularly Elizabeth's martial representation, has been the subject of debates and discussion among early modern historians such as Levin, Frye, Charles Beem, and Anthony Fletcher.⁴⁹⁴ The most referenced military event of Elizabeth's reign that was associated with martial leadership was the Spanish Armada, notably her presence at Tilbury. Elizabeth's presence at Tilbury was a contrast to the contemporary views of women in such violent, public spaces. The notions and attitudes about women were inextricably bound to the concept of masculinity. With a few exceptions, women generally did not participate in or "have a formal political role in early modern society."⁴⁹⁵ This included women being engaged in the violent and masculine aspect of war and military practice. Warfare and the monarch's ability to be a martial leader were crucial to power and rule. Henry VIII certainly considered the monarch's presence in battle to play a critical role in sovereignty and legitimacy.⁴⁹⁶ Fletcher asserts that "violence was accepted as a necessary means of maintaining order" within society and of reinforcing the social hierarchy and gender roles.⁴⁹⁷ Women were seen as the "weaker vessel" and not in possession of the

⁴⁹⁴ This list is not comprehensive; it serves more as a highlight of relevant scholarship. Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*; Charles Beem, *The Lioness Roared: The Problems of Female Rule in English History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Susan Frye, *Elizabeth I: The Competition for Representation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Anthony Fletcher and Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2004).

⁴⁹⁵ Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 276.

⁴⁹⁶ Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*, 139.

⁴⁹⁷ Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England, 1500-1800* (London: Yale University Press, 1999), 192.

temperament, “moral sense”, will or stamina for battle.⁴⁹⁸ This was illustrated when Henry VIII was described as having claimed that warfare, “trouble and inquietness” were “unmeet for women’s imbecilities.”⁴⁹⁹ As violence was central to masculinity, it goes without question that men were the arbiters and directors of violence because they had not only the authority to do so but were physically built and designed for it.⁵⁰⁰ Accordingly, this raises the question: how did Elizabeth I work around this expectation that women did not participate in public roles like martial leadership in order to still be viewed as an effective monarch? The answer is complex, but resides with the ways in which gender roles were constructed and how both Elizabeth and her subjects cultivated the public displays, representations and imagery of masculinity. In fact, Levin asserts “Elizabeth did not want war because of the expense” and suggests that Elizabeth knew of the importance of martial leadership, especially as it “gave others a chance at glory at her expense.”⁵⁰¹ The construction of gender roles and public presentations of Elizabeth’s martial identity by her subjects were most prominently featured and displayed on progresses through the medium of the pageants composed for the Queen. Elizabeth’s own construction of gender roles on progress highlights the ways in which she effectively “expressed the ambiguity of being both female and male...in public presentations.”⁵⁰² This was evident in the details of the Queen’s presence at Tilbury in 1588. There are no definitive eyewitness accounts that prove Elizabeth gave the speech or that confirm how she appeared at Tilbury. However, contemporaries such as William Camden, and other historical chroniclers, have given narratives of the events. Elizabeth’s presence at Tilbury, addressing the troops, is still pervasive in the continuing studies of Elizabeth’s queenship and reign because of the dynamic imagery and depiction of a strong and decisive queen. The speech at Tilbury, in the various accounts, proclaimed:

Lett tyrants feare: I have so behaved my selfe, [tha]t under god I have placed my chieftest strength and safegard in [th]e Loyal harts and goodwill of my subiects and wher for I am com amonge you att this tym butt for [not] my recreation and pleasure being resolued in [th]e middst and heate of [th]e battle to live and Dye among[st] you all, to lay down for my god, and for my kyngdom and for my people...I know I haue [th]e body butt of a weake and feble woman, butt I have [th]e harte and stomach of a kinge, and of a kynge of England too and think foule scorn [tha]t Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe should dare to invade [th]e borders of my Realm...I myself will take up arms, I my self will be your General, Judge, and Rewarder of everie one of your virtues in [th]e field.⁵⁰³

⁴⁹⁸ Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, 60-65.

⁴⁹⁹ TNA, SP 1/215, f. 34.

⁵⁰⁰ Fletcher, *Gender, Sex, and Subordination*, 60-65. Fletcher’s discussion of “humours” illustrates how early modern contemporaries viewed the ways that male and females bodies functioned and were designed for specific roles.

⁵⁰¹ Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*, 139.

⁵⁰² *Ibid.*, 140.

⁵⁰³ BL, Harley MS 6798, f. 87. The British Library copy is attributed to Lionell Sharpe (1560-1631). Janet M. Green, “‘I My Self’: Queen Elizabeth’s Oration at Tilbury Camp”, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 28 (1997), 421-45. Another version is cited in Susan Frye’s article of the Tilbury events. Susan Frye, “The Myth of Elizabeth at Tilbury”, *The Sixteenth Century Journal*,

This particular incident highlights that Elizabeth was not removed from the role of a martial leader, but associated with it. We do not have to rely solely on this source for evidence of Elizabeth's association with military prowess or her martial identity. Portraits, pageants and contemporary literature also highlight this connection.⁵⁰⁴ However, the most visible display of Elizabeth's martial identity, as I will argue, was cultivated through the pursuit of hunting on the Queen's royal progresses.

Hunting was associated with military skill and was considered a part of the monarch's martial identity throughout the medieval and early modern period. For Elizabeth, hunting served as a means to visibly display her martial prowess and power. Hunting also operated as a political instrument in exercising power while on progress. Elizabeth used it to develop relations both with members of her court and foreign diplomats, and to project an image of a martial Queen. The act of hunting added to her queenship by associating her with combat skills and identifying her as a martial leader. Hunting aided in the facilitation of political culture, while providing an opportunity for the Queen to assert her agency.

Describing Elizabeth as a huntress was a common occurrence during her reign. In July 1592, Sir Walter Raleigh wrote to Robert Cecil stating that he "was wont to behold her riding like Alexander and hunting like Diana."⁵⁰⁵ These two seemingly separate figures, Alexander and Diana, were joined together to create one striking image of the Queen as a warrior and strong martial leader. Using only the figure of Alexander the Great would have associated the Queen exclusively with the violent and masculine aspect of warfare: essentially a public and political association. Therefore the image is combined with that of Diana, goddess of the hunt, an acceptable female figure in the eyes of the gendered patriarchy and a symbol of the Queen's natural qualities. The result is an image of a capable, effective martial queen with a body politic and a body personal, and who was just and powerful. The employment of hunting by Elizabeth and her contemporaries contributed to a sense of power and authority that was widely visible in a range of materials from the period, including contemporary literary devices (poems, pageants, manuals and treatises), letters, state papers, accounts from specific progresses, and entertainments performed on progresses.

Secondary sources make references to the Queen hunting but rarely explore the deeper meaning and significance of hunting within this period. Was it just a recreational activity, or was it used for other purposes, such as acting as a venue for political counsel, a

Vol. 23, No. 1 (Spring, 1992), 98. The visit at Tilbury is also included in William Camden's *A History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth, late Queen of England containing all the most important and remarkable passages of state, both at home and abroad* (1688), 416.

⁵⁰⁴ Elizabeth's Armada portrait depicts a strong monarch that "vanquishes the forces of evil." Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth*, 43. Additionally, the pageants in Bristol and Deptford depicted Elizabeth as a military commander. Taken from civic accounts recorded in *The Black Book of Warwick*, edited by Gabriel Heaton in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:34. See also Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 156.

⁵⁰⁵ HHA, *Calendar of MS*, Misc., Vol. II, 153.

symbolic ritual or a representation of power? To what extent did the Queen participate in the process of the hunt? What were the reactions to the Queen when she engaged in this traditionally masculine pursuit? These are important questions for our understanding of female rule, political culture and Elizabeth I. However, there is no study dedicated to the relationship between the Queen and hunting, its meaning or its significance.

Rather, current scholarship tends to casually mention other people who went hunting with the Queen. Historians such as Cole, Dovey, and Ian Dunlap have all mentioned Elizabeth hunting on progress. Cole focuses on Elizabeth's hosts that went hunting with her or organised a hunt for her, rather than examining whether the Queen's participation in the hunt and whether or not hunting was a contributing factor in choosing her hosts.⁵⁰⁶ Dovey takes a more casual approach in identifying Elizabeth's hunting activities, commenting in passing how the Queen hunted in specific locations. There is no in-depth discussion of the role that hunting took in the planning of progresses, despite asserting "the Queen could have needed a change of costume for hunting."⁵⁰⁷ Furthermore, the inclusion of hunting images suggests that Dovey considers hunting to be an important component of Elizabeth's progresses.⁵⁰⁸ Finally, Ian Dunlap provides no primary evidence for his assertion that the act of hunting "delighted" the Queen, but does document in detail the hunting parks that were attached to the royal palaces and noble hosts.⁵⁰⁹ Alternatively, Amanda Richardson's article helps to highlight the active participation of medieval and early modern queens who hunted.⁵¹⁰

Since hunting was a recreational activity for the elite in sixteenth-century society and involved masculine traits that reflected military practice, it is important to highlight the other political functions that the activity of hunting provided. Counsel was important in early modern culture and progresses facilitated counsel between the monarch and their subject. Older studies of Elizabethan counsel have been constrained within studies of early modern administration, politics and government.⁵¹¹ However, in the past twenty years, studies of early modern counsel have expanded beyond the traditional lenses to include the socio-political and cultural influence and impact of counsel.⁵¹² According to Jacqueline Rose, counsel was "a fundamental element of the conceptual basis, political framework, and daily workings" of early modern society. Hence, counsel, particularly political counsel, "reinforced

⁵⁰⁶ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 64.

⁵⁰⁷ Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress*, 76.

⁵⁰⁸ The images are the woodcuts from Gascoigne's *The Noble Arte of Venerie*. They are misattributed to Turberville. Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress*, 9 & 58.

⁵⁰⁹ Ian Dunlap, *The Palaces of Elizabeth I* (London: The Trinity Press, 1962), 31-2, 129, 146.

⁵¹⁰ Amanda Richardson, "'Riding Like Alexander, Hunting Like Diana': Gendered Aspects of the Medieval Hunt and its Landscape Settings in England and France." *Gender and History*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (August 2012), 253-270.

⁵¹¹ Neale, "The Elizabethan political scene", 59-84. G.R. Elton, "Tudor Government: the points of contact: I. Parliament", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 24 (1974), 183-200.

⁵¹² Mears examines counsel given from a special group gathered by Elizabeth that operated outside the established Privy Council. Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse*, 47-48.

or reconstituted power relations.”⁵¹³ I would add that counsel also negotiated power relations, especially on progresses. The new collection of essays gathered and edited by Rose extends beyond counseling as only associated with the traditional institutional bodies (i.e. Privy Council, Parliament, Church) to examine counseling exchanged through “dialogue, debate and discussion” within social and cultural settings (i.e. civic and personal pageants, and discussions with hosts on progresses).⁵¹⁴

Counsel is referred to as the advice (personal or bureaucratic) or consultation (negotiations or diplomatic discussions) given by an individual. The two forms of counsel are not mutually exclusive but fluid and often used simultaneously. Counsel, articulated orally or in writing, was the giving of advice or giving of information that may prompt a reply or action. This could be seen in the civic petitions that were sent to the Queen and that resulted in a visit or sending of aid. Counsel was the bedrock of political culture because, as Guy contends, it involved a “socio-political matrix” that had a “common fund of language” expressed by the Queen, councillors, nobles, civic leaders, ecclesiastical leaders and Parliament. This ultimately “informed public discourse and shaped political institutions.”⁵¹⁵ This leads to the examination of how counsel was exchanged and how it was visible in the sources. Rose asserts that the traditional methods of institutional record keeping provide some of the evidence, but the written accounts of oral counsel cannot be ignored. Therefore, “literary and dramatic portrayals of counsel and Councillors, the oaths Councillors took, complaints about counsel going wrong and reports of the activities of councils and political decision-making” must all be utilised to highlight how counsel was offered.⁵¹⁶ In this regard, identifying the occasions on which the Queen hunted, the individuals that were with her and the records surrounding these occasions (eyewitness accounts, state papers, letters) helps us to identify when counseling occurred and contributes to Rose’s studies of counsel. One of the clearest examples of counsel being given through the activity of hunting occurred during the 1575 progress to Kenilworth. Through the devised pageants, Dudley offered counsel to the Queen about the marriage negotiations with the Duke of Alençon. Furthermore, the identification of where correspondence was dispatched or councils met after a hunt highlights the possibility of a response to counsel given. For instance, in correspondence exchanged in 1590, the Queen was noted to have drafted a letter to the French ambassador after hunting.⁵¹⁷ Ultimately, the discussion of the Queen’s hunting pursuits and whom she hunted with highlights the political interactions that occurred and contributes to how counsel operated in sixteenth-century England.

⁵¹³ Jacqueline Rose, “The Problem of Political Counsel in Medieval and Early Modern England and Scotland”, in *The Politics of Counsel in England and Scotland, 1286-1707* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 1.

⁵¹⁴ Rose, “The Problem of Counsel”, 2.

⁵¹⁵ John Guy, “The Rhetoric of Counsel in Early Modern England”, *Tudor Political Culture*, ed. Dale Hoak (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 292-293.

⁵¹⁶ Rose, “The Problem of Counsel”, 10.

⁵¹⁷ TNA, SP 78/21, f. 322.

This study of hunting on progresses during Elizabeth's reign will also contribute to the understanding of the Queen's agency and how those around her ascribed agency to her. It will deepen our understanding by revealing how hunting added another layer of dynamics to Elizabethan political culture, and finally provide a unique perspective on the ways in which Elizabeth's queenship was constructed. This study of Elizabethan hunting reveals that the Queen was not a timid or reluctant monarch, but a strong, intelligent, warrior queen who manipulated gender roles to craft a powerful male persona and acted independently. Her extensive use of hunting while on progresses elevated her to an equal status to other royal rulers in early modern Europe that acknowledged her military prowess and exchanged experiences of hunting practices. Elizabeth's considerable investment in her hunting establishment illustrates that Elizabeth not only used hunting as a recreational pursuit that rivaled her courtiers but also used it to reinforce her reputation as a chivalric leader and martial queen.

I. Hunting within the Historical Context and Historiography

The pursuit of hunting has long been synonymous with the development of military skills, for it provided training for war, practical field experience and as Richard Almond argues, "an alternative to active rebellion."⁵¹⁸ The act of hunting cultivated the monarch's martial identity throughout the medieval and early modern period, evolving from a physical means of preparation for war to a symbolic means of preparation for war. It was most fundamentally masculine, and demonstrated such qualities as "strength, skill, endurance, patience, courage and conquest...to signify heroic masculinity."⁵¹⁹ Hunting was a necessary skill and pursuit during the early modern period. For the gentry and others living on country estates, hunting also provided food. For the royal family and the nobility, hunting provided food but it also provided recreation, points of contact and social interactions, and status. Over time hunting evolved into two distinct paradigms: hunting for survival and hunting for sport. This particular chapter focuses on hunting for sport.

The act of hunting and its meanings date back to ancient civilizations. In ancient Rome, hunting was a display of power, strength, honour and specific types of virtue: valour, excellence, courage and character. This was demonstrated in the artwork and statues of leaders such as Augustus and Domitian.⁵²⁰ Classical Roman and Greek writers, such as Xenophon, Oppian, Gracian, and Cicero, demonstrated the significance of hunting in their writings. The Greek style of hunting was small and intimate, and consisted of no more than

⁵¹⁸ Richard Almond, *Daughters of Artemis: The Huntress in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2009), 2.

⁵¹⁹ Catherine Bates, *The Masculinity and the Hunt: Wyatt to Spenser* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 4.

⁵²⁰ Steven L. Tuck, "The Origins of Roman Imperial Hunting Imagery: Domitian and the Redefinition of Virtus under the Principate", *Greece & Rome*, Second Series, Vol. 52, No. 2 (Oct. 2005), 221-245.

six individuals.⁵²¹ In fact the Greeks did not like excess or extravagance when it came to hunting; their type of hunting tended to focus on finding food. For the Romans, hunting was an opportunity to boast of skill and stage great displays. In fact, Athenaeus, a Roman leader, had a procession in which hunting servants led 2400 hounds, along with the large entourage in the procession.⁵²² It was among these Roman traditions that the parameters of hunting rituals were established. In the fourth century, Emperor Theodosius restricted the hunting of lions to royalty, thus establishing the close connection between the monarch and the hunting of majestic creatures.

The understanding of Roman hunting practices allows us to see the appeal of honour, valour and strength during the Renaissance. Roman ideals and traditions in the areas of warfare, honour, fighting, and spectacles, like much of the revival of Roman antiquity during the Renaissance, were celebrated and exhibited, especially during the reign of Henry VIII.⁵²³ Steven Tuck has contended that the Roman concept of *virtus* changed depending on the ruler at specific times. This was an interesting concept because hunting highlighted specific characteristics depending on what the ruler thought was important or the image that they wanted to project. Certainly, this malleability remained through the classical period, into the middle ages, and into the early modern period with the Tudor dynasty. However, in the medieval period, many hunting manuals were written to emphasise knighthood and chivalric love.⁵²⁴

Early modern culture associated the qualities of “heroic masculinity”, often displayed through hunting, with chivalry. Chivalric values were very much at the heart of “the cultural imagination” in Elizabethan England.⁵²⁵ Throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the military importance of an individual, particularly knights, evolved from the practical to the symbolic, and provided a “highly adaptable, fluid language” that articulated a “wide variety of meanings.”⁵²⁶ Chivalry, as an ideal, has a long history within literature and warfare, and was most often associated with knights as a military weapon from the eleventh century. As Craig Taylor has pointed out, “[military] prowess was the real cornerstone of chivalric culture,” and in the context of the medieval period it is easy to see how military prowess was achieved through war campaigns such as the Crusades or the Hundred Years' War.⁵²⁷ Although it has been argued that hunting had significance throughout the late medieval period, it is possible

⁵²¹ Denison Bingham Hull, *Hounds and Hunting in Ancient Greece* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1964), xii.

⁵²² Hull, *Hounds and Hunting in Ancient Greece*, xvi.

⁵²³ James Jonathan Williams, “Hunting in Early Modern England: An Examination with Special Reference to the Reign of Henry VIII” (PhD Dissertation, University of Birmingham, October 1998), 19-20.

⁵²⁴ Williams, “Hunting in Early Modern England”, 8.

⁵²⁵ Marco Nievergelt, “The Chivalric Imagination in Elizabethan England,” *Literature Compass*, 8/5 (2011), 267.

⁵²⁶ Nievergelt, “The Chivalric Imagination”, 267.

⁵²⁷ Craig Taylor, *Chivalry and the ideals of knighthood in France during the Hundred Years War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 91.

to say that it truly flourished in the early modern era. Hunting came to be associated with wealth, power, authority, prestige and pleasure: for nobles and aristocrats it was pleasure and for monarchs it was authority and power. All the elements of hunting—from the types of weapons used and the times they could be used, to the types of animals hunted, to the types of clothing worn—had significance, like much of Tudor magnificence and authority.

At each stage of the hunt there were certain rituals that had to be followed to project a desired image. For example, the choice of hunting a stag or buck was bound up in the idea of exerting power over a majestic and noble creature. This projected the illusion of strength and domination of the cultural hierarchy. As the elite used specific types of hounds and hawks, the stalking of quail and partridges with either hounds or hawks for instance, gives the impression of wealth and, more importantly, honour. The chivalric ideal of honour was demonstrated through allowing the animals (i.e. hounds and hawks) used for the hunt to naturally chase and kill the animals being hunted, rather than the hunter exerting senseless violence. Therefore, not having the hunter strike and kill the quail or partridge, and in some cases the roe, but having the hound or hawk do the killing, demonstrated a respect and understanding of the laws of nature: a just and moral way of hunting. The pursuit of hunting displayed expert knowledge, strength, coordination and prowess, giving the illusion of a capable leader and military commander. The battle component of the hunt involved the chase, the conquering and battling of an opponent. The death of said opponent, or the stag, projected the image of a victorious and courageous leader. Therefore, the conclusion of the hunt that resulted in a capture of a stag resulted in a perfect performance that meant that the champion of the hunt had won the battle and displayed exemplary skills and martial prowess. Hunting was essential to the education of youth, and training of knights and soldiers. The development of military skills through the practice of hunting, especially in young boys, is echoed in combat training of the medieval period as knights and young soldiers went to the battlefield. These young soldiers encountered and utilised a variety of combat techniques, and engaged with various aspects of battle, including the target, the terrain, their weapons, and the weapons of their opponents.⁵²⁸ Hunting provided a simulated game of the violent enterprise of warfare.

Monarchs understood the value of hunting and the military practice that it provided. In the fourteenth century, King Alfonso XI of Castile authored his own hunting manual, and he saw wild animals as useful targets for the practice of warfare.⁵²⁹ He wrote that “[f]or a knight should always engage in anything to do with arms or chivalry and if he cannot do so in war, he should do so in activities which resemble war. And the chase is most similar to war.”⁵³⁰ This quotation illustrates how a monarch understood and perceived the importance of

⁵²⁸ Sydney Anglo, *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe* (Yale University Press, 2000), 2.

⁵²⁹ Abel A. Alves, *The Animals of Spain: An Introduction to Imperial Perceptions and Human Interactions with Other Animals, 1492-1826* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2011), 63.

⁵³⁰ Richard Almond, *Medieval Hunting* (Stroud: The History Press, 2011), 16.

military practice in all its forms, including hunting. The practice of hunting developed the hunter's sight and sharpened their ability to identify a target. The movement on horseback helped to strengthen the hunter's back to keep the weapon steady while simultaneously holding the weapon and moving at an accelerated pace. Finally, knowing the landscape in the hunt allowed the hunter to engage in tactics and identify the best way to capture their target. All of these aspects were similar to military skills.

Hunting not only included the physical act of hunting but also the use and spectacle of falconry/hawking, knowledge of the prey, and the weapons used for sport. All of this added to the camaraderie between huntsmen and increased the sociability of the hunt. It was also a hierarchical activity, which included courtiers, noblemen and monarchs as well as servants, with each one having a distinct function and role in the hunt. Precedence also played a role in the choice of location for hunting.⁵³¹ Ultimately, it was the monarch who had the overriding right to areas that were reserved for hunting. Literature of the period reflected this courtly activity and process, including George Gascoigne's *The Noble Arte of Venerie* (1575), George Turberville's *The Book of Falconry and Hawking* (1575), and Sir Thomas Cokayne's *A Short Treatise of Hunting* (1591), which will be explored in depth here. The contemporary literature also reveals that hunting was an integral part of elite culture and royal identity.

A great deal of literature was produced in the late medieval period with regards to the pursuit of hunting and the methods and forms in which gentlemen and knights, but more importantly monarchs, were to hunt. Such medieval literary pieces included *The Art of Hunting* by William Twiti in 1327, *The Master of Game* by Edward, the second Duke of York in 1415, and *The Boke of St. Albans* in 1486.⁵³² Almond, the foremost scholar of medieval hunting, identifies other literary texts that emphasise and highlight the importance of hunting as central to late medieval life and the education of men. This includes such texts as Gaston Ferbus' *Livre de chasses* in 1389 and a 1235 French poem, "Guy of Warwick." In his doctoral study, "Hunting in Early Modern England", focusing on the hunting activities of Henry VIII, James Jonathan Williams comments that in the early Tudor period it would not be impossible that these medieval pieces were in the possession of members of the court or even seen by monarchs.⁵³³ Most of the evidence suggests that the majority of the hunting manuals and treatises circulating in the late medieval period were continental in origin, predominately French. However, throughout the sixteenth century there was a surge of translations of

⁵³¹ Dirk Breiding, *A Deadly Art: European Crossbows, 1250-1850* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013), 8.

⁵³² Edward of Norwich, *The Master of Game*, ed. William A. Baillie-Grohman and F.N. Baillie-Grohman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005). Juliana Berners, *The Boke of St. Albans*, introduction and edited by William Blades (London: Elliot Stock, Paternoster Row, E.C., 1901). In his introduction, Blades discusses the authorship of *The Boke of St. Albans* and concludes that Dame Juliana Berners composed a small part of it but compiled the rest. There is very little material relating to the life of Juliana Berners and her role in authoring *The Boke of St. Albans*. See page 11 of introduction.

⁵³³ Williams, "Hunting in Early Modern England", 4.

foreign manuals and conduct books into English.⁵³⁴ Hunting manuals were no exception.

In fact, English hunting manuals of the late sixteenth century were tailored and customised for the English nobility, as demonstrated by Gascoigne's and Turberville's manual.⁵³⁵

The most prominent hunting manual in England during the late medieval period was *Master of the Game* by Edward, the second Duke of York, written in 1415. The Duke of York was a descendent of Edward III, a favourite of Richard II, who served under Henry IV at the Battle of Agincourt.⁵³⁶ He was master of King Henry IV's game, meaning he was master of the King's hunting animals (hounds and hawks), as well as a member of the hunting staff. He was considered an authority on hunting, especially hunting dogs. His manual was dedicated to the king's son, Henry, Prince of Wales, the future king, Henry V. Edward's work provided the foundation for English hunting techniques, rituals, and management.⁵³⁷ *Master of the Game* is the oldest English language book on hunting and an important primary source in understanding the English traditions of hunting. This piece can be compared with the better-known Elizabethan hunting manual: *The Noble Arte of Venerie* by Gascoigne.

Gascoigne was an author, lawyer and soldier. He joined an expedition to Flushing in the Netherlands to avert a takeover from the French in 1572 and assisted with the Dutch revolt against the Spanish in 1573.⁵³⁸ The 1572 expedition, which is thought to be the subject of Gascoigne's poem, "The fruites of warre", illustrated Gascoigne's military expertise.⁵³⁹ This expertise was also highlighted within the hunting manual, particularly when Gascoigne described the movements of hunting to help "mens bodies be, in health mainteyned well. It exercyseth strength, it exercyseth wit, [a]nd all poars and sprites of Man, are exercised by it...How true they tread their steps in exercises traine..."⁵⁴⁰ The hunting manual was written in 1575, but until recently it was attributed to George Turberville. The reason for this attribution was because Gascoigne's name was not printed on the manual. It was printed by the publisher as a companion piece to Turberville's *The Booke of Faulconrie or Hawking*, upon which Turberville's name was clearly identified. It is through the sixteenth-century publishing process that the manual was identified as the work of Turberville. This

⁵³⁴ Most notably is Thomas Hoby's translation of Castiglione's *The Courtier*. Neil Rhodes, "Thomas Hoby, *The Courtier of Count Baldessar Castiglione* (1561)", in *English Renaissance Translation Theory: MHRA Tudor and Stuart Translations, Volume 9*, ed. Neil Rhodes, Gordon Kendal, and Louise Wilson (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2013), 295.

⁵³⁵ George Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, (London, 1575). George Turberville, *The Booke of Faulconrie or Hawking*, (London, 1575).

⁵³⁶ Within *The Master of the Game*, Edward, the second Duke of York, was also known as Edward of Norwich. Rosemary Horrox has stated that the name was "probably a misreading of 'd'everwick' (of York)." Rosemary Horrox, 'Edward, second duke of York (c.1373-1415)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁵³⁷ Horrox, 'Edward, second duke of York (c.1373-1415)', *ONDB*.

⁵³⁸ G. W. Pigman III, 'Gascoigne, George (1534/5?-1577)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁵³⁹ George Gascoigne, "The fruites of warre", in *The Posies*, George Gascoigne Esquire, Corrected, perfected, and augmented by the Authour, (Printed in London for Richard Smith, and are to be solde at the Northwest doore of Paules Church, 1575), 139-179.

⁵⁴⁰ George Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, (London, 1575).

misattribution has lasted for hundreds of years, and it has only been within the last fifty years that scholars have analyzed the two manuals and found inconsistencies between the two pieces, therefore indicating that two different authors wrote them.⁵⁴¹ These inconsistencies are apparent in tone, language, experience and the format of each piece. Gascoigne wrote from the perspective of experience, with a sharp and skilled eye for nature, an understanding of the animals and their inherent dispositions, and a practical, expert knowledge of hunting rituals, proficiency and techniques. Turberville, however, wrote in an artistic way that provided superficial descriptions, rather than comprehensive explanations, that illustrated his lack of expertise and only a basic understanding of hunting animals and rituals. Austen explains that one of the reasons that Gascoigne was “reluctant to claim his translation by name” was “because it would compromise his self representation.”⁵⁴² Indeed his work would have been perceived as both insincere and hypocritical because Gascoigne spoke out about the excesses of courtly rituals, and hunting was considered an excess of court ritual. In his piece *A Hundreth*, Gascoigne devised poems to instruct and guide a youthful Gascoigne (alluding to the reformed persona). While “Sundrie Gentlemen” was stated to have been composed by unknown authors, Austen maintains that the “Sundrie Gentlemen’ are gathered into a unified ‘George Gascoigne.’”⁵⁴³ Throughout “[t]he deuises of sundrie Gentlemen”, Gascoigne disapproves of court excess and imprudence through the characterization of the “glittering courte”, alluding to courtiers’ behavior containing “pompe and pride”, and the seduction of court in the verse: “[i]n worthless webbes doe snare the simple flies. The garments gay, the glittering golden gift.”⁵⁴⁴ This thinly veiled criticism of the court certainly conflicted with the celebration of the hunt, which was a fundamental and extravagant court activity. It is interesting to note that through his criticism of the court in “Sundrie Gentlemen”, Gascoigne uses hunt as both a metaphor and language to articulate the problems.⁵⁴⁵

Gascoigne was commissioned to translate and write *The Noble Arte of Venerie* by the London printer Christopher Barker.⁵⁴⁶ Gascoigne’s translation drew the attention of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. In the summer of 1575, Leicester commissioned Gascoigne to produce a performance piece that premiered before the Queen while on progress at Kenilworth. The publication of these two pieces, *The Noble Arte of Venerie* and *Princely*

⁵⁴¹ Gillian Austen, *George Gascoigne* (D.S. Brewer: Woodbridge, 2008), 105. See footnote 52.

⁵⁴² *Ibid.*, 92.

⁵⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁴ George Gascoigne, *A hundreth sundried flowres bounde vp in one small poesie* (London: Imprinted by Henrie Bynneman and Henry Middleton for Richarde Smith, 1573). The “pompe and pride” description can be found on p. 306-307. The “glittering courte” can be found on p. 360. The verses pertaining to the seduction of court can be found on p. 306-307.

⁵⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁶ Austen, *George Gascoigne*, 105.

Pleasures at Kenelworth, propelled Gascoigne into court.⁵⁴⁷ Thus it was this chain of events that led to the development of Gascoigne's double persona. Despite Gascoigne's military career, he was a moral and religious man. In 1575, Gascoigne began writing pieces that demonstrated a persona of a "Reformed Prodigal."⁵⁴⁸ This is evident through Gascoigne's statement in *A Hundreth* that "whatsoever my youth hath seemed unto the Graver sorte, I woulde bee verie loth nowe in my middle age to deserve reproach."⁵⁴⁹ Though Gascoigne spoke out against the excesses of the court, he was "far from rejecting courtly means to preferment" and continued to pursue the construction of a "moralistic persona" in print.⁵⁵⁰ However, this does not diminish the significance of Gascoigne's hunting manual, particularly because of its cultural relevance.

Gascoigne's hunting manual was partly a translation of hunting treatises by the medieval French writers Fouilloux and De Foix, and partly a history of English hunting traditions. The addition of English hunting traditions, rituals and ceremony for aristocrats and royals made Gascoigne's manual consequential and meaningful. The French hunting manuals were an important ceremonial aspect of the French court. This was the reason why Jacques du Fouilloux's piece was widely read. Jacques du Fouilloux was a "country gentleman" in sixteenth-century France who dedicated his treatise, *La Venerie* (1561), to Charles IX of France. It was a piece that received the recognition of the monarch and catapulted du Fouilloux into courtly circles. In *La Venerie*, Fouilloux had over fifty woodcuts illustrating the hunt.⁵⁵¹ Gaston III (Gaston du Foix, or Count of Foix) was another court figure that wrote a French hunting manual. He was mostly known as Gaston Phoebus and wrote the treatise *Livre de Chasse* in the fourteenth century. The circulation of these pieces within the royal courts of Europe illustrates why the French court influenced European hunting practices. What is interesting about Gascoigne's work was the audience he writes to and the language he uses. He translated the French manuals and modified them for a very specific, English, aristocratic audience. He even explained that he substituted English terms of venery for the French terms.⁵⁵² For example, the French term for deer was "cerfs." However, in the French manual, *La Venerie*, du Fouilloux refers to the sizes of deer rather than the species of deer—i.e. "petit cerfs"—and the gender is referred to as "biche" or doe and "male" or buck. Gascoigne uses the terms for each type of deer in reference to their age and size: "bucke", "doe", "Hart," "fawne." Additionally, the term "wolves" was substituted for "loups", fox for

⁵⁴⁷ From "The Princelye pleasures, at the Courte at Kenelwoorth. That is to saye/ The Copies of all such verses, Proses, or Poeticall inuentions, and other deuices of pleasure, as were there deuised, and present by sundry Gentlemen, before the QVENES MAIESTIE: In the yeare 1575", ed. Elizabeth Goldring, in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:287-332.

⁵⁴⁸ Austen, *George Gascoigne*, 106.

⁵⁴⁹ George Gascoigne, *A hundreth sundried flowres bounde vp in one small poesie* (London: Imprinted by Henrie Bynneman and Henry Middleton for Richarde Smith, 1573), 329.

⁵⁵⁰ Austen, *George Gascoigne*, 115.

⁵⁵¹ H.P.R., "Three French Humanists", *Bulletin of Museum of Fine Arts*, Vol. 31, No. 86 (August 1933), 57.

⁵⁵² Gascoigne, *Noble Arte*, 236.

“renard”, quarry for “careiere,” hunter for “chasseur” and huntsman for “veneur”.⁵⁵³

Gascoigne was no stranger to hunting and this was clear in his translation of hunting terms. His knowledge and experience is evidenced in the manual with Gascoigne’s discussion and detail regarding the management, upkeep and rules of hunting. Gascoigne’s knowledge and expertise was also demonstrated through the numerous pieces he wrote about hunting.⁵⁵⁴

Gascoigne’s *Noble Arte* reinforced the social hierarchy in the early modern period but it also reveals the perception of hunting and the ways in which it was to be performed. The opening lines of *Noble Arte* specified the “vertues, nature and properties of fiuentene [fifteen] sundrie chaces together, with the order and maner how to hunte and kill every one of them”, and articulated the manual’s tone of hunting being a virtuous and aggressive pursuit.⁵⁵⁵ The ideal of a huntsman is furthered by the woodcut on the opening page where a man is in fine clothing and presenting a certain stature. From the very beginning, hunting was understood and represented as an important, noble and worthwhile pursuit. Furthermore, Gascoigne’s drawings were the source of the woodcuts. This is evident in the hunting manual when Gascoigne states: “I have here set in portraiture...”⁵⁵⁶ The declaration of Gascoigne’s involvement in creating the hunting images was quite remarkable because it adds to his legitimacy as a writer and establishes him as being an experienced author of the subject. His ability to create images was not unusual, as he had created the frontispiece image for *The*

⁵⁵³ Jacques du Foullioux’s *La Venerie* was compared with George Gascoigne’s *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, since they were of the same time period and were written by court members for a court and royal audiences.

⁵⁵⁴ All together Gascoigne wrote sixteen various pieces on hunting, ranging from poems to a musical piece and pageants. Austen lists the various hunting pieces that Gascoigne wrote. They include: *Of the Hunting of an Hare* (poem); *Of the Properties of an Hare...*(prose); *The Hare, to the Hunter* (poem); *Of the Foxe* (poem); *The Foxe to the Huntseman* (poem); *An Advertisement of the Translator* (prose); *Of the Hunting of the Otter* (prose); *How to hunte and take an Otter* (prose); *The Otters Oration* (poem); *Of the Termes of Venerie* (glossary); *A Short Observation...concerning coursing with Greyhoundes* (prose); *The Measure of Blowing* (musical writing); *Princely Pleasures at Kenelwoorth* (account); & *the Noble Arte of Venerie* (instructional). See Austen, *George Gascoigne*, 111. These pieces vary in style and type (poems, prose, musical composition and pageant devices), yet they all display intimate knowledge of hunting and the animals that were hunted. These pieces are also available in mostly print form, with some included in Gascoigne’s *Noble Arte*. These pieces are worthy of historical analysis because of the knowledge of highly technical methods of hunting that demonstrated a relationship between the hunter and the hunted but also the honoured rituals of hunting. For example, in the poem “The wofull words of the Hart, to the Hunter” the monologue was from the perspective of the hart talking to the hunter. The hart spoke about the importance of each animal, in a way that influenced the hunter to respect both the animals that he hunted and the importance of understanding why he was hunting a particular animal. This poem includes important details of each animal and their place within the hunting hierarchy: some were hunted because they were nuisances, others for merely the “vayne” of hunting. See “The Hart, to the Hunter” in Gascoigne, *Noble Arte*, 135. The proliferation of these pieces reveals how embedded hunting was within the English court as well as its popularity during Elizabeth’s reign. Additionally, given his expert knowledge of hunting, Gascoigne would have known of the Queen’s love of hunting that, Austen asserts, “was well attested.” See Austen, *George Gascoigne*, 106.

⁵⁵⁵ Gascoigne, *Noble Arte*, 1.

⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 94.

Tale of Hemetes, which was translated and given to Elizabeth as a gift in 1576.⁵⁵⁷

Gascoigne's images illustrate the techniques and practices of hunting that were detailed in the manuals, along with establishing the required qualities and skills of huntsmen.

Gascoigne's references and depiction of the Queen in the manual suggests that Elizabeth was a capable and proficient huntswoman.⁵⁵⁸ Furthermore, Gascoigne had interacted directly with Elizabeth on several occasions, as well as having to gain permission to use the Queen's likeness in his woodcuts.⁵⁵⁹ It is entirely possible that given the relationship between Gascoigne and the Queen, that Elizabeth would have had a copy of Gascoigne's *Noble Arte*.⁵⁶⁰ Therefore, the Queen's use of these techniques and practices not only allowed Elizabeth to pursue the activity she enjoyed, but also demonstrated her agency in actively maintaining her royal persona of a martial leader and contributed to the construction of her queenship.

Gascoigne's translation of *La Venerie*, by Jacques Du Fouilloux, gives us an indication of its origins. The brief history of hunting in the introduction focuses on the French traditions as well as Brutus, who "lo[v]ed hunting exceedingly."⁵⁶¹ Brutus was considered by medieval legends to be the first king of Britain and was an expert huntsman during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. He was the great-grandson of one of the most well known hunters of the classical Greek and Roman period, Aeneas.⁵⁶² Brutus' skills and expertise were described in detail in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regnum Britanniae* or the *History of the Kings of Britain*.⁵⁶³ Gascoigne's piece incorporates the French example of Brutus hunting and his interactions with the noble and royal men of those areas. It is possible to conclude that Gascoigne included the identity of "John of Monmouth" or Geoffrey of Monmouth, who was a twelfth-century chronicler of English history and author of *History of the Kings of Britain*, to give validity to English hunting and the use of hunting traditions, and also to have his work appeal to the English aristocracy.⁵⁶⁴ Geoffrey wrote from a political point of view, seeking to

⁵⁵⁷ Austen, *George Gascoigne*, 136.

⁵⁵⁸ These references and depictions are discussed in the preceding sections. However, Gascoigne's wood cut images (see Appendix 2-4) shows the Queen's participation in the hunt. Furthermore, Gascoigne's references to the "prince" in his manual, along with references to the "Queen" in the pageants centered around the theme of hunting at Kenilworth in 1575, highlight that Gascoigne was aware of Elizabeth's hunting abilities.

⁵⁵⁹ See the note on Hamrick below.

⁵⁶⁰ Hamrick highlights several occasions where the Queen and Gascoigne interacted. See Stephen Hamrick, "'Set in portraiture': George Gascoigne, Queen Elizabeth, and Adapting the Royal Image", *Early Modern Literary Studies*, 11.1 (May, 2005), 15-34.

⁵⁶¹ Gascoigne, *Noble Arte*, 1

⁵⁶² Hull, *Hounds and Hunting in Ancient Greece*, xii

⁵⁶³ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *History of the Kings of Britain*, translated by Aaron Thompson, (Cambridge: Medieval Latin Series, 1999). Brutus' story began when he accidentally killed his father while they were hunting. His father's tragic death led to his banishment from Italy. During the time he was expelled, he gained notoriety and became leader and commander of the Trojans. After conquering and fighting his way across modern day western Europe, Brutus landed in England or "Albion" as it was known and began conquering the island. After some time, Brutus began to settle down in England and named the island after himself, calling it "Britain" and his descendants "Britons."

⁵⁶⁴ Gascoigne, *Noble Arte*, 1.

develop “for the English a certain political-social prestige.”⁵⁶⁵ In his *History*, there were stories of hunting encroaching on territories and the killing of a certain nobleman’s or royal monarch’s deer. This was illustrated with the story of how “the Troyans did greatly exercise themselves in hunting and that they hunted in his [Kyng Groffasirus Pictus, the king of Aquitania] forest with such a kinde of dogges, as after they had once founde a harte, they left him tyll they brought him to death.” When Pictus heard of this, he became so “exceeding angrie” that he was “determined to make warres with them.”⁵⁶⁶ This interaction displays the close connection hunting had with warfare and the association that monarchs had with the pursuit of hunting. It was specifically stated, when Gascoigne recites the history of hunting, that the Troyans “exercised” in hunting. We can take it to mean that exercise was the practice of military weaponry and battle through hunting maneuvers.⁵⁶⁷ Furthermore, hunting was comparable with warfare in its use of violence. The movements that were described and “advertised” to “Kyng Groffarius” within Gascoigne’s history were symbolic of hunting movements used within military battle, in which “Groffarius” served as the leader or commander.⁵⁶⁸ These references to ancient and classical antiquity through hunting were ways of establishing a connection with the origins of Britain, evoking the Arthurian legends, and making links to chivalric culture. During Elizabeth’s reign, literature, pageants and entertainments often included historical English figures or references to chivalry to give legitimacy and honour to the Queen and her lineage, as well as highlighting, as Strong contends, Tudor society’s fondness for chivalric rhetoric and imagery.⁵⁶⁹

Gascoigne’s writing reflected this fondness, but he also referred to hunting as a pursuit that continues “the life of Man in most comfort and godly quiet of mynd, with honest recreation.”⁵⁷⁰ Here readers are given to understand the legitimacy and moral acceptability of hunting. One of the most talked about sins of the early modern period, among religious writers, was the sin of idleness. Thus highlighting the precarious balance between the

⁵⁶⁵ Francis P. Majoun, Jr., “Brutus and English Politics”, *ELH*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (September 1947), 178. The name of “John of Monmouth” in Gascoigne’s *The Noble Arte of Venerie* is most likely a misattribution. John of Monmouth was a baron in the 12th and early 13th centuries. He did not write a “Chronicle nor historie that seemeth to speak of freater continuance, that one which I saw in Bryttaine.” (*Noble Arte*, 10-11) However, Geoffrey of Monmouth was a bishop and historian from the same period as John. Therefore, this misattribution is likely due to the similar titles making it confusing. A. F. Pollard, ‘Monmouth, John of (c.1182–1248)’, rev. R. R. Davies, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); J. C. Crick, ‘Monmouth, Geoffrey of (d. 1154/5)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁵⁶⁶ Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte*, 2.

⁵⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶⁹ Strong asserts that Elizabethan portraiture reflected the fact that they were “obsessed with romance”, particularly chivalric romance. In fact, Strong states with certainty that “the use and cultivation of the imagery and motifs of legends of chivalry formed an integral part of the official ‘image’ projected by sixteenth-century monarchs.” Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth*, 160-161.

⁵⁷⁰ Gascoigne, *Noble Arte*, third page of the section titled “The Translator to the Reader”.

romance and violence of chivalric culture, with the virtuous and godly elements of the sport. Gascoigne affirms the need to participate in an activity that quieted and engaged the mind to prevent trouble or dangerous pursuits. Gascoigne's exact thoughts on this were illustrated when he wrote: "And if it be true (as it is doublese) that pride (which is root of al vices,) doth increase by idlenes, the[re] is that exercise highly to be com[m]ended, which doth maintaine the body in helth, the mynd in highest meditatio[n]s."⁵⁷¹ He is actively encouraging hunting. This could be in direct contrast to the writings of other religious contemporaries, which admonished that act of hunting for sport as a violent and sinful activity. Throughout the medieval period, hunting had multiple effects and connotations. Within the religious context, hunting was seen as a sin. The Church's conflicted opposition to hunting was best exemplified by the symbolic relationship between the hunter, or the sinner, and the white stag, which came to symbolise Christ. The killing or destruction of the white stag was seen as a destruction of Christ, thus illustrating a grievous sin.⁵⁷² Despite the Church's long established stance on hunting, it was still a very important activity within early and late-medieval society. The councils and synods of 506, 507 and 518 strictly forbade priests and bishops from engaging in hunting practices, which included falconry.⁵⁷³ During the twelfth century, John of Salisbury, bishop of Chartres had written an entire chapter on the sinful nature of hunting.⁵⁷⁴ In 1215, the Fourth Lateran Council forbade hunting and hawking for all clerics. Hannele Klemetilä comments that the "attitude of the Church toward hunting had always been ambiguous."⁵⁷⁵ In fact, most of the Church proclamations against hunting were directed towards the clergy, rather than society in general. This could be due to the fact that hunting was bound up in royal and aristocratic identity. However, while hunting was not widely condemned by the Church, religious and godly critics of hunting included John Calvin, Erasmus and Thomas More. Erasmus criticised hunters in his essay *The Praise of Folie* (1549), stating that:

Among these are to be ranked such as take an immoderate delight in hunting, and think no music comparable to the sounding of horns and the yelping of beagles...when they have run down their game, what strange pleasure they taking in cutting of it up! Cows and sheep may be slaughtered by common butchers, but what is killed in hunting must be broke up by none under a

⁵⁷¹ Gascoigne, *Noble Arte*, third page of the section titled "The Translator to the Reader".

⁵⁷² Matt Cartmill discusses the Christian connotations and uses of the white stag in depictions and rhetoric. Matt Cartmill, *A View to Death in the Morning: Hunting and Nature Through History* (London: Harvard University Press, 1993) 53-75.

⁵⁷³ Helen MacDonald, *Falcon* (London: Reaktion Books LTD, 2006), 89.

⁵⁷⁴ Hannele Klemetilä cites John of Salisbury's text, *Polycraticus*, as containing the chapter on hunting; Book I, Chapter 4—De venatic, et autocribus et speciebus eius, et exercitio licito et illicito. Hannele Klemetilä, *Animals and Hunters in the Late Middle Ages: Evident from the BnF MS Fr. 616 of the Livre de chasse by Gaston Fébus* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 196.

⁵⁷⁵ Klemetilä, *Animals and Hunters in the Late Middle Ages*, 196.

gentleman, who shall thrown down his hat, fall devoutly on his knees...that their living upon it makes them as great as emperors.⁵⁷⁶

This critique provides a context of how hunting was perceived during the sixteenth century. In 1584-1585, Parliament passed a bill “banning unlawful games—bearbaiting, wakes, hawking, hunting—during Church services.”⁵⁷⁷ Given Gascoigne’s new moral persona, his emphasis on hunting as a way of addressing sins, such as “mischief, malice, filth, and frauds, that mortall men do vse”, illustrates his attempt to reconcile the use of hunting as an excess of the court and reducing sins.⁵⁷⁸

Throughout the piece Gascoigne refers to noblemen and gentlemen, but as the piece goes on there are specific references to “princes,” such as the line “white houndes, as of fallowe, dunne and black which sortes are most commodious for Princes and Gentlemen”.⁵⁷⁹ It is interesting that after the opening, which only refers to the nobility and gentlemen, the manual, eventually, provides instructions for hunting in the presence of a prince. Could Gascoigne’s later inclusion of princes have something to do with seeking the patronage of the Queen? This is evident when Gascoigne explicitly refers to the Queen, both in imagery and words.⁵⁸⁰ Additionally, the use of the term ‘princes’ in the beginning is expressed in gender-neutral terms, because he does refer to the king and ladies in specific places and with specific types of hunting. Given that this was an instruction manual as well as a history of hunting, the use of the gender-neutral term or an acceptable term for men or woman would have made the piece more valued, especially given that hunting evolved from a primarily masculine activity to a dominant elite activity. Furthermore, the woodcut images of the Queen include a likeness of Gascoigne, giving evidence that Gascoigne was seeking “preferment” from the Queen.⁵⁸¹

The manual itself is a wealth of information, as it reveals the common types of animals hunted. The table of contents lists these animals as: “harte, bucke, raynedeaere, rowe, wild goate, wild bore, hare, conies, foxe, badgerd [*sic*], marterne [most likely a pine marten], wildcat, otter, wolfe and beare.”⁵⁸² While a majority of the manual refers to the upkeep of

⁵⁷⁶ Desiderius Erasmus, *The Praise of Follie...a booke made in Latine by the great clerke Erasmus...Englished by Sir Thomas Chaloner Knight*. (Imprinted at London nigh vnto the three Cranes in the Vinttree, by Thomas Dawson, and Thomas Gardiner, 1557).

⁵⁷⁷ Leo F. Solt, *Church and State in Early Modern England, 1509-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 127.

⁵⁷⁸ Gascoigne, *Noble Arte*, section on “the commendation of the noble Arte of Venerie.”

⁵⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁵⁸⁰ The images are discussed on the following page, however, Gascoigne also explicitly refers to the Queen several times in the text on the pages after the “Assembly” image. For the image, see Image 2, Appendix 2, 245. For the text, see Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte*, 91-92.

⁵⁸¹ Austen, *George Gascoigne*, 123.

⁵⁸² Gascoigne, *Noble Arte*. Pine martens are considered “house cat-sized members of the stoat and weasel family.” A pine marten has not been seen in over 35 years and recently footage has been captured of a living pine marten, which was thought to be “once common [in England], is now confined mainly to northern Scotland.” BBC News, “Rare pine marten

hunting hounds, and the types and characteristics of deer, a specific chapter stands out more than the rest, particularly as it relates to this study. The chapter on “Of the place where and how an assembly should be made in the presence of a Prince, or some honourable person” is very interesting for several reasons.⁵⁸³ First, it refers to a specific set of instructions and the process through which the hunt should be conducted in the presence of someone of a high status. Gascoigne specifically refers to “the Prince.” This point in the text gives us an understanding that he was considering the royal establishment.

The point of Gascoigne alluding to the Queen is affirmed by three images, and the second reason this section proves interesting, is that it clearly depicts Elizabeth, highlighting the Queen’s hunting skill and alluding to her agency. The three images are: “an assembly”, “report of the huntsman” and the “death of the deer.”⁵⁸⁴ The first image is of the Queen surrounded by men sitting and having a meal, representing a pre-hunt feast. Titled “an assembly”, the image (Image 2) presents clues of the forms in which the ritual and practices of the hunt were constructed for the Queen.⁵⁸⁵ The Queen sits beneath the tree with two of her ladies in waiting behind her, and two gentlemen in front, before her. The two gentlemen, based on stature, dress and proximity to the Queen, are indicated as noblemen of the Queen’s court. Each of them has a horn on his belt. It is possible that one of these particular men was the Master of the Hunt. There is one man who is bent down on his knee and looking directly at the Queen, and it appears as though he is addressing her. This has been considered Gascoigne, as there are two exact likenesses in the other woodcut images.⁵⁸⁶

There are many other men in the image surrounding the Queen engaged in various activities relating to the hunt. There are two boys in the image as well (towards the bottom). These are the boys who helped with the hounds, most likely the “Children of the Leash”, who were the children within the hunting staff. The “Children of the Leash” were listed among the entourage at the Queen’s coronation in 1559 as those who handled the hounds.⁵⁸⁷ Given the recent discovery of account records indicating of the particular office of “The Leash”, we can conclude that these two boys are of that position.⁵⁸⁸ It is interesting that there are only three women in the image: the Queen and her two ladies in waiting. This clearly indicates that hunting was a predominantly male activity. However, it should be remembered that there are records, which clearly demonstrate that aristocratic women hunted frequently. These women were considered proficient in the hunt, especially in France and the German states, as well as in England.

captured on camera in Yorkshire,” 7 August 2017. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-york-north-yorkshire-40850833>

⁵⁸³ Gascoigne, *Noble Arte*, 96.

⁵⁸⁴ See Appendix 2-4. All three images are from Gascoigne, *Noble Arte*, 90, 95, 133.

⁵⁸⁵ Image 2, Appendix 2, 245.

⁵⁸⁶ Austen, *George Gascoigne*, 109.

⁵⁸⁷ TNA, E 101/429/5.

⁵⁸⁸ TNA, AO 3/127, f. 1.

The “assembly” image is followed by a poem. Gascoigne’s poem painted a picture and evoked the natural setting of the woods and nature. This is important because the Queen’s pageants were often conducted in a natural and simple environment, which forced the participants to focus on the content and performance, rather than the embellishments. The outdoors served as the backdrop, setting up a scene that consisted of the real and tangible elements of nature (trees, bushes, grass and hills) and not a fabricated, ostentatious scene that was often presented to the Queen. The poem continues the theme of war, battle, and violence but it was infused with the themes of harmony and peacefulness. Gascoigne’s use of the themes of war and peacefulness suggests that he was referring to the dual persona of the Queen: one of the warrior and the other one of the peacemaker.

To rouse, to runne, to hunt, to hale to death/As great a hart as ever yet bare
breath/This may be..a princes sport indeed/And this your grace, shall see
when pleaseth you: So that doutsafe, O noble Queene, with speede/To mount
on horse that others may ensue/until this hart be rowsde and brought to
view.⁵⁸⁹

This clearly paints the picture of the very masculine act of violence. The Queen, as the focal point, was engaged in the warrior-like movements and actions of hunting. Additionally, this poem is an example of the kinds of poems that were actually recited to Elizabeth on progress during the pageants that surrounded the theme of the hunt. Another poem that projects the image of the Queen as a hunter was the pageants at Cowdray in 1591, which celebrated the Queen as a “Empresse”.⁵⁹⁰ It was during the 1570s, that Elizabeth’s association and comparison to Diana increased, as Diana represented chastity.⁵⁹¹ This is due to what Levin asserts is Elizabeth’s “self-presentation of the Virgin Queen” that “deliberately appropriated the symbolism and prestige of the suppressed Marian cult in order to foster the cult of the Virgin Queen” and proved “effective in encouraging loyalty to the Queen.”⁵⁹² This self-presentation was then utilised and employed by creators of contemporary literature and spectacles on progress. The use of Diana furthered the Virgin Queen cult because Diana was “the huntress and Goddess of Chastity” and this association was why Elizabeth I was often regarded as “the living embodiment of the divine...Diana.”⁵⁹³

The second image (Image 3), “report of the huntsman”, shows the Queen on a platform with a gentleman before her, presenting her with “fewmishings”, or the feces of the

⁵⁸⁹ Gascoigne, *Noble Arte*, 100.

⁵⁹⁰ From the account “The Honourable Entertainment geuen to the Queenes Maiestie in Progresse, at Eluetham in Hampshire, by the right Honorable the Earle of Hertford 1591”, edited by Gabriel Heaton, Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 3:578.

⁵⁹¹ Edward Berry, *Shakespeare and the Hunt: A Cultural and Social Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 32. See also Hackett’s discussion of the correlation between Diana and the Virgin Queen depictions. Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen*, ; Furthermore, Doran discusses the relationship between the two depictions as well. Doran, “The Queen”, in *The Elizabethan World*, ed. Susan Doran and Norman Jones (London: Routledge, 2014). 46-49.

⁵⁹² Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*, 27.

⁵⁹³ Almond, *The Daughters of Artemis*, 90.

deer.⁵⁹⁴ The presentation of feces was common practice in hunting, and it took substantial knowledge to accurately assess the feces to determine the deer's characteristics. Through the depiction of the Queen utilizing her hunting knowledge and expertise in making the decision about which deer to hunt, Gascoigne's image depicts the Queen exercising her agency, particularly as it deliberately reinforced the Queen's martial persona and expressing her royal authority. Additionally, through the creation of this image, Gascoigne was acknowledging Elizabeth's agency.

The third image (Image 4), "the death of the deer," is a much more striking and powerful image for several reasons.⁵⁹⁵ First, it was an image of a powerful woman standing while a man was on his knees in deference to her. This demonstrates the power of the women in the image: the Queen. This image depicts the reversal of gender relations, while maintaining ruler-subject relations that were typical of the sixteenth century. The second striking part of the image has to do with the huntsman who handed the Queen a knife to "break up the deer." The action of handing the Queen the knife not only signifies the huntsman's acknowledgement of the Queen's authority and agency, but also signifies the acknowledgement of the Queen's participation in the death and gruesome cutting of the deer. Gascoigne's observations for the cutting up of the deer were explicit and detailed, highlighting a very violent and masculine act that accompanied the hunt. The first cut was usually the foot. It was then given to the "Prince." This ritual was then followed by the setting of the deer on its back, with the knife then given to the "Prince" or "chief huntsman" and

the Prince, chiefe, or such as they shall appoint, commes to it: And the chiefe huntsman (kneeling, if it be to a Prince) doth holde the Deare by the forefoote, whiles the Prince of chief, cut a slyt drawn alongst the brysket of the deare towards the belly. This is done to see the goodness of the flesh, and how thicke it is.⁵⁹⁶

This was done because deer meat was an important part of a feast or meal. Next, the upper part of the deer was cut off: "if it be cut off to rewarde the houndes withall, then the whole necke...is cut off." Following this, the head was cut off "close by the hornes through the braine pan." Then, the hornes were "nayle[d] up...for a memorial, if he were a great Deare of heade," as a ceremonial display of the success and triumph of the hunt.⁵⁹⁷ All of these steps were very masculine acts because they involved violence and aggression. Therefore, having Elizabeth depicted in these ways gives the reader an image and impression of a strong, masculine and expert huntswoman. It also reinforces the traditionally male characteristics of hunting that existed in the transformed elite culture of the sport. Simultaneously, this added to the dually masculine and feminine queenship of Elizabeth, which the Queen and her subjects constructed. Gascoigne's hunting manual exposed the accessible nature of the Queen with her

⁵⁹⁴ Image 3, Appendix 3, 246.

⁵⁹⁵ Image 4, Appendix 4, 247.

⁵⁹⁶ Gascoigne, *Noble Arte*, 7.

⁵⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

hosts, courtiers and guests on the hunt. It also highlighted the queen as a huntswoman and provided a representation of Elizabeth exercising agency.

George Turberville's *The Booke of Faulconrie or Hauking* was a companion piece to Gascoigne's hunting manual. Gascoigne and Turberville's pieces were often circulated together, and Turberville's manual was considered a companion in the sense that hunting and falconry often went hand in hand. Turberville was a poet and translator, associated with many notable writers in the literary circle that centred on the Inns of Court in the 1560s, including Gascoigne.⁵⁹⁸ Unlike Gascoigne, however, Turberville was not a rising courtier. In June 1568, he was secretary to Thomas Randolph and accompanied him on a trip to the court of Ivan IV, Emperor of Russia. Turberville details the trip in his writing. However, this did not advance Turberville in fortune or patronage.⁵⁹⁹ He was also commissioned by Christopher Barker to translate the *Booke of Faulconrie*, and had his eye on preferment. For that reason, he dedicated the book to Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick, a prominent member of Elizabeth's court.⁶⁰⁰

The piece was a translation of European texts on falconry and hawking, but it was exactly that—a translation. There was no instruction or revelation of expertise in Turberville's manual. The work utilised the “best authors as[w]ell Italians as Frenchmen and some English practices.”⁶⁰¹ The book is divided into four sections: “description of all kinds of haukes,” “the reclaiming, imping, mevving and fleyng bothe the field and riuer of the same haukes,” “the diseases and cures,” and finally, “A littell treatise translated out of Italian tongue touching the diseases happening to spaniells.”⁶⁰² Given the briefness, superficiality and the lack of concrete skill within the manual, it is clear that unlike Gascoigne, Turberville was not an experienced huntsman or falconer. In fact, Catherine Bates points out that Turberville refers to himself as being the “unskilled falconer” and who “falls seriously short of the mark”, resulting in a hunting manual filled with literary “metaphors” that illustrated that Turberville “lacked the skill”.⁶⁰³

However, Turberville's piece has value because it contributes to our understanding of hunting and court culture in early modern society. It was circulated among the members of court and was, as Bates argues, “an integral part of the good hunter's repertoire and skill sets.”⁶⁰⁴ More importantly, Turberville's book contains a single woodcut image of the Queen. The image was used twice in the book and was a similar and complementary image to those in Gascoigne's *Noble Arte*. This reinforces the conclusion that Turberville's book was a companion piece to Gascoigne's book. The image in Turberville's book features the Queen on

⁵⁹⁸ Bates, *Masculinity and the Hunt*, 146.

⁵⁹⁹ Raphael Lyne, ‘Turberville, George (b. 1543/4, d. in or after 1597)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁶⁰⁰ Austen, *George Gascoigne*, 5.

⁶⁰¹ Turberville, *Booke of Faulconrie*, 23.

⁶⁰² *Ibid.*, 23.

⁶⁰³ Bates, *Masculinity and the Hunt*, 147.

⁶⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 145-147.

horseback, surrounded by huntsmen, falconers, and falcons/hawks.⁶⁰⁵ Two of the images in Turberville's manual and the images in Gascoigne's *Noble Arte* were "by the same hand", and are based on the drawings of Gascoigne.⁶⁰⁶ The details in each of the woodcuts suggest that the artist or composer had intimate knowledge of hunting, further affirming that these were Gascoigne's images.⁶⁰⁷ Turberville's commission for the translation may have been because of his success with other translations.⁶⁰⁸

In 1591, Sir Thomas Cokayne (or Cockaine, given there are various spellings of the name) produced *A Short Treatise of Hunting*, which serves, Cokayne noted, as a "pamphlet of my owne experience in hunting."⁶⁰⁹ Cokayne was a soldier, and he explicitly identified as "a professed hunter, and not a scholler."⁶¹⁰ While Cokayne was not a prominent court member, he was a trusted political servant during Elizabeth's reign. Cokayne's established expertise clearly sets the tone for the piece as a form of instruction through the presentation of his experience and knowledgeable skills. Unlike Gascoigne and Turberville, Cokayne's piece does not contain images of the Queen. However, Cokayne's piece adds to our picture of hunting as a part of the social and cultural fabric of the early modern life. His piece leaves little to analyse when compared with Gascoigne and Turberville. However, its very publication reinforces and contributes to the literary evidence that hunting was not a passing pursuit in late sixteenth-century society, but a popular, cultural pursuit.

These three literary works highlight a social interest in hunting during Elizabeth's reign that fulfilled the "demand for books upon the sport."⁶¹¹ This, I argue, adds to the evidence that hunting required expert skills and knowledge, thus suggesting that the frequency with which Elizabeth hunted demonstrated that she was not a passive participant in hunting activities but an assertive, experienced and skilled huntswoman. Hunting manuals

⁶⁰⁵ Turberville, *Booke of Faulconrie*, 46. It is important to note here that falcons and hawks were used interchangeably. The falconer was responsible for the care, training and use of both hawks and falcons.

⁶⁰⁶ Austen, *George Gascoigne*, 109.

⁶⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 109.

⁶⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 106.

⁶⁰⁹ Thomas Cokayne, *A short treatise of hunting: compiled for the delight of noble men and gentlemen* (London, 1591), 1

⁶¹⁰ Cokayne, *A short treatise of hunting*, 3. He was knighted in 1544 while with Edward Seymour, who Cokayne accompanied on an expedition to Scotland. He was promoted to captain in 1548 and appointed sheriff of Derbyshire in 1549, then re-appointed in 1559, 1569, 1579, and 1585. In 1587, he was one of the attendants for moving Mary, Queen of Scots to Fotheringay. See Stephen Wright's "Cokayne, Sir Thomas (1519-1592)", in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁶¹¹ In the published version of Thomas Cockaine's *A Short Treatise of Hunting*, W.R. Halliday provides an introduction. His commentary brings together the three hunting pieces that were produced during Elizabeth's reign. Sir William Reginald (W.R.) Halliday was a historian and archeologist educated at New College, Oxford. He was made Principal of King's College London in 1928 and he remained in the post until 1952. He was knighted in 1946. http://www.aim25.ac.uk/cgi-bin/vcdf/detail?coll_id=2976&inst_id=6. Thomas Cockaine, *A Short Treatise of Hunting*, published for The Shakespeare Association (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932), Introduction.

were not the only sources to illustrate the practice and skills of hunting. For example, the Kenilworth progress of 1575, which lasted 118 days, was recorded by Gascoigne in *The Princely Pleasures at Kenelwoorth* and in Robert Laneham's *Letters*.⁶¹² The staged pageants of this progress prominently featured pageants in the natural setting of the woods and utilised rituals and ceremony that were synonymous with hunting. The fact that Elizabeth was represented in a "pleasant chase of the swiftest hart" demonstrates how she was often connected with strength, chivalry, power and authority.⁶¹³ References to the bow and the utilization of a weapon so closely related with the hunt highlights the ceremony of warfare and martial prowess.⁶¹⁴ The pageants portrayed Elizabeth as herself, as Diana, goddess of the hunt, and as Zabeta, a fictional character created as a play on Elizabeth's name.⁶¹⁵ The pageants often took place as the Queen returned from or set out to hunt. It is important to point out that the use of the theme and language of hunting was especially common in pageants because it was a way to engage the Queen. By exploiting a subject and activity that Elizabeth enjoyed, the individual could be assured that the Queen would "geue verry Attentyve eare" to the arguments and nuances of the dialogue.⁶¹⁶

There were other pieces of contemporary literature that portrayed the hunt. William Shakespeare wrote two pieces that had a huntress as the protagonist: *Love's Labour Lost* and *Venus and Adonis*.⁶¹⁷ Edward Berry explores the theme of the hunt in Shakespeare's plays, and asserts, "hunting is of course a pervasive metaphor for the experience of love throughout Western culture."⁶¹⁸ This is certainly understandable as it was the hunt that was depicted in the contemporary literature, plays, pageants and entertainments during Elizabeth's reign. Each of Shakespeare's works presented a specific kind of hunter or huntress. In the tragic poem, *Venus* the goddess of love was depicted in relation to the hunting of boars, hares, and

⁶¹² "A Letter: whearin, part of the entertainment vntoo the Queenz Maiesty, at Killingwoorth Castl, in warwik Sheer, in this soomer Progress. 1575. iz signified: from a freend officer attendant in the Coourt, vntoo hiz freend a Citizen, and Merchaunt of London", ed. Elizabeth Goldring, in Nichols's *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:233. See also *Robert Laneham's Letter: Describing a Part of the Entertainment unto Queen Elizabeth at the Castle of Kenilworth in 1575*, ed. F.J. Furnivall (New York, 1907).

⁶¹³ George Gascoigne, "Princely Pleasures at Kenelworth Castle", *The Complete Works*, ed. John W. Cunliffe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), 2:108.

⁶¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 2:109.

⁶¹⁵ Urszula Kizelbach, *The Pragmatics of Early Modern Politics: Power and Kingship in Shakespeare's History Plays* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2014), 135.

⁶¹⁶ From "The orde of receavyng The Queenes maiestie with a breef discourse of her contynewaunce here", ed. Gabriel Heaton, in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:343. Nichols's text of this account was based on Valentine Green's *The History and Antiquities of the City and Suburbs of Worcester*, Vol. II, (1796). However, the original manuscript of this account is part of the town clerk's civic records known as the "Chamber Order Book, 1536-1601", located in the Worcester County Record Office, X496, Bulk Accession 9360/A-14, f. 122-128. See also *Records of Early: Hereford, Worcestershire*, ed. David Klausner (University of Toronto Press, 1990), 425-444. For further information from this annotation see Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:336-337.

⁶¹⁷ Berry, *Shakespeare and the Hunt*, 38-39.

⁶¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 32.

deer, referring to herself as “a park” and Adonis was to be her deer.⁶¹⁹ This echoed Elizabeth’s own romantic engagements as foreign suitors were often brought to her “park” to be “deer” in which she would consider marriage. In the comedic play, the second huntress, the Princess of France, was depicted in relation to the hunting of deer. The play echoed Elizabethan courtly dynamics, like Elizabeth’s progresses, pageants were devised for the Princess. In line 25, the Princess is handed a bow to hunt, which is similar to how Elizabeth was depicted in pageants, but it is the Princess’ words that are important here. She articulates that if the deer was wounded then “it was to show my skill.”⁶²⁰ Shakespeare’s lines reinforced the performative and visual importance of hunting. Berry suggests that the two different huntresses, one the goddess of love and one a princess, represented “some deep social tensions within the bloody customs of the hunt.” Furthermore, each version of the huntress shared a connection to “the culture of the hunt”, as they are “deeply implicated in the conventional metaphor of love as a kind of hunt.”⁶²¹ I would add that hunting and the representations of the huntresses mirrored Elizabeth’s political conundrum of her single state: love versus power and authority. These depictions of huntresses and the political and social concerns of the Queen’s single state were at the very heart of Elizabeth’s rule. Featuring the hunt within the contemporary literature illustrated the political significance of hunting within Elizabethan England, and more specifically, that Elizabeth was not just a minor participant in the activity of hunting. She was a major influence in the development of hunting materials and her hunting activities contributed to the political dialogue of sixteenth-century England.

Richard Almond’s seminal work on medieval hunting contextualises the hunt and the ways in which hunting occurred. He provides a history of hunting and even helps to establish the origin of English hunting practices, describing the key elements that served as a way of amplifying the significance of hunting such as the quest, stalk, pursuit, fight and, finally, the death.⁶²² Almond notes “hunting...was an integral part of European culture.” This is evidenced in the extensive manuals, treatises, and literature produced in the period and was even featured in late medieval “school boy songs.”⁶²³

Williams’s work is the only study to date that explores the historiographical context of early modern hunting, and it is restricted to the reign of Henry VIII. Furthermore, Williams’s study only documents the hunting activities of the king, and does not provide a systematic analysis these occasions. His 1998 PhD thesis argues that by neglecting studies of hunting, historians of the early modern period are ignoring the significance of hunting and its

⁶¹⁹ William Shakespeare, “Venus and Adonis”, ed. Barbara A. Mowat and Paul Westine (Washington: Folger Shakespeare Library, n.d.) www.folgerdigitaltexts.org. Lines 31, 614, 673, and 900.

⁶²⁰ William Shakespeare, *Love’s Labour Lost*, ed. Barbara A. Mowat and Paul Westine (Washington: Folger Shakespeare Library, n.d.) www.folgerdigitaltexts.org. Line 25.

⁶²¹ Berry, *Shakespeare and the Hunt*, 38.

⁶²² Almond, *Medieval Hunting*, 1.

⁶²³ *Ibid.*, 1-2.

influence and impact on politics and monarchy. Hunting was “central to the life of the early modern court and by implication to the making of policy in Henrician England.”⁶²⁴ The merits of this work lie in the combination of primary and secondary materials that are relevant to hunting throughout history, particularly studies of hunting during the medieval and early modern periods. The primary sources that Williams utilises are chiefly literary manuals, treatises and printed literature. He also incorporates state papers and occasional documents that reference gifts and household accounts of the King. Oddly, since he primarily focuses on the reign of Henry VIII, he uses a piece of primary literature from the latter part of the sixteenth century, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*. Yet Williams does not continue this study of early modern hunting through the reigns of successive Tudor monarchs.

Williams’s work considers the different aspects associated with hunting and its meanings for the individual (i.e. king, courtier, gentleman) engaged in the activity, most importantly the king. He examines the military characteristics of hunting to establish the physical prowess and martial significance of hunting. He contends “the huntsman made use of the sword and the spear in much the same way as he might in battle.”⁶²⁵ He also discusses the other weapons that were used both in the hunt and in battle. This emphasises the connection between the hunt and martial skills. It also raises interesting questions about how the hunt and martial skills contributed to the sovereign’s rulership in the Tudor period, which need to be further analysed. Was this connection more for display and acknowledgement of a monarch’s ability, or was it simply about preparing for war? I would argue that some of the Tudor monarchs, namely Henry VII and Henry VIII, were in fact preparing for war. The display and legitimisation of the monarch’s military abilities were crucial to their status on the world stage. It was important for monarchs in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to be seen as commanders and martial leaders, otherwise they were vulnerable to invasion and coups.

The most promising chapter of Williams’s work deals with hunting and royal progresses, which he concludes that they were closely connected. However, he contends that hunting should not be dismissed as a pleasurable aspect of the royal progresses; that in fact it was “an integral part of what recent research has shown was an essential tool of royal government in the early modern period.”⁶²⁶ This is absolutely paramount in understanding that both royal progresses and hunting were tools in the development of sixteenth-century political culture. Progresses and the act of hunting were devices that cultivated, shaped, and displayed the dynamics of political culture during Elizabeth’s reign.

While Williams has provided evidence that Henry VIII engaged in hunting, it is not clear whether Elizabeth’s siblings hunted. In her biography of Edward VI, Jennifer Loach discusses how Edward “maintained all his father’s magnificence” and was as “enthusiastic

⁶²⁴ Williams, “Hunting in Early Modern England”, 1.

⁶²⁵ *Ibid.*, 44.

⁶²⁶ *Ibid.*, 173.

about personal display as his father had been.”⁶²⁷ The financial records do not reveal a great deal of money being spent on hunting staff during the Edwardian period.⁶²⁸ This was not just because Edward was a young, childlike king, but also because despite hunting being a common and accepted practice and social pursuit, his councillors, in charge of the king’s finances, were focused on more important affairs of state. However, it is noted by Loach that Edward did participate in “a wide range of physical activities and sporting interests”, and this on occasion included hunting. The existing evidence does suggest that Edward was partial to hawking/falconry because of the existence of hawk mews.⁶²⁹ Loach remarks that hunting was “a major activity at the Edwardian court...and the king himself hunted”, but it was so common “that it only occasionally prompted a special payment in the records.”⁶³⁰ This is highly unusual, because if it was a common occurrence then there would be more evidence in the Exchequer records that Loach has identified. I would argue that the few entries in the Exchequer records indicates that the hunting occasions of Edward VI were not “routine” but reserved for special guests and foreign visitors. The explicit distinction of “by his graces specyasll commaundement” by Loach reinforces the point the Edward’s hunting was not routine.⁶³¹ Despite the limited evidence to suggest the extent to which Edward hunted, the instances where payments were recorded for hunting excursions demonstrated that Edward did engage in the recreational pursuit of hunting. Furthermore, Edward was trained in the arts of hunting and horsemanship at a young age. He followed the royal tradition of receiving a princely education in diplomacy and politics, but also received instructions in the martial arts.⁶³² Edward’s pursuit of hunting does highlight his engagement with the political and courtly culture that was crucial to Tudor royal power. In contrast to Edward, Mary I was not known to have hunted. As previously mentioned in Chapter 1, Mary did not go on progresses. Therefore the exercise of hunting during Mary’s reign had not occurred to the extent it had with her father’s, brother’s or, eventually, her sister’s reign. With the number of deer parks associated with royal palaces, there is some hesitation as to whether Mary hunted within these places. Thomas Freeman remarks, “very little hunting or hawking is mentioned” in relation to Mary.⁶³³ Despite no mention of Mary hunting, there is a possibility that she

⁶²⁷ Jennifer Loach, *Edward VI* (London: Yale University Press, 1999), 137-138.

⁶²⁸ Loach suggests that animal handlers of hunting “beast” in Edward’s reign earned £36 14s 6d annual for their wages. This was nothing compared to the annual wages earned by the hunting staff in Elizabeth’s reign. *Ibid.*, 153.

⁶²⁹ *Ibid.*, 153. Colvin, *History of the King’s Works*, 3:189.

⁶³⁰ Loach, *Edward VI*, 153.

⁶³¹ *Ibid.*, 154-155.

⁶³² Aysha Pollnitz, *Princely Education in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 148.

⁶³³ Thomas Freeman, “Inventing Bloody Mary: Perceptions of Mary Tudor”, in *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives*, eds. Susan Doran and Thomas Freeman (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 92.

inherited a hunting establishment.⁶³⁴ However, Mary eventually “abolished the Privy Buckhounds.”⁶³⁵ Just as she abolished the practice of royal progresses, the removal of hunting staff and animals illustrates Mary’s elimination of court excesses. This emphasises her intention not to utilise the visible displays of power and authority, which had become commonplace with the Tudor monarchy. By consciously not engaging with the two important activities the symbolised royal power and authority in Tudor England, Mary was respecting the parameters of the traditional female role and adhering to traditional Catholic customs.

Understanding this allows us to consider that the reason that Mary did not hunt or go on progresses was because these were traditionally masculine functions. Alexander Samson discusses how Philip was effective in aiding his wife in the administration of her dominions, a task he assiduously carried out, leading both countries in war.”⁶³⁶ With Philip essentially providing the “masculine element lacking in Mary’s sole monarchy” and fulfilling her martial role by taking charge of military affairs, there was no need for Mary to engage in masculine aspects such as the pursuit of hunting.⁶³⁷ Furthermore, it was possible that Mary did not hunt because it was not a pastime she enjoyed or she was more distracted by the “debilitate[ing]...illness and the phantom pregnancies which tormented her.”⁶³⁸ The explanations as to why Mary did not hunt cannot be reduced to a single reason. It should be acknowledged that Mary displayed her power and authority in other ways, particularly through religious ceremony and rituals: touching for the king’s evil, conducting the ceremony of the Maundy, and blessing camp rings. However, the fact that Mary did not hunt, while Elizabeth enjoyed and engaged in the pursuit, highlights the differences in their queenships. The distinction between Elizabeth and Mary’s form of agency and rule aids in a more comprehensive understanding of not only women’s activities but also royal power in the late sixteenth century.

The study of medieval hunting has produced important scholarly work. Consequently, to establish the historiography of hunting before and after the Tudor period, we need to briefly discuss the significance of hunting during the Jacobean period. This has also been fully explored by Dan Beaver. The Jacobean and Caroline periods saw hunting as a violent removal of the rights of the common subject with the encroaching presence of the English crown and

⁶³⁴ Society of Antiquaries MS 125, “Book of Fees and Offices”, 1553. John Cooper suggests that the manuscript was created to compile a list of the offices and staff within Mary’s realm at the beginning of her reign to possibly “get rid of any staunch Protestants in her household.” See Society of Antiquarians video: <http://www.blood-royal-exhibition.com/Videos.html>. However, Simon Adams (see below) suggests that Robert Dudley lost his office in 1553 and the office of the “Privy Buckhounds” was eliminated.

⁶³⁵ Adams suggests that this happened around 1553. Simon Adams, “‘The Queens Majestie...is now become a great huntress’: Elizabeth I and the Chase,” *The Court Historian: Royal Hunts Issue*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (Dec. 2013), 150.

⁶³⁶ Samson, “Power Sharing”, 169.

⁶³⁷ Glyn Redworth, “‘Matters Impertinent to Women’: Male and Female Monarchy under Philip and Mary”, *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 112, No. 447 (June 1997), 598.

⁶³⁸ *Ibid.*, 603.

the nobility. Beaver characterises hunting within this period as “the violent process of political change.”⁶³⁹ This period saw a large increase in the number of crimes against the establishment of hunting parks and enclosures, as well as the enforcement of hunting laws. Beaver asserts that the increase in hunting crimes represented a “startling willingness to attack, and even to destroy, the traditional polity in defense of its commonwealth.”⁶⁴⁰ While hunting was at its height during the Tudor period, the Jacobean period saw the breakdown of royal hunting. In 1603, the Jacobean Game Laws were so comprehensive and sweeping that they eliminated many of the smaller and less affluent gentry from the hunt, and thus limited their access to wild game for food. These laws resulted in the emergence of widespread factionalism and conflicts across England in response to three specific points: the protection of royal prerogative, the establishment of hunting boundaries, and restrictions on the selling of wild game. Essentially a system was created that was complex, specialised and restrictive. This led to an explosion of riots and rebellions across England against the privileged and elite domain of hunting.⁶⁴¹ In 1642, a series of attacks on parks, chases and forests fuelled a clash between royal authority and the moral authority and customs of the people.⁶⁴² From about the 1660s, there was a shift from hunting the noble deer to hunting more readily available game, like the hare and fox. This was because the deer parks were in a state of decline. Owners were unable to compete with the cost of keeping the parks filled and the once majestic and royal pursuit of deer hunting became obsolete. Additionally, hawking and netting gave way to shooting with the quicker method of guns.

As England began to move towards chaos and civil conflict, the pastimes and activities that made up the social fabric of sixteenth century England began to unravel. The intense shift from a traditional structure of courtly and royal hunting in the Tudor period, to the “often-violent process of political change” that exemplified the “nature of the English Revolution”, demonstrated the evolution of hunting and its political, social, and cultural meanings.⁶⁴³ By establishing the historiography of medieval and Jacobean hunting, it becomes clear that Tudor hunting still needs to be developed. This examination of Elizabeth I’s use of hunting contributes to this research and is situated within the existing works on hunting for the period preceding and following the Tudor era.

II. The Political Significance of Tudor Hunting

Hunting for sport had transformed from being a pursuit of mere recreation and pleasure by Elizabeth’s reign: it had become symbolic and ritualistic to the point that it was

⁶³⁹ Daniel C. Beaver, *Hunting and the Politics of Violence before the English Civil War*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 1.

⁶⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁶⁴¹ Roger B. Manning, “Unlawful Hunting in England, 1500-1640”, *Forest and Conservation History*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (January 1994), 22.

⁶⁴² Beaver, *Hunting and the Politics of Violence*, 1-2

⁶⁴³ *Ibid.*, 1.

described as the “art of hunting.” The use of the word “art” meant that hunting was not only practised through technique and skill but also performed. The movement from one aspect of the hunt to another, such as the change from stalking to chasing, was considered a performance in Elizabethan England and each aspect of this hunting performance had various meanings. The use of the word “art” here is taken from Anglo’s use of the word in the *Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe* and John Cummins’s use in *The Hound and Hawk: the Art of Medieval Hunting*. Additionally, the term was used in the medieval and early modern literary texts such as Gascoigne’s *The Noble Art of Venerie or Hunting* and Twiti’s *The Art of Hunting*. Hunting provided an important occasion in which rituals and ceremony served to display one’s “self representation”, which included the demonstration and performance of physical ability.⁶⁴⁴ By engaging in the rituals and ceremony, the individual hunting fashioned an identity that gave them legitimacy at court or within the council. In Elizabeth’s case, hunting allowed her to exercise agency in being able to project martial prowess to both her subjects and foreign diplomats.

One of the dominant themes throughout Henry VII and Henry VIII’s reigns was the stories of King Arthur and his knights. King Arthur was the ideal king and the chivalric knight. Henry VII revived the legends of King Arthur when he came to the throne to reinforce the legitimacy of the new dynasty and link the Tudors with the majesty of King Arthur. In fact, chivalry became a “Tudor dynastic symbol.”⁶⁴⁵ He even went so far as to name his eldest son Arthur. Growing up, Henry VIII was familiar with the legend of King Arthur and fashioned the persona of the chivalrous knight and Renaissance prince, which had cultural links to chivalry and honour. Indeed, he revived the ideals of chivalry and honour, as well as courage within his court, especially through his love of jousting. He even continued the construction of buildings in the style that his father had begun that was reminiscent of the “chivalric golden age”, such as Whitehall, Hampton Court, and Nonsuch.⁶⁴⁶ More importantly, Henry VIII engaged in hunting, an essential activity in iconic Arthurian legends.⁶⁴⁷ Hunting was so much a part of Henry VIII’s court that he changed the landscape of London by creating royal parks. In fact, in a letter to Thomas Wolsey, Richard Pace writes that the king “spares no pains to convert the sport of hunting into a martyrdom.”⁶⁴⁸ Henry VIII’s contemporaries, particularly Cardinal Wolsey, wrote that at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, Henry had “knowledge in the arte militant, right chevalrous in armes...and dispose...to do some faire feate of armes.”⁶⁴⁹ These chivalric virtues, as a reminder, consisted of valour, military prowess, and honour. The king certainly embodied and displayed these virtues through the use of tournaments, jousts

⁶⁴⁴ Breiding, *Deadly Art*, 8.

⁶⁴⁵ Gordon Kipling, *Triumph of Honour: Burgundian Origins of the Elizabethan Renaissance* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 1977), 3.

⁶⁴⁶ Kipling, *Triumph of Honour*, 2 & 7.

⁶⁴⁷ Williams, “Hunting in Early Modern England”, 21.

⁶⁴⁸ TNA, SP 1/21 f. 32.

⁶⁴⁹ Richardson, *The Field of Cloth of Gold*, 107.

and military conquests. As Loades suggests, Henry was “devoted to the military code of honour which chivalry represented.”⁶⁵⁰ Even Henry represented himself as an honourable knight, as he commissioned the thirteenth-century round table at Winchester Castle to be repainted to include the Tudor Rose and a likeness of himself. The repainting of an iconic artefact was done to impress the emperor, Charles V, on his visit in 1522.⁶⁵¹ It was Henry VIII that exalted the sport of hunting to a new level of royal magnificence, but it was Elizabeth I who used royal magnificence and hunting in a variety of ways to demonstrate her authority, agency, power and martial identity.

One of the critical requirements of an effective monarch was their ability to defend the good of the realm. The effectiveness of a sovereign’s rule included going into battle to protect the borders and boundaries or fighting to conquer and extend those borders. Military skills were essential for the legitimacy of a monarch. In the fifteenth century, one of the criticisms of Henry VI was that he was “utterly lacking in the combative, self assertive, warlike traits valued in a prince.”⁶⁵² He did not hunt, as he disliked bloodshed, which was viewed as a detriment to England. The lack of military skill and martial leadership made the monarch obsolete. This insufficiency was evident with Henry VI as the territories within England and France that his father had previously acquired were lost through ineffective leadership, military mistakes, and his absence on the battlefield. Henry VI had failed at one of his most important roles as a monarch: martial leadership.

The relationship between the pursuit of hunting and development of a martial identity was not always clearly exhibited in the contemporary literature or within modern studies of the topic. This absence raises the question, how were the concepts of hunting and martial identity cultivated and achieved? The medieval material suggests that the two are intertwined because the goal was for nobles and royals to become better warriors and leaders. Within the context of the early modern period, hunting was a way of not only demonstrating and practising military prowess but also a method of enhancing magnificence. Cooper asserts effectively that “the display of royal power through artistic and architectural patronage” was at the core of magnificence. It was about promoting royal lineage, impressing foreign ambassadors, and emphasising Renaissance kingship.⁶⁵³ I would emphatically agree, yet add that while early Tudor magnificence focused on “artistic and architectural patronage”, Elizabethan progresses, and hunting were visible forms of propaganda that emphasised the Queen’s magnificence. Anglo reminds us that the display of royal magnificence was an “external sign of intrinsic power” and that “magnificence was obligatory for effective kingship.”⁶⁵⁴ Henry VIII certainly exemplified the concept of magnificence,

⁶⁵⁰ David Loades, *Henry VIII* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2011), 65.

⁶⁵¹ Jon Whitman, “National Icon: The Winchester Round Table and the Revelation of Authority”, *Arthuriana*, Vol. 18, No.4 (Winter 2008), 35-36.

⁶⁵² Erickson, *Royal Panoply*, 119.

⁶⁵³ Cooper, *Propaganda and The Tudor State*, 210.

⁶⁵⁴ Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship*, 6-8.

particularly with hunting. Magnificence included the very idea of strength and warrior-like ability, which were the basis for hunting tactics. Henry VIII fulfilled this ideal of the warrior and majestic sovereign throughout his reign with his engagement in military excursions to the continent to fight and fend for what was his, such as Calais. However, Henry's self-presentation and the presentation constructed by his contemporaries changed from a sovereign that was a "military, chivalric hero" to that of "the king as Supreme Head."⁶⁵⁵ This character shift was due to both Henry's advanced age and ill health. Each depiction of the king had intended connotations and projected a symbolic image. The early depictions of Henry VIII, up to 1520, in portraits, print, and literature reveal an "athletic, confident, young man" who displayed his martial prowess in the jousts and on the battlefield, creating a sense of a chivalric warrior.⁶⁵⁶ The depiction of Henry as a chivalric knight reached its height at the Field of Cloth of Gold. The well-known Field of Cloth of Gold painting encapsulates and glorifies the Renaissance ideals of chivalry and knights.⁶⁵⁷ The painting features the various jousts occurring in the tiltyards across the field and men marching with the king. The king is positioned upon a magnificent white horse, marching among and alongside his men. He is scaled larger than Francois, but the both of them are placed together exemplifying the idea of brotherhood that was central to knighthood.⁶⁵⁸ Alternatively, as Henry began to age and increased in size, his image changed to that of a learned, divine, merciful, and virtuous warrior king.⁶⁵⁹

The writings of Elizabeth's contemporaries provide insight that reinforced the political significance of the Queen hunting and what society in the late sixteenth century deemed important. In 1558, John Knox's *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* professed that women were incapable of ruling and should not "reign, lead or beare dominion ouer men."⁶⁶⁰ Throughout his declaration, Knox gives his reasons that women should not rule and that they are by nature corrupt and easily persuaded by evil. Knox's writing, though ill-timed and harsh, reflected the attitudes about female rulers and emphasised the concerns of Elizabeth's succession by the prevailing patriarchy. Women could not hold the positions of power because they were unable to carry out the duties and characteristics of a ruler. This obligation included being a martial leader. In fact, as mentioned previously, Elizabeth's father remarked that the battlefield was "unmeet for women's imbecilities."⁶⁶¹ Like her siblings, Elizabeth never left England to fight or for diplomatic engagements. Despite this shortcoming, she still projected an image of a sovereign ruler, a martial leader, and a Queen with authority and power. The martial significance of

⁶⁵⁵ Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 82.

⁶⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 82.

⁶⁵⁷ HCP, Royal Collection Trust, *The Field of Cloth of Gold*, oil on canvas, c. 1545.

⁶⁵⁸ Richardson, *The Field of Cloth of Gold*, 110-111.

⁶⁵⁹ Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 98.

⁶⁶⁰ John Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, (London, 1558).

⁶⁶¹ TNA, SP 1/215, f. 34.

hunting did not change at all with Elizabeth's reign. However, throughout her reign, the importance and impact of hunting incorporated the essential characteristics of spectacle, ritual and meaning, and royal magnificence that was synonymous with Tudor propaganda, diplomacy and royal power.

Elizabeth's use of hunting was not only for pleasure. It was also a political device that aided in the development of a martial identity and the construction of Elizabeth's strong, and at times masculine, queenship. Elizabeth's use of hunting and her employment of a visual martial persona was reinforced with the warrior-like character constructed by her contemporaries, such as members of the Queen's court, Privy Councillors, foreign dignitaries and the Catholic and Protestant groups. Catholics and Protestants depicted the Queen as a warrior and leader, but this image was shaped in a way that aided the Catholic or Protestant cause. Within each subset of religious groups, there were extremists, including staunchly conservative Catholics who remained loyal and obedient to the authority and practices of the Roman Church, and the Protestants who sought complete reform of the English Church, such as the Puritans. The conservative Catholics portrayed Elizabeth as a warrior and heretic against the "true religion." This portrayal helped the outspoken, non-conforming Catholic cause because it illustrated Elizabeth as an evil woman who was influenced by the devil and on a crusade to spread heresy. The Protestants (across the spectrum) portrayed the Queen as a just and loving mother, and a leader and warrior, who was devoted to her people.⁶⁶² This depiction helped to rally Protestant followers to fight for their beliefs and combat the conservative Catholic representations of their Queen. This depiction of Elizabeth as a warrior queen was also employed on progresses, mainly through pageants that revolved around the theme of hunting or occurred when Elizabeth was embarking or returning from a hunt, which associated the Queen with chivalry and helped define her character.

Gascoigne's hunting manual highlights specific characteristics of hunting that was crucial not only to court dynamics but also to an individual's character and "self-presentation". The development of being a good "gentleman", or to be chivalrous, was crucial to Elizabethan society, as honour, reputation and status were forms of currency and a ticket to advancement and prosperity. Tudor chivalry not only centred on the gallantry and prowess of sovereigns but also connected with chivalric romance.⁶⁶³ I would add that loyalty and trust were also crucial to an individual's character, especially in the hunting arena. These characteristics were essential because hunting provided intimate access to people,

⁶⁶² Paraque suggests that Elizabeth conveyed a Protestant warrior image when dealing with the case of Mary, Queen of Scots. Estelle Paraque, "The Representations of Ambiguities of the Warlike Female Kingship of Elizabeth I of England", in *Medieval and Early Modern Representations of Authority in Scotland and the British Isles*, ed. Kate Buchanan, Lucinda H.S. Dean and Michael Penman (London: Routledge, 2016), 167-169. See also Carla Rahn Phillips, "Libels and Other Weapons: The Written Word as an Adjunct to Naval Warfare", in *Material and Symbolic Circulation between England and Spain, 1554-1604*, ed. Anna J. Cruz (London: Routledge, 2016).

⁶⁶³ Kipling, *Triumph of Honour*, 118.

particularly the Queen. Chivalry was the central theme of many pageants during Elizabeth's reign, like those pageants presented at Kenilworth in 1575.⁶⁶⁴ Chivalric ideals were closely associated with the honourable knight, and thus knighthood had been a martial occupation.⁶⁶⁵ Therefore, it was crucial for the monarch to represent and embody the ideals of the honourable knight. The contemporary depictions of Elizabeth hunting evoked the Renaissance ideals of a martial leader and endowed Elizabeth with the characteristics of chivalry and honour.

Royal hunting was also not always viewed favourably, especially, as Beaver has pointed out, with the creation of hunting parks and the establishment of royal forests. This opposition created a stark contrast between the elite and the ordinary. Furthermore, the sovereign's hunting pursuits were closely connected with their violent political actions. Hanawalt refers to a case that associated "Henry VIII's slaughter of deer" with his "simultaneous executions."⁶⁶⁶ This correlation characterises the sovereign as violent and extends beyond the natural elements of exercise and controlled violence. This portrayal alludes to the king's possible desire for violence and unjust practices that created a "reign of terror."⁶⁶⁷

Elizabeth's hunting excursions were not exempt from negative commentary or association. In 1560, Elizabeth remarked to the Spanish ambassador, de Quadra, that Robert Dudley's wife, Amy Robsart, "was dead or nearly so" after she returned from hunting.⁶⁶⁸ De Quadra noted with explicit detail in his letter that the Queen's hunting excursion and her revelation of Robsart's death were closely linked. This account portrays the Queen as darkly violent. Additionally, the Queen's progress to Bristol in 1574 resulted in a hunting excursion that saw the death of 27 stags. The instance was described in barbaric terms as the "slaughter" of deer created a "havoked" environment.⁶⁶⁹ The uninvited hunting of his deer angered Lord Berkeley. However, this particular hunt was possibly intended to be a clear message to Lord Berkeley about his disloyalty.⁶⁷⁰ The incident was a negative depiction of the violence of hunting as a form of punishment, and it created an "ugly atmosphere", culminating in "bloody insults."⁶⁷¹

⁶⁶⁴ Kipling, *Triumph of Honour*, 116.

⁶⁶⁵ Williams, "Hunting in Early Modern England", 43.

⁶⁶⁶ Hanawalt, *'Of Good and Ill Repute'*, 49. Hanawalt cites "The Lisle Letters" as the primary source of this depiction of Henry's slaughter of deer.

⁶⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 149 & 156—fn. 20.

⁶⁶⁸ *CSP—Spain (Simancas)*, 1:174-176, 11 September 1560, Bishop de Quadra to the Duchess of Parma. See also BL, Add. MS 26,056a.

⁶⁶⁹ This description comes from the narrative provided by Nichols. However, he explicitly notes that the incident is recorded in the Berkeley MSS. Nichols, *The Progresses and Public*, 2:196. Cole's citation for the incident derives from two secondary sources. See below.

⁶⁷⁰ Cole suggests that this disloyalty and "displeasure" stemmed from the legal battle with Robert Dudley, the Queen's favourite. However, the disloyalty most likely relates to his familiar connections with the Howard family. Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 149.

⁶⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 149.

Hunting and military skills were very gendered arenas. As warfare involved politics and the masculine arena, it was a very public space reserved for men. Women were expected to adhere to their gender roles and remain in the private space. With a few exceptions, women were excluded from public roles. However, the exclusion of women from public positions and the expectations of maintaining gender roles came into conflict when women, like Mary I and Elizabeth I, became queen. Therefore, attitudes and customs shifted to accommodate these unique circumstances. Hunting did not necessarily have the same gendered expectations. In fact, the medieval and early modern periods contain numerous instances of royal and noble women engaged in the hunt. In the eighth century, Charlemagne's wife, Hildegard, hunted with her husband and was considered especially dear to him because she could "personally deliver the death blow to a wild boar."⁶⁷² Eleanor of Provence (1236) hunted both on her own and with her husband, Henry III of England, while visiting various hunting lodges, and particularly enjoyed hawking.⁶⁷³ Eleanor of Castile (1254) followed in the footsteps of her mother-in-law, Eleanor of Provence, and regularly hunted, usually with dogs.⁶⁷⁴ Margaret of France (wife of Edward I of England) and Mary of Burgundy (wife of Louis I, King of Navarre) hunted while pregnant. Mary of Burgundy died when she fell from her horse during a hunt with hawks.⁶⁷⁵ Philippa of Hainault (wife of Edward III of England) hunted extensively in both Hainault and England. During one occasion, she had her horse, falconer, falcons, and dogs transported to England.⁶⁷⁶ Margaret of Anjou (wife of Henry VI of England) and many others were skilled and frequent huntswomen.⁶⁷⁷ The participation of women in the pursuit of hunting along with the prestige that hunting offered the nobility, helped to transform hunting into an elite activity. This transformation was due to how the rituals and forms of hunting shifted to accommodate women.

Given the fact that one of the most vital duties of a monarch was to rule and be a martial leader, how did contemporaries and society reconcile the presence of a female monarch with the expectations of martial prowess and military combat? How were royal women expected to maintain their gender conformity and engage in military combat? I contend that the answer is hunting. Hunting was an activity that did not fit the conventional parameters of gender, especially given that one of the key figures to be utilised in the pageants throughout the sixteenth century was Diana, goddess of the chase. This appropriation of Diana as an acceptable female champion supports the work of Amanda

⁶⁷² Richardson, "Riding Like Alexander, Hunting Like Diana", 259.

⁶⁷³ *Ibid.*, 263.

⁶⁷⁴ Sara Cockerill, *Eleanor of Castile: Shadow Queen*, (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2014), 72-75.

⁶⁷⁵ Richardson, "Riding Like Alexander, Hunting Like Diana", 259 & 263.

⁶⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 264.

⁶⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 253-254.

Richardson, who asserts “the Renaissance idealization of hunting [was] based around Diana.”⁶⁷⁸

The fact that Elizabeth engaged in hunting was unique because she was only the second woman in England to be a ruling monarch, rather than participating in the sport as a royal consort. The precedent for studies focusing on a queen regnant and not a queen consort to hunt has been virtually nonexistent. Medieval sources reveal that royal women did in fact hunt. They played “a key role in the hunt, function[ing] as an ‘integral part of the king’s public body’ by appearing in the ceremonies and celebrations in which royal power was displayed, and to which the hunt can be compared.”⁶⁷⁹ This association of women as part of the public body was a clear indication that the medieval and early modern hunting was understood as a ceremonial spectacle and a form of royal display. It was established that women were to take part in courtly rituals and public performances. However, studies have shown that medieval women did more than just perform in the hunt; they were active participants in the hunt. Richardson remarks, “many high status women were celebrated for their enthusiasm for the chase,” and further illustrates that European queens were not just active in the hunt but lauded as experts.⁶⁸⁰ Mary, Queen of Scots, was a huntswoman. In fact, while imprisoned at Fotheringay, she asked to be allowed to hunt. Elizabeth’s councillors thought it was a guise to escape imprisonment in England. However, the denial of Mary’s request to hunt demonstrates the Privy Council’s knowledge of her hunting abilities.⁶⁸¹ However, Mary’s denial of the opportunity to hunt was not because they wanted her to conform to her gender role and not engage in the masculine act of hunting, but because the council feared that she would escape. This situation also illustrates that the council recognised the threat of Mary’s knowledge and skill as a huntswoman as a potential tool in her escape.

III. The Logistics of Royal Hunting

Robert Dudley wrote to Thomas Radcliffe, the third earl of Sussex that Elizabeth had “become a great huntress and doth follow it daily from morning till night.”⁶⁸² This specific line within the letter reveals two crucial pieces of information. First, hunting within Elizabeth’s court was a group activity and courtiers discussed the Queen’s hunting activities. Second, the length of time that the Queen engaged in hunting was considerable and required planning, preparation and most likely a dedicated staff. Therefore, Elizabethan hunting was not a passing recreation or rare occurrence. To understand the significance and frequent occurrence of hunting by Elizabeth and her court, this section will examine the logistics and technicalities of hunting in the mid to late-sixteenth century.

⁶⁷⁸ Richardson, “Riding Like Alexander, Hunting Like Diana”, 253.

⁶⁷⁹ Anne McLaren, “Queenship in Early Modern England and Scotland”, *The Historical Journal* 49 (2006), 941.

⁶⁸⁰ Richardson, “Riding Like Alexander, Hunting Like Diana”, 254.

⁶⁸¹ *CSP—Foreign*, 9:196-212, 9 March 1570, Sir Henry Norris to Cecil.

⁶⁸² BL, Cotton MS, Titus B XIII, fol. 17r.

Hunting involved the very best of the Queen's court in terms of those courtiers that were skilled and experts at both riding and hunting. These courtiers included individuals such as Dudley, the Earl of Leicester, who was not only the Queen's Master of the Horse but also Master of the "Buckehoundes" in 1586. Sir Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, served as the Queen's Master of the Hawks. William Cecil, Lord Burghley, was also known to be a skilled huntsman, as evidenced by a letter in which Burghley relayed his appreciation to Dudley for the gift of a hound. Burghley comments that the hound "maketh my huntyng very certen."⁶⁸³ Henry Percy, Thomas Sackville, Thomas Wilson, Sidney Lee, and Nicholas Bacon all hunted with the Queen.⁶⁸⁴ However, these skilled courtiers that accompanied the Queen on the hunt were not just men; Mary Sidney, Lettice Knollys (wife of Walter Devereux) and Blanche Perry also hunted with the Queen.⁶⁸⁵ The men listed here who hunted with the queen were also members of the Queen's Privy Council. Their proximity to the Queen during the hunt and the amount of time that the hunt took up, suggests that these occasions provided opportunities for the Queen and her councillors to discuss matters of state. Therefore, these hunting excursions supplied a platform from which counseling took place. On the occasions when members of the Privy Council hosted the Queen, they most likely organised hunts for her within their hunting parks or the surrounding area.

The summer months were the prime hunting season. Bucks, harts and roe were best hunted between May and September.⁶⁸⁶ Hares and rabbits were more available than other game during March to December. These months were also the best to take advantage of the assistance of hawks and falcons. The hunting of boars was best from September to the end of November, while fox hunting was best between January and March.⁶⁸⁷ Over ninety percent of the Queen's progresses occurred between July and August, which was the heart of hunting season.⁶⁸⁸ Another reason hunting happened on progresses was because the Queen loved to hunt and was considered an expert, given the contemporary literature that portrays her as such, thus being a recreational pursuit. Table 1 (Appendix 6) also illustrates the frequency of hunting while on progress and highlights the specific progresses and places where Elizabeth hunted. The final reason hunting happened on progresses, and one that is critical here, was because it created the opportunity for the Queen and those seeking access to the Queen to engage in political discussions, counsel and resolutions within a less formal environment. Hunting excursions were topics of conversations between court members, which could be courtiers commenting on how the Queen could be accessed. Additionally, the intimate nature of hunting and proximity to the Queen provided an environment, free from the pressure of

⁶⁸³ TNA, SP 12/141, f. 94.

⁶⁸⁴ Editor's annotations note the gamekeeper's records at Kenilworth provided information that these individuals hunted with the Queen during her visit in 1575. Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:298.

⁶⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 2:298.

⁶⁸⁶ Edward of Norwich, *The Master of Game*, 35-40.

⁶⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 35-40.

⁶⁸⁸ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 180-202.

outside interference or interruptions, to engage in personal or political dialogue. This setting allowed, as previously mentioned, for counsel between the sovereign and her subjects to occur. The court on progress was not as extensive as it was in the royal palaces within London and therefore did not have as many interruptions. The following cases, discussed at length in the proceeding sections, distinctly illustrate how hunting excursions were used for politics, counsel and diplomacy. First, the letter between the Queen and Lord Hunsdon in 1564 highlights the use of hunting as a space to engage in political discussions.⁶⁸⁹ Secondly, opportunities for personal counsel are examined in the case of the 1575 progress and hunting activities at Kenilworth. Finally, the political issues or situations that were discussed and resolved during hunting excursions as evidenced by the correspondence of the Queen and the Muscovy ambassador in 1592.

As the table (Table 1) reveals, Elizabeth visited several places more than once and hunted there. Epping Forest/Wanstead, Hatfield, Enfield, Kenilworth, Theobalds, Eltham, Hanworth, and Waltham Forrest were specific locations that had established and dedicated hunting parks, chases and in one particular place, a hunting lodge. Hatfield, Enfield, Eltham and Hanworth were all royal residences. Enfield had the hunting lodge and was situated in Enfield Chase which was a royal park that stretched across three counties: Hertfordshire, Middlesex and Bedfordshire.⁶⁹⁰ Kenilworth and Theobalds were residences owned by Dudley and Cecil, Elizabeth's favourite courtiers. The chart highlights that 17.5% of the Queen's visits on progresses involved hunting. Of the 17.5%, 20% of the hunting excursions occurred at the homes of her Privy Councillors and nobles. It is possible that this figure suggests Elizabeth enjoyed the visits to the homes of her advisors because they provided the opportunity for recreation and conducting business. Furthermore, it is possible that these visits to the homes of her chief advisors and nobles allowed Elizabeth to re-established her authority by displaying her hunting abilities to her courtiers. This use of royal prerogative would undoubtedly be the case with the incident at Berkeley, previously mentioned, in 1574.⁶⁹¹

In Epping Forest or Wansted, as it was known during Elizabeth's reign, there was a dedicated hunting lodge that Elizabeth used during her reign. The lodge was more of a stand in which the second floor was open, that provided an unobstructed view of the surrounding forest, fields and park.⁶⁹² At Theobalds, Cecil developed the hunting parks when he started building up the estate, in the 1570s, to host the Queen while on progress. The hunting park, also utilized by Cecil, supplied the facilities for the Queen to engage in her favourite

⁶⁸⁹ TNA, SP 70/72, f. 81. For an analysis of the letter see below, p. 168.

⁶⁹⁰ Buchanan Sharp, "Rural Discontent and the English Revolution", in *Town and Countryside in the English Revolution*, ed. R.C. Richardson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), 267.

⁶⁹¹ The incident is based on Nichols narrative from the Berkeley MSS. Nichols, *The Progresses and Public*, 2:196.

⁶⁹² LMA, Queen Elizabeth I Hunting Lodge, CLA/07704/31, No. 11 and 12.

pastime.⁶⁹³ In fact, as Table 1 shows, Elizabeth hunted five different times in the 1570s, where she had only been to Theobalds and hunted two times prior.⁶⁹⁴ At Hatfield, the childhood home of Elizabeth, the hunting parks had been in existence since Elizabeth was a child. With the Queen's accession, Hatfield House became a royal residence. Elizabeth went back to Hatfield frequently and hunted there. It was usually the first stop on her progresses to the surrounding counties of Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Warwickshire Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex. The prominence of the Hertfordshire as a royal hunting ground, particularly at Hatfield, was evident during the 1590s as it was the focus of several disputes. Conflict emerged when specific hunters, namely John Stileman, encroached on the Queen's chases and were arrested for "disorderlie huntinge."⁶⁹⁵

The differences between hunting within the Thames valley at the royal palaces and hunting on progresses are contained within two main points: the organisation of hunting staff and the time committed to hunting. Despite the lack of clear evidence in the financial records or household accounts to distinguish between the hunting on progress and the hunting in London, we can construct a basic understanding of how the hunt differed between these two environments through the written accounts of the Queen's hunting activities. Hunting in London (throughout the Thames river valley) occurred at the palaces that had dedicated hunting parks: Greenwich, Richmond, Nonsuch and Hampton Court. These hunts were organised by the Queen's hunting staff. Just as palaces were prepared for the Queen's arrival between the London palaces, the hunting parks would also have been prepared. This process would mean that the royal mews, which housed the Queen's hunting animals at each location, would have been on alert and the animals groomed and ready for any occasion in which the Queen wished to hunt.⁶⁹⁶ However, on the extra-London progresses, the hosts organised hunts for the Queen. As hunting was an expensive and dedicated pursuit, those who organised the hunts would have had expert knowledge of hunting and an established hunting staff. This point is evident in the case of Lord and Lady Berkeley who were known to have gone hunting with a large retinue of hunting staff.⁶⁹⁷ The existence of a host's hunting staff does not mean that the Queen's hunting staff was not utilized; they were just employed on a smaller scale. Most likely, the hosts' weapons, animals and staff would have been supplemented with those of the Queen's. Cole's method and descriptions of the way the

⁶⁹³ HHA, MS Cecil Papers—Misc., 2:153. Dunlap, *Palaces and Progresses*, 176.

⁶⁹⁴ Table 1, Appendix 6, 249.

⁶⁹⁵ HHA, Cecil Papers 58/83.

⁶⁹⁶ Adams, "The Queens Majestie...is now become a great huntress", 147. Adams identifies that each palace had a stable, which were also known as the royal mews. The hunting animals would have been housed within these buildings, under the control of the Master of the Horse. During Elizabeth's reign, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester was Master of the Horse. Given his connection to Elizabeth and the fact that they spent a great deal of time together on progresses, it would not have been out of the ordinary that he would have been the one to organise the Queen's hunts in London or on progress.

⁶⁹⁷ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 64.

household was organised and how it functioned logistically on progress serves as a model for how the hunt occurred on progress: supplementing where required and needed. In fact, Cole alludes to the assembling of “people, equipment and animals” as part of the planning for progresses.⁶⁹⁸ The Queen’s privy councillors, Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon and Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester attended the Queen on progress and were also listed among the Queen’s hunting staff. It is clear that they would have been responsible for making sure the Queen’s hunting equipment and animals were transported, and her hunting preferences (i.e. favourite hound or horse, preference for a specific hunting weapon) were met. Furthermore, as they were both members of the court they would have been included in the numbers for meals that were provided for the court, so there was no need to distinguish between them separately in the financial records as a cost for expenses on progresses.⁶⁹⁹

The other difference between hunting in London and on progresses was the amount of time spent hunting. In 1560, around the time of his wife’s death, Dudley remarked that the Queen hunted “from morning till night” while they were on Elizabeth’s progress to Hampshire.⁷⁰⁰ The all-day hunting would have had some logistical problems, particularly in terms of the heat. This complication would have been addressed with the use of deer standings that were constructed within deer parks.⁷⁰¹ While hunting on progresses was a day-long affair, the hunting in London utilised only part of the day. With the Queen in London, the court was at full capacity. This means interruptions and affairs of state would have taken more precedence than the pursuit of the hunt, especially if Parliament was in session.⁷⁰² Furthermore, hunting would have been organised for the afternoon due to the conditions required for hunting animals and the game.⁷⁰³

What did it mean to “hunt”? What was involved in the hunt? Hunting had an “institutional structure derived from the royal forest.” In the forest, the game, known in early modern terms as “beast and fowl”, were kept and protected by the monarch.⁷⁰⁴ The animals that were considered popular hunting game, mentioned previously within the contemporary literature, were deer (of various types), boar, rabbits, foxes, pheasants and partridges. There were two types of hunting: hunting with hounds and hunting with falcons/hawks. Hunting with hounds involved hunting larger game, such as deer, and boars. Often the hunters were on horseback, except for the huntsmen that handled the hounds. Hunting with hawks/falcons could be done on horseback and sometimes involved the hounds, but typically this type of

⁶⁹⁸ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 41.

⁶⁹⁹ Cole refers to the Bouche of Court and Book of Diet that laid out the rules and regulations for which members of court would dine with the Queen, how much they would have and the costing. Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 43.

⁷⁰⁰ BL, Cotton MS Titus B XIII, f. 17.

⁷⁰¹ Adams, “The Queens Majestie...is now become a great huntress”, 146. The best known and surviving deer stand is known as the Queen’s Hunting Lodge at Enfield. LMA, CLA/07704/31.

⁷⁰² Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 19.

⁷⁰³ Gascoigne, *Noble Arte*, 36.

⁷⁰⁴ Adams, “The Queens Majestie...is now become a great huntress”, 144.

hunting targeted smaller game: rabbits, fox, badgers, weasels, otters, and fowl (pheasants and partridges).

Based on the manuals of Gascoigne, Turberville and Cokayne, the hunting of large game occurred in a variety of ways. The huntsmen on horseback would follow behind the hounds until a scent was picked up. Next, the hounds were released and the hunters followed the hounds. Upon finding the chosen game, the hunter would then pursue, shooting the target with a bow and arrows. Once the target was wounded, the hounds would hunt and find the wounded animal, bringing the huntsmen with them. At this point the lead hunter would finish the hunt by killing the target or game. Another way in which the hunt was conducted was the setting up of nets or toils. The hounds would hunt for the game, and when found, the hounds and huntsmen on foot would direct the game towards the toils or netting. The huntsmen either on horseback, on the ground or in stands would shoot the target. Once again, the hounds would hunt the wounded animal, leading the hunters to the spot. The lead huntsmen would end the hunt with the killing of the game.

Hunting with falcons or hawks was less intense and active. Often the huntsmen on foot, with or without hounds, would proceed to an area with bushes and thickets, or an area that was heavily wooded. The huntsmen and/or hounds would drive the game out into the open. The hawk or falcon, trained to capture their prey, was released and they would complete the kill. These brief explanations are broad overviews of the types of hunts and the way in which they were conducted. However, the hunt was very systematic and involved a process. Often it took a great deal of time to find the game. The huntsmen on foot would usually follow the tracks and “fewmishings” or feces. Most of the time these details of the tracks and evidence of feces would be presented to the individual heading the hunt: the nobleman or, as seen in Gascoigne’s *Noble Arte of Venerie*, presented to the Queen. It would then be decided, based on the evidence and details, whether the head huntsman or huntswoman wanted to pursue that particular target. By examining the size, thickness and length of the feces, the hunter could determine the likely age, size and condition of the target, which was usually a deer.⁷⁰⁵

The primary weapon used for hunting in early modern England was the crossbow. These weapons were used for hunting and warfare. Anglo remarks, “for several centuries it was rare for a monarch not to take pride in...martial skills.”⁷⁰⁶ The weapon used to hunt was a way for the monarch to display those martial skills. The hunt “demanded specific forms of knowledge, comportment, and performances in terms of courtliness, sociability or martial valour.”⁷⁰⁷ The valour and honour that Beaver refers to were exemplified through the different types of hunting and the ways in which they honed martial skills. Each form of

⁷⁰⁵ Gascoigne, *Noble Arte*, 65.

⁷⁰⁶ Anglo, *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe*, 2.

⁷⁰⁷ Dan Beaver, “The Great Deer Massacre: Animals, Honour, and Communication”, *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (April 1999), 192.

hunting was equally important and had specific roles and functions. For example, hunting on a stand as the deer ran past the sovereign functioned as a spectacle and display while honing the accuracy of the hunter's aim, whereas hunting on horseback with hounds served as a physical exercise that combined the use of the weapon while riding and maintain an accurate aim to kill the target. These displays were significant because the sight of the Queen armed, standing in readiness for the deer in her hunting stand, and then shooting the deer, surrounded by her itinerant court, would have been an impressionable spectacle that displayed Elizabeth's expertise and skill. The spectacle would have also reinforced her martial prowess and capabilities as a leader that could not be demonstrated on the battlefield. The occasion would have even impressed upon her courtiers the Queen's enthusiasm for the hunt and bolstered her reputation as a vigorous and powerful monarch. The contemporary writers of hunting, Gascoigne and Cockaine, both found that hunting was used as an instructive method or a school; a school "for character", that also helped to physically harden the huntsman and enhance their prestige.⁷⁰⁸ Therefore, writers such as Gascoigne and Cockaine saw the benefits of such a schooling environment that "enable[d]" men "aboue others, to the seruice of their Prince and Countrey in the warres."⁷⁰⁹ This approval of hunting activities emphasised honour. Therefore, hunting refined military training and mastering the weapons practised military combat.

The weapon used by the Queen on the hunt was the crossbow. This conclusion was evident by the New Year's gift rolls that frequently listed the crossbow as a gift given to Elizabeth.⁷¹⁰ This gift of a crossbow also reinforces that the Queen's ability and skills to hunt were well-known, as gift-giving required intimate knowledge of the individual receiving the gift. Furthermore, the Queen's chamber accounts list the "officers of the crossebowes" that accompanied the Queen on the hunt.⁷¹¹ The crossbow was an interesting weapon that demanded strength, hardiness, and energy to handle the mechanisms of the weapon and use it.

The crossbow was a weapon that required a somewhat close proximity to the target, along with in-depth knowledge and insight of the animal being hunted, to use it efficiently. With the advancements of the late fifteenth century and early sixteenth century, the longbow was modified into a more efficient and precise weapon. While the longbow was accessible and inexpensive, the crossbow was more complex, heavier and expensive.⁷¹² The crossbow was heavier because the springing mechanism was added to provide better accuracy and

⁷⁰⁸ Beaver, "The Great Deer Massacre", 190.

⁷⁰⁹ Cockaine, *A Short Treatise of Hunting*, A3.

⁷¹⁰ The evidence for this gift is located in two collections. Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:251. The surviving 24 New Year's Gift rolls have been catalogued, transcribed, and annotated by Jane A. Lawson. The notation of the crossbow given to the Queen was listed in the 1562 gift rolls. Jane A. Lawson, *The Elizabeth New Year's Gift Exchanges, 1559-1603* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 63.

⁷¹¹ TNA, AO 3/127.

⁷¹² Brieding, *A Deadly Art*, 4

propulsion. The longbow offered the ability for more arrows to be discharged, but the crossbow allowed for accuracy and distance. The crossbow was “the dominant handheld missile weapon in most of western Europe” in the sixteenth century.⁷¹³ The crossbow came in two distinct types: composite, wood, hand-drawn crossbows and mechanically drawn crossbows. Known in the medieval royal records as “*balistae*”, the crossbow’s key feature was the direct application of human strength.⁷¹⁴ The mechanically drawn crossbow required less physical strength but still required exemplary aiming skills. However, while the hand-drawn crossbow necessitated sufficient strength, it did not need the level of stamina that was required to hold the longbow. Both types of bows were employed for both warfare and the hunt during the late fifteenth century and sixteenth century. Additionally, both bows were ideally suited for hunting.⁷¹⁵ The efficiency of the crossbow turned hunting activities into military-like campaigns. Furthermore, coupled with the thrill of the hunt (whether chasing a stag or other animal) and encountering structures like the “dens built by foxes and badgers”, hunting environments came complete with “military fortifications and...tactical problems”, which simulated exercise and the practice of war.⁷¹⁶ There was hunting, and then there was hunting “*par force*”, or hunting with strength. This type of hunting was much more demanding on the hunter and was done on horseback.⁷¹⁷ The fact that Elizabeth used this type of weapon and engaged in this kind of hunt reinforces the fact that she was not a recreational spectator of the hunt but an invested and skilled competitor.⁷¹⁸

Elizabeth employed a sizable hunting staff, as shown in the table (Table 2).⁷¹⁹ The central positions were “Falcouners, Spannyell keeper, Hunters, Harryers, Leashe, Crossbowe, and Toyles,” revealing an extensive and well-established department dedicated to the Queen’s hunting activities.⁷²⁰ With the discovery of a new record class of the financial accounts of the Queen’s household chamber expenses we are able to achieve a new degree of insight into the positions of the hunting staff, as well as who they were.⁷²¹ Many men attended the Queen on the hunt, and a number of them were of her royal court. Additionally,

⁷¹³ David S. Bachrach, “Crossbows for Kings: The Crossbow during the reigns of John and Henry III of England”, *Technology and Culture*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (Jan. 2004), 102.

⁷¹⁴ Kelly DeVries and Robert D. Smith, *Medieval Weapons: An Illustrated History of their Impact* (Oxford: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2007), 41-42.

⁷¹⁵ Bachrach, “Crossbows for Kings”, 5.

⁷¹⁶ Beavers, “The Great Deer Massacre”, 191.

⁷¹⁷ Richardson, “Riding Like Alexander, Hunting Like Diana:”, 258.

⁷¹⁸ The idea of Elizabeth being a competitive hunter is illustrated in the example of her hunting excursion at Berkeley where she killed 27 stags, see p. 153-154.

⁷¹⁹ Table 2, Appendix 7, 251.

⁷²⁰ AO 3/127-128.

⁷²¹ The AO records (Auditors and the Imprest and Successor Accounts) are similar to the Exchequer records. However, the records in the Exchequer record class were copied quite quickly from the Chamber accounts, and do not always include the names of staff members. The AO records have every name included. It is my conclusion that the Chamber records were produced first, then copied again by the treasurer of the Chamber, John Mason, as the auditor’s accounts and the third copy were the Exchequer records. This would mean that there were three departments keeping financial records in Elizabethan England.

Privy Council members and members of the court went on these hunts with the Queen for a variety of reasons. The main reason was that many of Elizabeth's courtiers were officers within the Queen's household or of the state. Another reason was to engage in acts of personal counsel. These instances of personal counsel were occasions where the Queen not only sought advice but also received counsel from those individuals closest to her.⁷²² These interchanges of counsel highlights how members of the Privy Council possibly viewed these hunting occasions as extensions of council meetings to continue discussing important matters of state or obtain the Queen's decisions.⁷²³ The presence of Privy Councillors and court members supplied a level of protection for the Queen. The proximity and access to the Queen provided opportunities to advance the political power of specific members of the Privy Council and the court. However, while hunting granted access to the Queen, hunting also enabled the Queen to deny access.

Many men of the Queen's court were also members of the Queen's hunting staff: "the Master of the Buckhounds, yeoman of the leashe, children of the leashe," Master of the Crossbows, and, depending on the type of hunt, perhaps falconers.⁷²⁴ The huntsmen consisted of a core group who assisted the Queen in finding the target, and they would have been on the hunts with the Queen while on progress for a number of reasons. First, the huntsmen were paid members of staff with training and expertise in hunting. They were given annual livery—summer and winter livery—that included a "redd cote" that would signify the royal hunt and helped with visibility in the park environs.⁷²⁵ Secondly, hunting required a great deal of trust and Elizabeth's hunting staff was given profound trust due to their proximity to the Queen. Accordingly, the majority of the hunting staff were employed for the duration of their life. Furthermore, the dangerous nature of hunting and close position near the Queen required a great deal of trust, as the closeness provided opportunities to harm the Queen. While there was no instance where the Queen was actively targeted on the hunt, there was one occasion where the hunt proved to be a hazard. In July 1575, while the Queen was hunting at Kenilworth, "a traitor shot a cross-bow at her." However, it was not believed that this person was an assassin, but merely a huntsman who was "only shooting at the deer, and meant no harm" and unfortunately missed his aim.⁷²⁶ This occasion reinforces that importance of the hunting staff and their loyalty. It also contributes to the understanding of why so many were employed for life.

The chamber accounts reveal that from 1561-1598 the hunting staff consisted, for the most part, of the same people throughout Elizabeth's reign. As shown in the table, the various

⁷²² Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse*, 47-54.

⁷²³ Cole asserts that despite the itinerant court moving in chaos with the Queen at its centre, the functions of government still occurred and business proceeded as it did in London. Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 1.

⁷²⁴ TNA, AO 3/127.

⁷²⁵ TNA, AO 3/127; TNA, AO 3/128.

⁷²⁶ CSP—Spain (*Simancas*), 2:495-500, 18 July 1575, Antonio de Guaras to Zayas.

positions of the Queen's hunting staff maintained steady numbers.⁷²⁷ In 1560-61, there were nineteen falconers, and this was consistent throughout the Queen's reign. The "Spannyell keeper" had one person employed in the position. From the records and table, it was the same person, Robert Craggye, until 1576. After Craggye's death, no one else was listed in this position until 1586, when John Wilchin assumed the role of the Queen's "Spannyell keeper" and occupied the position until 1591.⁷²⁸ Hunters averaged about seven to eight members in the position from 1560 to 1590. However, in 1576, there are fewer people listed in this position. There is no clear answer to account for the decrease. It is possible that there was a restructuring of the hunting staff due to deaths of specific individuals. This restructuring was evident by the increase in the numbers after 1576 and illustrated by the fact that various individuals moved to different positions.

There were always a steady number of seven men in the "harryers". The "leashe" maintained a minimum of five men. The post of the crossbow maintained two to three men after 1560. Given the frequency of Elizabeth's hunting excursions and use of the crossbow while on progress, it would explain the increase in numbers. By having several crossbow staff members, the Queen not only had one at her disposal in London to assist with preparing the crossbow for her use but also had others available to be used on progress at the various places that hosted her. Like the household staff that went ahead on progresses to prepare the next place to visit, the available hunting staff could have gone ahead to prepare for the Queen's arrival and possible hunting excursion. Also, given that the crossbow was a weapon that could cause harm, it makes sense that the Queen would have men she trusted in this position. This "Master of the Crossbowe" had a unique role because the use of the hand-drawn crossbow required an individual to pull back on the bow to lock it in place and then hand it to the Queen. The proximity to the Queen's person and the responsibility of handling dangerous weapons indeed necessitated Elizabeth's confidence. In fact, the physical proximity to the Queen that hunting excursions provided on progress would have appealed to her courtiers. They potentially had access to the Queen outside the formal protocols and restrictions created by physical spaces such as the privy chamber within the royal palaces throughout the Thames valley.⁷²⁹ Hunting, in some ways, eliminated those boundaries established by physical structures. However, hunting also allowed the Queen to grant or deny access. Much like a chessboard, the granting or denial of access relied on calculated moves that the Queen mandated. Hunting permitted Elizabethan courtiers to make a move, while the Queen countered their move, and she controlled who got to play. Hunting on progress operated as a negotiation of power, which Elizabeth ultimately directed.

⁷²⁷ Table 2, Appendix 7, 251.

⁷²⁸ TNA, AO 3/127; TNA, AO 3/128

⁷²⁹ Angela Andreani, *The Elizabethan Secretariat and the Signet Office: The Production of State of State Papers, 1590-1596* (London: Routledge), 24-26. See also Loades, *Intrigue and Treason: The Tudor Court, 1547-1558* (London: Pearson Longman, 2004), 156-159.

The position of the “toyles” was not consistently recorded in the chamber accounts, as the years 1561, 1562, 1564, 1576, and 1590 do not list the numbers. However, the recorded numbers identified that at least three individuals maintained the position of the “toyles”.⁷³⁰ Given the position and what they were responsible for, which was setting up the nets to herd or guide the game to a specific location, it is possible to conclude that this was not a common type of hunt used by the Queen. Comparatively, Elizabeth employed 83 servants in the stables to look after 98 horses, while she employed 43 staff members in the hunting department.⁷³¹ These high numbers reinforce the importance of this activity. Additionally, it reveals the extravagance, which the activity represented. Furthermore, the extensive staff highlighted the fact that Elizabeth was a “model hunter”. Through “owning kennels and stables, together with their requisite equipment and specialized staff, and possessing, as they do, a demonstrable knowledge of the seasons, vocabulary, and customs proper to the hunt, including highly ritualized breaking of carcasses” attributed this “model hunter” identity to the individual. This extensive operation signalled the hunter’s “status in visible and unmistakable terms.”⁷³²

If an individual passed on, then that position was filled in one of two ways: by another member of the hunting staff, or a new member of staff would be brought in. As these positions involved a great deal of loyalty, the new member of staff that was brought in was, most often, a family member of a huntsman already employed. The account records of 1561 list Thomas Doddesworth and Walter Doddesworth, presumably relatives, as hunters.⁷³³ What is even more interesting is that this was not the first time that these two individuals appear in the records as members of the hunting staff. Both Thomas Doddesworth and Walter Doddesworth are listed as “hunter” and “groom” among the hunting staff of King Henry VIII and are listed again in 1552 in the hunting staff of King Edward VI.⁷³⁴ It appears that the Doddesworth family served as members of the royal hunting establishment.⁷³⁵ In the same account, William Ducke and Christopher Ducke are listed; again, they are presumably related. The existence of family relationships in the records of household staff illustrates two important points. First, the positions within the hunting staff were part of the sixteenth-century kinship system, where appointments were passed from father to son or uncle to nephew. Second, the business of hunting was part of a training or apprentice system. In 1563, John Brode Sr. and John Brode Jr. were listed together as falconers. The father-son relationship is obvious. Unfortunately, John Brode Jr. died the following year.⁷³⁶ In 1576, another father-son pair, John Strete Sr. and Jr., appears in the accounts, under the “Offycers of

⁷³⁰ TNA, AO 3/127 & 128.

⁷³¹ Joan Thirsk, *Rural Economy* (Hambleton Press, 1984), 377.

⁷³² Bates, *Masculinity and the Hunt*, 24-25.

⁷³³ TNA, AO 3/127, f. 1.

⁷³⁴ Williams, “Hunting in Early Modern England”, 210.

⁷³⁵ *Ibid.*, 210.

⁷³⁶ TNA, AO 3/127, f. 4.

the Leashe."⁷³⁷ It was one of these John Stretes that was listed under the Children of the Leashe that were paid for their participation in the Queen's coronation.⁷³⁸ Essentially, the connections of kinship connections and the longtime employment of specific individuals illustrate that positions within the royal hunting staff were valuable, involved a great deal of trust, and familiarity with the Queen's hunting preferences.

A few prominent names appear in the accounts. Sir Henry Cary (Carey), who was promoted to first Baron Hunsdon in January 1559, appears in the chamber accounts as Master of the Hawks.⁷³⁹ He also hosted the Queen on progress in 1578.⁷⁴⁰ His appointment as Master of the Hawks came in October 1560.⁷⁴¹ The Master of the Hawks was responsible for the maintenance and training of the royal hawks, but also taking care of the hawks that the Queen received. The training of hawks had three specific components. First, it was the job of the falconer to tame the falcon or hawk from a wild bird of prey to a trained bird of prey for hunting. Second, it was important to "shape the manner in which the bird of prey chases quarry."⁷⁴² Essentially this meant conditioning the bird of prey, whether it was a falcon or hawk, to perform consistently and efficiently. Finally, it was important to train the bird of prey to return to the point of departure, especially after it had hunted.⁷⁴³ Taming and training a falcon or hawk was a "serious and skilled business."⁷⁴⁴ This "business" meant that it also required the investment of money and a dedicated expert. In the early modern period, falconry and hawking were "grand social occasion[s] requiring a large entourage and vast tracts of land."⁷⁴⁵ This statement emphasises that the pursuit was reserved for the elite. Furthermore, the Master of the Hawks served as a ceremonial middleman between the Queen and foreign visitors when hawks were used in diplomatic hunting excursions.⁷⁴⁶ Carey's role as Master of the Queen's hawks and his position on Elizabeth's Privy Council positioned him perfectly for the task of serving as the "middleman." The prestige lay in the close interactions with the Queen but also the service he provided for Elizabeth. Carey remained in this position until his death in 1596.

Another significant figure to come up in the chamber accounts for 1586 was Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester, who despite being appointed Master of the Horse was also

⁷³⁷ TNA, AO 3/128, f. 1.

⁷³⁸ TNA, E 101/429/5.

⁷³⁹ TNA, AO 3/127, f. 2.

⁷⁴⁰ Nichols's narrative serves as part of the evidence for this, which is reinforced by the copy text of a letter from Lord Burghley to Mr. Randolph. Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:565. The *ODNB* entry by MacCaffrey also confirms this. MacCaffrey, 'Carey, Henry, first Baron Hunsdon (1526–1596)'.

⁷⁴¹ MacCaffrey, 'Carey, Henry, first Baron Hunsdon (1526–1596)', *ODNB*.

⁷⁴² Macdonald, *Falcon*, 87.

⁷⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴⁵ McDonald, *Falcon*, 69 & 75.

⁷⁴⁶ Richard Grassby, "The Decline of Falconry in Early Modern England," *Past and Present*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997). No. 157, 42.

“M[aster] of her Ma[jes]t[es] Buckehounde at £33 per A[nnu]m.”⁷⁴⁷ What this illustrates is that much of the court and household were intertwined: members of the court held very intimate positions within the Queen’s household. This aspect of Elizabeth’s reign has received generous scholarly attention but said attention has not fully considered the members of the Queen’s inner circle who would have gone on to hunt with the Queen.⁷⁴⁸ In 1572, the Queen engaged in “princely sportes” (which was understood to include hunting) with the Earl of Leicester in Warwick.⁷⁴⁹ On this particular occasion, she went hunting twice in the course of her visit. This notation of how many times she hunted during the visit demonstrates that many of the Queen’s male courtiers provided Elizabeth with the facilities or fields to hunt. This is furthered by the fact that the individuals that the Queen stayed with while on progresses consisted of a large proportion of her court and government officers.

The importance of the hunting staff and the Queen’s partiality to hunt while on progress is evident in the payments made to hunting staff. In analysing Table 3, a clearer picture begins to form regarding the frequency in which the hunt was utilised.⁷⁵⁰ The annual finances reveal that the Queen maintained the use of hunting staff relatively consistently from the beginning to the end of her reign. The hunting department’s combined annual expenditure was extremely high, averaging between £400-600, except for 1586 when the expenditure nearly doubled to a staggering £1047, 2s and 8d.⁷⁵¹ Interestingly, the second highest annual expense, of £828, occurred in 1588: the year of the Spanish Armada. The average wage earner earned 4d per day, and a courtier such as Dudley earned an average of £200 annually.⁷⁵² When the two tables are compared together (Table 2 and 3), the nineteen falconers were paid more than the average wage earner.⁷⁵³ This disparity illustrates not only the value placed on hunting and the hunting staff but the frequency with which the hunt and types of hunting occurred. The notation indicates that the falconers were consistently used as they made the bulk of the annual finances. However, there are some but also noted in 1586,

⁷⁴⁷ TNA, AO 3/128, f. 2.

⁷⁴⁸ Pam Wright, “A Change in Direction: the Ramifications of a Female Household, 1558-1603”, in *The English Court: from the War of the Roses to the Civil War*, ed. David Starkey (London: Longman, 1987), 147-172; Susan Doran, *Elizabeth I and Her Circle* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Anna Whitelock, *Elizabeth’s Bedfellows: An Intimate History of the Queen’s Court* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014).

⁷⁴⁹ From the account of the Queen’s visit to Warwick detailed in *The Black Book of Warwick*. Copy text, ed. Gabriel Heaton, Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:38. The original manuscript of *The Black Book of Warwick* is located at Warwickshire County Record Office, CR 1618/WA19/6.

⁷⁵⁰ Table 3, Appendix 8, 261.

⁷⁵¹ TNA, AO 3/128, f. 2.

⁷⁵² Francis Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, BL, 10-21. The figures within this particular source by Francis Peck, an eighteenth century antiquarian, were a compilation of various antiquarian sources.

⁷⁵³ This figure is based on the annual figure paid falconers £352 and 17s (Table 3, Appendix 8) in 1560, divided among the 19 falconers that were known to be employed (Table 2, Appendix 7); indicating that that were paid £18 for the year. Despite not working everyday of the year, if we then divided the £18 by 365, the falconers earned 5d per day, which was higher than the average wage earner.

the year that the “toyles” were paid more than any recorded year.⁷⁵⁴ Finally, the significant jump in annual finances of 1586 is most likely attributed to that fact that Elizabeth did not just hunt in the summer months but also in the autumn. She was noted to have been on progress in October and November of that year. Furthermore, the high use of the “toyles” could be accounted for by the fact that Elizabeth hunted in two prime hunting locations that year—Enfield and Walthamsaw Forest, where she had a hunting stand. No other progress lists the Queen visited both of these within a singular progress.⁷⁵⁵ This emphasises how important hunting was to Elizabeth and begins our examination of the evidence of the Queen hunting and the agency displayed through her hunting activities.

IV. Hunting and the Queen’s Agency

The Queen’s first procession through the city of London in 1558 was concerned mostly with her ceremonial transportation to London for her coronation. The Queen’s coronation procession lists the “Children of Leashe” as being present and paid.⁷⁵⁶ This notation is intriguing because royal processions, as well as the coronation ceremony and rituals were very carefully planned; every aspect had meaning. Each member of the procession symbolised a certain prominence and status within the court hierarchy or importance to the sovereign. From the very outset of the Queen’s reign hunting was feature prominently and not relegated to the less visible aspects of the Queen’s household. Furthermore, hunting added to the early royal image. As a result, hunting enhanced Elizabeth’s royal magnificence and contributed to the credibility of her queenship by associating the Queen with “princely sportes” and displaying characteristics of chivalry to the royal court, foreign diplomats, and ordinary subjects.⁷⁵⁷

It is safe to say that William Cecil, Lord Burghley occasionally joined Elizabeth on the hunt because he went on progresses with the Queen most of the time and served as the point of contact for the affairs of state on progresses. He was also close to the Queen. Burghley was also a hunter and pursued the activity of hunting. The letter to his son, Robert Cecil, in 1595, in which Burghley mentioned that he had been “hunting a stag”, illustrates this.⁷⁵⁸ Furthermore, Burghley had his main residence, Theobalds, in Hertfordshire. Hertfordshire was considered a prime hunting county, with numerous hunting parks and would have

⁷⁵⁴ Though the annual finances of the “toyles” or toils were not consistently recorded, we are able to get some indication based on the information that was provided.

⁷⁵⁵ The explanation for the toils high finances expenditure was compared with Cole’s tables, which revealed the progresses in the autumn months and the use of Enfield and Walthamsaw. Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 194-195.

⁷⁵⁶ TNA, E 101/429/5.

⁷⁵⁷ The occasion where the Queen was described as hunting with the Earl of Leicester is detailed in *The Black Book of Warwick*. Copy text, ed. Gabriel Heaton, Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:38. The original manuscript of *The Black Book of Warwick* is located at Warwickshire County Record Office, CR 1618/WA19/6.

⁷⁵⁸ TNA, SP 12/253, f. 129.

appealed to the Queen.⁷⁵⁹ This distinction is important because as the Queen's Principal Secretary and later Lord Treasurer, Cecil was essentially the Queen's gatekeeper. He was responsible for executing "the Queen's prerogative, for superintending communications between the Crown and Privy Council, and for coordinating the activities of the Queen's foreign secretaries and ambassadors" as well as maintaining state finances and serving as the de facto head of the Queen's Privy Council.⁷⁶⁰ Therefore, his presence with the Queen on the hunt and on progresses suggests that these activities allowed the Queen and Principal Secretary to communicate and counsel each other.

One of the best examples of hunting excursions as a form of political discussion is in the letter from 16 June 1564, which the Queen wrote to Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, Master of the Hawkes. She wrote that she "[c]aused M. De Gonnorre and the Ambassador to dine with her...to see certain pastimes of...hunting, and killing three stags..."⁷⁶¹ This passage might seem trivial at first; however, the individuals mentioned and the context surrounding the letter reveals a more interesting situation. Monsieur de Gonnorre was a nobleman at the French court who was in service to the Valois. He served as a special envoy on a visit to England in 1564. The ambassador indicated in the letter was Paul de Foix, a favoured member of the French court. He was sent as ambassador to England in 1561, where he served for four years. These two individuals played a crucial role in the facilitation of discussions between Elizabeth I and the French royal family, which was headed by Catherine de Medici in the 1560s.

Early in 1562, Elizabeth focused on two specific issues: assisting the Huguenots in France who were being persecuted and trying to reclaim Calais. Calais had previously belonged to the English, until the French took it during the reign of her sister, Mary, and Elizabeth may have been trying to regain control of the territory to provide a haven for the Huguenots. Along with attempting to regain possession of Calais, Elizabeth tried to capture other areas along the French coast. In September 1562, Elizabeth sent troops to France "to protest the persecution[s]".⁷⁶² It was during this military deployment that Elizabeth was able to take possession of the maritime port of Havre-de-Grace (modern-day Le Havre). The French royal family did not respond well to this martial act, and they saw Elizabeth as an enemy and as a military threat. The French Ambassador and Monsieur de Gonnorre were principal players in the discussions with Catherine de Medici about Havre. Catherine wrote to

⁷⁵⁹ There were 11 progresses to or through Hertfordshire. Yet there were 13 occasions where the Queen visited Burghley's estate, with 10 between 1572 and 1597 alone.⁷⁵⁹ This is because Burghley specifically designed Theobalds for the Queen and this included the surrounding hunting parks. See Alford, *Burghley*, 209.

⁷⁶⁰ Kinney and Lawson describe the Principal Secretary's role. See Kinney and Lawson, *Titled Elizabethans*, 5. For Cecil's role as de facto head of the Privy Council, see the ODNB entry. Wallace T. MacCaffrey, 'Cecil, William, first Baron Burghley (1520/21-1598)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁷⁶¹ TNA, SP 70/72, f. 81.

⁷⁶² Susan Doran, *Elizabeth I and Foreign Policy, 1558-1603* (London: Routledge, 2000), 21.

Gonnorre that “I don’t see any great appearance that we could take back le Havre-De-Grace from the hands of the English by any other means than by force.”⁷⁶³ This single declaration acknowledged the militaristic manoeuvring by Elizabeth. The Queen’s actions concerning Havre established her position as military commander, and this helped to project a martial identity to her European rivals. Furthermore, Catherine de Medici sent correspondence to de Foix in 1563 stating “in giving her back the said Calais, she will retribute to us the said Havre-de-Grace, which we disagree on.”⁷⁶⁴ It is clear from these letters that both Catherine and Charles were displeased with Elizabeth’s actions. More importantly, this letter alluded to Elizabeth’s agency as she “disagreed” with the Valois on the possession of Havre de Grace. With this context of martial posturing by Elizabeth and the Medicis, the significance of the June 1564 letter becomes clearer. Elizabeth’s instructions to Carey shed light on foreign relations with France and martial exchange. By 1564 the relationship between England and France was weak and both Monsieur de Gonnorre and the French Ambassador, Paul de Foix, were received at the English court to help conduct peace between the two quarrelling nations. At the very core of this exchange is a diplomatic dialogue performed through hunting, which acted as the stage.

Therefore, the articulation of Elizabeth’s instructions, “to see...certain pastimes of hunting and killing of three stages...”, illustrate three key points.⁷⁶⁵ First, the account of the Queen’s statement identifies Elizabeth’s agency regarding what she wanted the French diplomats to witness, and the activity that she wanted them to participate. Second, the hunt was very much a French courtly pursuit and entertainment. Elizabeth’s invitation de Gonnorre and de Foix to join her would have given her a chance to demonstrate her hunting ability as well as engage the French representatives in an activity that was customary and familiar to them. Finally, having two French diplomats join her in hunting would have been an opportunity for Elizabeth to reinforce not only her martial presence but also an opportunity for the three of them to discuss the issues of the Huguenots and the business of Calais and Havre de Grace. This demonstrates how the hunt was used as a political arena that allowed Elizabeth to grant or deny access. Interestingly, in April 1564, the Duke of Anjou and his mother Catherine de Medici were discussing the topic of marriage between the Queen and the young Duke while hunting. This exchange between mother and son was shared with Elizabeth by Sir Nicholas Throckmorton and reinforces the fact that hunting provided

⁷⁶³ Catherine of Medici to Monsieur de Gonnor, 27 April 1563. Bnf, Cinq cents colbert, n° 24, fol. 98r°. The French translations were provided by Dr. Estelle Paraque. The source in French: “Monsieur de Gonnor, pour ce que je ne voy pas grande apparence que nous puissions recouvrer le Havre-de-Grace des mains des Anglois par autre moyen que celluy de la force.”

⁷⁶⁴ Catherine of Medici to Paul de Foix, Ambassador at the English court, 17 May 1563 Bnf, MS. Fr. 17932, fol. 10r°. The French translations were provided by Dr. Estelle Paraque. The source in French: “en luy rendant ledict Calais, elle nous restituera ledict Havre-de-Grace, chose à quoy nous ne sommes pas pour entendre.”

⁷⁶⁵ TNA, SP 70/72, f. 81.

intimacy and a setting for political discussions in the early modern period.⁷⁶⁶ A further indication of the politicisation of hunting was reinforced by Queen's remarks in the same June 1564 letter. After hunting, the Queen "appointed the Marquis of Northampton, her secretary, Mason and Wotton, to hear these matters, who (because on Saturday the French departed to London) could not confer with them before Sunday."⁷⁶⁷ The indication of "these matters" most likely relates to the situation in France as the letter discusses the carrying of "com[m]odities into [th]e low co[un]trys...by [th]e way of Fra[un]ce."⁷⁶⁸ The articulation of these dynamics in 1564 reinforces the argument that Elizabeth used her agency to deal with the situation in France, and demonstrate through her hunting skills, her martial prowess to foreign diplomats.

Estelle Paranque's PhD thesis argues that Elizabeth's representation and queenship were constructed through the letters that were exchanged between the French ambassadors to their royal master. These letters also reveal the role that hunting had in the construction of the Queen's reputation and queenship. Additionally, these letters strengthen the argument about how hunting helped to develop Elizabeth's martial identity. Paranque notes "in taking a stance where she acted as a judge of Charles' deeds and ways of ruling, the English queen enhanced the idea that she was a true equal of any king."⁷⁶⁹ In the summer of 1572, this idea of being an equal was further established when the ambassador La Mothe Fénélon recounted an occasion where Elizabeth "riding a horse [...] return[ed] from hunting."⁷⁷⁰ The Queen's martial identity was established with the mention of the Queen's hunting activities and as Paranque asserts "[t]he inclusion of these masculine activities in the French diplomatic reports helped depict the English queen's manliness and asserted Elizabeth as Charles's equal."⁷⁷¹

In 1592, the Seigneur de Beauvoir, Jean De La Fin, wrote: "with thanks for hunting at Enfield."⁷⁷² In 1601, the Queen was said to have feasted with the Muscovy ambassador and had previously "been hunting."⁷⁷³ Given Elizabeth's age and declining health by 1601, the strenuousness of the hunt would have been considered and most likely occurred from a deer stand. However, the Queen's participation illustrates how Elizabeth continued to emphasise her prowess and capabilities as leader to foreign diplomats throughout her reign. Additionally, the Queen's employment of her agency on the occasion of hunting with foreign

⁷⁶⁶ TNA, SP 70/70, f. 71.

⁷⁶⁷ TNA, SP 70/72, f. 81.

⁷⁶⁸ TNA, SP 70/72, f. 82.

⁷⁶⁹ Estelle Paranque, "Elizabeth Through Valois Eyes: Power, Representation and Diplomacy, 1568-1588" (PhD Thesis, University College London, 2016), 83.

⁷⁷⁰ La Mothe Fénélon to the French king Charles IX, 271st Report, 28 August 1572, in *Correspondence diplomatique de Bertrand de Salignac de la Mothe Fénélon, ambassadeur de France en Angleterre, de 1568 à 1575*, Vol. V, Années 1572 et 1573 (Paris et Londres: Archives du Royaume, 1840), 99, "monstant à cheval [...] elle s'en retournoit en chassant".

⁷⁷¹ Paranque, "Elizabeth Through Valois Eyes", 83.

⁷⁷² TNA, SP 78/28, f. 294.

⁷⁷³ TNA, SP 12/278, f. 37.

ambassadors was a deliberate act that maintained her persona of a martial queen and reinforced her power and demonstrated her authority, while engaged in political discussions. In 1590 when the Queen gave “a letter written from her Majesty to the French Ambassador [Beauvoir]”, the instructions were given “...by her Majesty at Oatlands upon Wednesday night after her coming from hunting.”⁷⁷⁴ This instance suggests that the Queen’s hunting activities provided opportunities for Elizabeth to consider and contemplate political matters. Furthermore, the explicit remark of “instructions were given” to a diplomat after the hunt could also indicate that a response to counsel was conceived during the hunt. This assertion is confirmed when we look at the preceding, and subsequent correspondence to this letter. Beauvoir sends the initial letter on 3 August 1590 asking for the details about the case of a young, French Protestant merchant who broke the law because he did not know the local rules and seeking mercy on his behalf. The young merchant’s family was connected with the “king [his] master.”⁷⁷⁵ Elizabeth considered the request because her response was issued at Oatlands as she came back from hunting and instructed that he speak to her Privy Council. Finally, Beauvoir wrote to the Privy Council for a resolution of the case.⁷⁷⁶ From the correspondence exchanged, counsel was not only given *to* the Queen but also provided *by* the Queen. The hunt was merely an extension of government and activity through which affairs of state were addressed. Therefore, the hunt was not just a political instrument for the Queen to demonstrate power and authority but it was also a political tool to engage in diplomacy.

Hunting, and activities surrounding the hunt such as hawking and falconry, also created a sense of bond between political rivals and allies, as well the Queen and her subjects. In 1584, the Marquis of Bradenburg and Duke of Prussia wrote that he has “learnt that she [Elizabeth] was pleased with the falcons he then sent her, now dispatching six more.... that she may have much pleasure and recreation by means of them.”⁷⁷⁷ The exchange and giving of gifts between monarchs is one that acknowledges a monarch’s power, legitimacy and authority, but also establishes a common bond between them. John Casimir, the Duke of Palatine, wrote in 1578 that “I thank you for the greyhounds you have sent me, which are very acceptable, although just now to show the Queen my desire to serve you, I have undertaken to hunt other game than deer or hares.”⁷⁷⁸ The relationship here is one that acknowledged the Queen’s gift and alluded to her experience in the field of hunting. In 1585, the King of Denmark wrote to the Queen stating that he was “[s]o much was I pleased with them [the hounds] that I should delight to have more, and as your Majesty is, I know, very fond of the hunt, and has no doubt, a great number of hounds of all kinds, especially staghounds, I should be very glad if you would be pleased to send me some.”⁷⁷⁹ In 1592, the

⁷⁷⁴ TNA, SP 78/21, f. 322.

⁷⁷⁵ TNA, SP 78/21, f. 298.

⁷⁷⁶ TNA, SP 78/21, f. 304.

⁷⁷⁷ TNA, SP 81/3, f. 133.

⁷⁷⁸ TNA, SP 81/3, f. 140.

⁷⁷⁹ TNA, SP 75/1, f. 116.

Duke of Wittenberg visited the Queen. During his visit the Queen hosted and organised a hunt and the Duke stated that he was honoured that Elizabeth had provided “glorious and royal sport” for his entertainment.⁷⁸⁰

Elizabeth’s association with the hunt was one that was widely known and commented. Members of the Queen’s court, as well as foreign monarchs and dignitaries like Francis II and Bernardino de Mendoza, noticed the Queen participation in the hunt. In February 1560, Francis II asked Elizabeth’s ambassador Nicholas Throckmorton “whether you loue hawking or hunting, I [Throckmorton] told him...that you [Elizabeth] liked the pastimes of both well.” However, the conversation did not end there. Later in 1560, Francis II asked again about Elizabeth’s interest in hunting, and asked if “the Queen in her progress did not go hunting,” to which Throckmorton replied, “yes...do so more at her pleasure.”⁷⁸¹

In October 1581, just as Elizabeth granted access to diplomats on the hunt, she also denied access. Mendoza, the Ambassador of Philip of Spain, wrote to his master that he was unable to meet with the Queen because she was hunting at Nonsuch and hoped to meet with her when she moved to Richmond. Furthermore, Mendoza stated, “it was difficult for me to attend to your Majesty’s interests here under such circumstances as these.”⁷⁸² Mendoza’s comments on “such circumstances” clearly indicated his frustration with not having access to the Queen. Additionally, Mendoza’s reference to the Queen hunting was significant enough to mention and was identified as the cause of his failure. Moreover, the fact that Elizabeth was hunting and not meeting with Mendoza was an indication that the Queen was possibly an attempt to avoid meeting with him, and by hunting, she was able to keep the politics at bay. Progresses and the act of hunting gave people, mainly guests, courtiers and hosts, access to the Queen. However, this made her vulnerable. She utilised those people closest to her, members of her royal court, and household (including household staff and hunting staff) to serve as a gateway.⁷⁸³ Elizabeth’s use of hunting illustrates her agency in deciding who would have access to her and who would not, and ultimately shows Elizabeth’s agency in projecting the image of a martial queen. This projection of a martial image is reinforced by the account of the Queen hunting in August 1591 when she was described as having:

took horse, with all her Traine, and rode into the Parke: where was a delicate Bowre prepared, vnder the which were her Highnesse Musicians placed, and a Crossebowe by a Nimph, with a sweet song, deliuered to her hands, to shoote at the Deere.⁷⁸⁴

⁷⁸⁰ W.B. Rye, *England as Seen By Foreigners* (London, 1865), 14-15.

⁷⁸¹ Adams, “The Queens Majestie...is now become a great huntress”, 144. *CSP—Foreign*, 3:246-260, 22 August 1560, Throckmorton to the Queen.

⁷⁸² *CSP—Spain (Simancas)*, 3:175-185, 1 October 1581, Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

⁷⁸³ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 163-164.

⁷⁸⁴ From the account of the Queen’s visit to Cowdray provided. According to the annotations, Nichols used one of the two editions of the pamphlets that were known at the time. However, the editors have combined the two editions together in the newly edited collection to provide extensive details. The two editions are noted to be available in *The Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640*, comp. A. W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, 2nd edn., 2 vols. The copy text of the two editions

Once again the illumination of Elizabeth's use of the crossbow, mounting a horse, and "to shoote", depicted a strong, gallant, and chivalrous Queen. All of these examples offer evidence to the fact that Elizabeth's hunting abilities were not just a passing pleasurable activity, but a part of her queenship, political culture and martial identity.

Another interesting aspect of Elizabeth's hunting activities was the political use of hunting as symbolic language of praise and advice. One of the most significant examples of this symbolic language was the pageants and entertainments presented to the Queen at Kenilworth in 1575. Once again, Gascoigne rose to the challenge as he devised the pageants for the Earl of Leicester at Kenilworth. The account of the pageants was presented in Gascoigne's work *Princely Pleasures at Kenilworth* and was unique in many ways. First, the use of gendered language between the characters within the pageants highlights how pageants were constructed for the Queen and illuminates the negotiation of gender roles. Second, the symbolic gifts exchanged during the pageants, particularly weapons, reinforced the military practices associated with hunting. Lastly, the theme that the pageants solicited towards the Queen showed Dudley's intentions.

The gendered language used in the pageants and dialogues between characters, particularly the references to the Queen, helps to understand that ways in which men and women were seen. Though scholarly explorations of the early modern ideals of men and women are not new, these studies do provide a context and reinforce the notions and expectations of the Queen. In the case of the different scenes and characters presented, Sybilla, Lady of the Lake, Diana (Dyana) and Jupiter, Hercules and the Savage man both used gendered signifiers when referencing the Queen. Sybilla, who was placed in an arbour in the park to meet the Queen on her entrance to Kenilworth, referred to the Queen as a "prince" and used the pronoun "his".⁷⁸⁵ Was this a situation where an acceptable female figure with authority and power was allowed to address the actual Queen but only in formalised gendered terms? Given that the name "Sybilla" was both a mythological name and actual name of a Queen regnant, the engagement with this character was to provide an equal to the Queen who could, therefore, counsel the Queen.⁷⁸⁶ The next pageant involved Hercules and he

and the excerpt referenced in the section above is located in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:548-561. Quote can be found on 2:553.

⁷⁸⁵ George Gascoigne, "Princely Pleasures at Kenilworth Castle", *The Complete Works*, ed. John W. Cunliffe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), 2:91.

⁷⁸⁶ Sybilla was a mythological figure that connected with the Greek founder, Aeneas. Sybilla was also a queen regnant in Jerusalem during the Crusades in the thirteenth century. Joannis Mylonopoulos, *Divine Images and Human Imaginations in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 275; Peter Lock, *The Routledge Companion to the Crusades* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), 121. Most likely it was the increased use of the "sibylline prophecy" during Elizabeth's reign and used by reformers that contributed to this association. Jessica L. Malay, "Performing the Apocalypse" Sibylline Prophecy and Elizabeth I," *Representations of Elizabeth I in Early Modern Culture*, ed. Alessandra Petrino and Laura Tosi (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 178.

referred to Elizabeth as “dames”, “dainty darlings”, “a peerles pearle”, “Goddess”.⁷⁸⁷ Next was the “Ladie of the Lake”, who referred to the Queen as “peerles Prince”. Finally, the Savage man had a conversation with Eccho (to whom he referred to as “shee”) and referred to the Queen as “Dames”, “hir”, and “she”.⁷⁸⁸ What importance does this have to an understanding of the Queen’s authority and power? By highlighting the ways in which men and women were viewed and the articulation of gender roles, how sixteenth-century contemporaries regarded the Queen is further understood. The appropriation of terms that were used during the dialogues between characters also illustrated the way that gendered roles were negotiated. Additionally, having the queen view these pageants as well as being highly visible within the courtly circles, helps to cultivate the image of the Queen in both male and female roles. Most importantly, these spectacles bolstered Elizabeth’s warrior-like persona and displayed her marital identity.

The second unique aspect of this visit is the symbolic gifts and the theme that the pageants took on. All the pageants took place outdoors, more specifically and importantly, they occurred in the park or forest. In several places it mentions that pageants were put on as the Queen came back from, or was going, hunting. Here hunting took on a significant a central role within the practices and organisation of sixteenth-century drama, as well as influenced interactions of the court. Furthermore, the pageants all used a hunting theme in the speeches and orations. In the beginning, the pageants evoked the image of King Arthur, which seems to take on several meanings within this context. One particular evocation of the image refers to the “heires” of King Arthur, which associated the Tudors, and more specifically Elizabeth, with an iconic British figure for legitimacy and power. It would be no surprise that Elizabethans would have had knowledge of this image. Additionally, Elizabeth was often compared to her father by members of court and by her own declarations. Thus, including this in the pageants was possibly Dudley’s way of reinforcing the authority, power and legitimacy of the Queen.

The other aspect of this is that the use of King Arthur evoked the image of knighthood. This allusion coupled with hunting gives a very military element to the visit. Contributing to this is the description that “Her Majesty proceeding toward the inward court passed on a bridge...and in the toppes of the postes thereof were set...sundrie presents, and gifts of provisions...weapons for martial defence.”⁷⁸⁹ Interestingly, this implied that military gifts would be given to or used by the Queen. The identification of “martial defence” linked the Queen to military leadership.

The final aspect of the piece is the tone and theme used in the pageants to the Queen that seems to include Dudley’s message or intent of the visit. In the oration given by the Savage man, he engaged with Eccho and the dialogue between these two characters

⁷⁸⁷ Gascoigne, “Princely Pleasures at Kenelworth Castle”, 2:92-93.

⁷⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 2:97-101.

⁷⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 2:95.

emphasised the topic of “true love”. When the Savage man enquires as to Eccho’s true love, she identifies “Dudley.” This explicit reference was most likely Dudley’s declaration to the Queen regarding the true nature of his feelings, as it was known that he wanted to marry the Queen and that she was attached to Dudley. In the final farewell pageants, Dudley, in the guise of Sylvanus, speaks as he accompanies the Queen on hunt. While he was accompanying her, he states: “I could tell your highnesse of sundry famous and worthy persons, whome shee hath turned and converted into most monstrous shapes and proportions.”⁷⁹⁰ Dudley almost seems to be alerting the Queen to those she has put into positions of power and elevated within the court, who have now become dangers to her and her government.⁷⁹¹ The Kenilworth progress, pageants, and hunting excursion provided an opportunity in which Dudley was able to share his thoughts and concerns with the Queen in an informal setting. It served as an unofficial council that included personal counsel. Furthermore, Dudley seems to be advising, guiding and warning the Queen of dangers and problems posed in the realm. Given that he was intent on marrying her, one of those problems was the issue of marriage. Like many of his fellow countrymen, Dudley was opposed to a foreign marriage because the union would bring an outsider in to deal with the affairs of government, particularly religion. Therefore, the foreign suitor would have influence over the realm. One of the more important parts of the pageants was the masque of Zabeta, which was cancelled due to the weather. However, this piece was intensely important because it was about the love between the main characters. Dudley encouraged Gascoigne to perform the piece as Elizabeth was leaving to hunt. It turns out that the piece displeased the Queen, because of the symbolic public proclamations of his affections for the Queen, and she cut her stay short.⁷⁹² By leaving, the Queen, in turn, gave Dudley a symbolic response to his pageants: that she would not entertain the idea of marriage with him.⁷⁹³

These are just a few of the many aspects of this visit that revealed the complexities of the court and the importance of royal progresses and hunting. Hunting was a central focus of this progress, as there were countless references to hunting in the pageants and also in the descriptions and accounts of the Queen hunting. Furthermore, it helps to illustrate that hunting events were an opportunity for officials to speak with the Queen, almost as though they were pleasures and passions of the Queen and that by talking to her while hunting she might be amenable. This understanding of the Queen’s interests also reinforces the fact that hunting was not just a pleasurable activity but also a cultural and political instrument of courtly influence. The Kenilworth progress also highlights that only those closest to her

⁷⁹⁰ Gascoigne, “Princely Pleasures at Kenelworth Castle”, 2:125.

⁷⁹¹ This same allusion was frequently espoused throughout the final pageants. It was widely known that Dudley had opposing views to, and difficulties with, certain members of her Privy Council, and was often outnumbered when it came to specific topics and discussions regarding the Queen and her realm.

⁷⁹² Austen, *George Gascoigne*, 117.

⁷⁹³ Cole, “Ceremonial Dialogue between Elizabeth I and Her Civic Hosts,” 84-85.

would have gone on these hunting excursions. The pageants do illustrate a way in which the court, subject and Queen interacted, and how hunting was not on the peripheral but more central.

V. Conclusion

Hunting in the early modern period was not just a leisure and recreational activity. It was an activity that encompassed so much more: it served as a tool, a platform, and a shield. The hunting literature composed during Elizabeth's reign highlighted the pursuit as an elite, social activity that had masculine elements. Ultimately, the literature also produced a royal image that was both political and personal. Elizabeth loved to hunt, and the evidence suggests she used this to her advantage to escape the confines of London and the push and shove of the daily political grind. She used it as a door by which people were given and denied access, but most importantly of all, it gave her the ability to exercise her own agency. The hunt was composed and constructed to have someone in charge. The Queen decided when to hunt, what to hunt, where to hunt and what to hunt with, and she permitted only a select few to hunt with her. The Queen's hunting activities are one particular aspect of the reign that has been neglected and ignored a crucial aspect of the Queen's social and cultural pursuits. The dynamics of and interplay with her subjects, courtiers, and even her Privy Councillors give scholars and enthusiasts of Elizabeth I another perspective by which to understand the political culture of Elizabeth's reign and the central role that she played. By exploring Elizabeth's use of the hunt, we can no longer ignore her active participation and agency in the mechanisms of her reign.

Chapter 4: Chapel Royal on Progress: Conformity Policed and Royal Supremacy Displayed

Religious worship and spiritual belief were the foundations of early modern life and they were embedded in the consciousness of every individual throughout the social hierarchy in sixteenth-century England. The important scholarly works on religion, faith, and politics of the Elizabethan era have illustrated the interconnectedness of religion, politics, culture and society. This includes those studies, previously mentioned, that explore the interactions of religion and royal progresses by scholars such as Cole, Collinson and Dovey. This chapter contributes to these studies by highlighting Elizabeth I's royal supremacy and how it was enhanced by engaging the Chapel Royal on progress, and how it fostered the development of the Elizabethan Church of England. The staff of the Chapel Royal was split between those remaining within the capital to maintain the permanent virtual presence of the monarch, and others who accompanied the Queen on progress.⁷⁹⁴ The number of Chapel Royal staff that attended the Queen varied from progress to progress as some were used extensively for the Queen's entertainments, while some were used to supplement the existing chapel staff on civic visits or within the homes of individual hosts. However, the division of the Chapel Royal reinforced the majesty and sanctity of the Queen.

Ultimately, this chapter adds to the ways in which Elizabeth used her agency to construct and maintain the persona of the Virgin Queen and sacred monarch, as well as providing examples of when Elizabeth exercised her royal supremacy to govern the Church of England and her subjects. This chapter also adds to the ways in which Elizabeth's queenship was shaped and manipulated to magnify her legitimacy and royal authority. Finally, this chapter highlights another layer of political culture that was constructed through the use of the Chapel Royal by various groups and individuals, including members of the royal court, household, religious leaders and the Queen, to achieve such objectives as advancing Protestant reforms, providing counsel regarding political matters including the marriage negotiations, or maintaining conformity to reinforce the doctrine and practices of the Church of England. This was a major shift from the medieval uses of the Chapel Royal. In the end, this chapter reveals that Elizabeth capitalised on the one religious institution she had control over, the Chapel Royal: to send a visual message that she did not have to abide by the wishes of her bishops or councillors, to exhibit the correct forms of services within the Church of England, demand conformity, and to punish nonconformity. By exercising her agency, Elizabeth demonstrated that she was Supreme Governor of the Church of England with full religious authority, while publically performing her sacredness.

⁷⁹⁴ This is evident in the various accounts of Queen Elizabeth's visits. For example, in 1573 at Canterbury, the cathedral chapel staff was supplemented "with some of her own choir". This is detailed in the reception of the Queen by Matthew Parker in his *De Antiquitate Britannicæ*, copy-text, ed. David Crankshaw, in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:75.

I. The Royal Supremacy and the Chapel Royal: Terms and Language

[On the] sundaie the first of [J]anuarie, by vertue of the queenes proclamaion, the English letanie was read accordingle as was vsed in hir graces chappell in churches through the citie of London. And likewise the epistle and gossell of the daie began to be read in the same churches at masse time in the English toong.⁷⁹⁵

This extract from Holinshed's *Chronicles* highlights the assertion of Elizabeth's religious supremacy and establishes that services and doctrine were to be conducted within the Church of England and in accordance with the *Book of Common Prayer*. This reinforces, along with other histories, the argument that religious changes were taking place at the beginning of the reign.⁷⁹⁶ While Elizabeth was still at Hatfield, her accession council addressed religion and dissent throughout the kingdom, in part by retaining thirteen of Mary's Privy Councillors, to avoid "alarm among the partisans of the catholic communion." Significantly, most of these councillors "had complied with all the changes which were made in the national religion since the latter end of Henry's reign; and were...dexterous adepts in the fashionable art of adapting their principles to the variable complexion of the times".⁷⁹⁷ This not only signaled a distinct political move to have individuals who would be amenable to the Queen's religious changes but also highlights Elizabeth's agency in making sure her religious prerogative was not compromised.

In the days following Elizabeth's accession, there was a careful maneuvering through the religious tensions in preparation for the new monarch's reign. After Elizabeth was proclaimed queen, "[t]he next Day being Friday, it was not thought decent to make any publick Rejoycings, out of respect...to the Day...being a Fasting-day."⁷⁹⁸ The observation of the fasting day was carried over from the Catholic tradition and was a part of the services set out in the 1552 *Book of Common Prayer* that was established during the reign of Edward VI. This is important to note, because it illustrates that, by keeping elements of religious services that would appeal to both Catholics and Protestants, Elizabeth and her government did not set out to make drastic changes at the start of her reign. Furthermore, "on the next [day]. *Te Deum*

⁷⁹⁵ Taken from Holinshed's *Chronicles*, which was reproduced in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:111.

⁷⁹⁶ The sources that noted the forms of religious worship were Holinshed's *Chronicles* (see above footnote-746), and Strype's *Annals of the Reformation*. The information in Strype's account comes mainly from the chronicles of Henry Machyn. For Strype's account and the editor's annotation, see Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:151-157.

⁷⁹⁷ The quote discussing Mary's councillors is identified by editors of the new collection as having been taken from Thomas Warton's *The Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, but Warton's source was Gilbert Burnet's *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England*. This is a clear example of how antiquarians worked, compiling histories through extracting information from each other. The quote is part of a two-page section of Warton's work that Nichols reproduced in the collection. Copy text, edited by Faith Eales, in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:96-97.

⁷⁹⁸ This is from Nichols's extract of Strype's *Annals of the Reformation*. However, the editors indicated that this came from Warton's *The Life of Sir Thomas Pope*. Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:97.

Laudamus was sung and said in the Churches of London”, which signaled that Elizabeth and her people would maintain Protestant religion while utilizing Catholic practices.⁷⁹⁹ Finally, during Elizabeth’s coronation procession through the city of London, one particular pageant brought the religious issue into the public sphere by declaring, “While that religion true, shall ignorance suppress/And with her weightie foote, breake superstitions heade.”⁸⁰⁰

These early examples demonstrate the complex nature of faith, worship and devotion that Elizabeth inherited. More importantly, they draw attention to the Queen’s agency in exerting her royal supremacy and signaling her royal prerogative. This chapter will argue that the use of the Chapel Royal on progress was one of the keys to gaining acceptance of Elizabeth’s royal supremacy. It will explore the question of how Elizabeth’s royal supremacy was visible and applied on progresses, in part by considering the role played by the Chapel Royal in managing religious discourse on progress.

1.1 The Institution of the Chapel Royal

The Chapel Royal was an important institution within the Church of England as it represented the highest theatre of divine worship. This chapter will use distinct terminology when referring to the three separate religious spaces used on progresses: chapels, the Chapel Royal (capitalised), and the chapel royal (lowercased). First, the chapel refers to private spaces of “discrete” worship.⁸⁰¹ These were chapels in private homes and royal palaces. There will be a discussion of the way in which these spaces changed between the reigns of the early Tudor monarchs and Elizabeth’s reign. Second, the Chapel Royal refers to the institution of the Chapel Royal with its distinct hierarchical structure, as a sub-set of the royal household. Third, the chapel royal refers to religious spaces that were used for worship services and ceremonial religious celebrations, especially in the presence of the royal court and/or monarch. This could be a chapel or religious space in a host’s house, collegiate chapels, royal palaces, or local cathedrals.

It is important to distinguish between these three terms and concepts because the fluid, and at times confusing, use of these terms is, as Kent Rawlinson asserts, “symptomatic of the disparate nature of the scholarship” regarding religious spaces.⁸⁰² The functions and use of religious spaces are aspects of the Chapel Royal that deserves further exploration. David Baldwin’s seminal work on the institutional history of the Chapel Royal has provided a

⁷⁹⁹ The reference to the use of the *Te Deum* is found in the extract from Warton’s, *The Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, 111-112. Referenced quote can be found in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:97.

⁸⁰⁰ The pageant is detailed in the only known copy of the Queen’s coronation procession, *The Quenes Majesties Passage Through the Citie of London to Westminster The Day Before Her Coronacion, Anno 1558*, preserved at Yale University in New Haven. The copy text provided is edited by William Leahy and can be found in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:124.

⁸⁰¹ Kent Rawlinson, “The English Household Chapel, c. 1100-c. 1500: An Institutional Study” (PhD thesis, University of Durham, 2008), 12.

⁸⁰² *Ibid.*, 11.

strong foundation, by exploring its internal structure and hierarchy as well as its function and rituals.⁸⁰³ However, Baldwin's institutional study is less concerned with what was happening within a religious space and does not engage with the wider implications of the Chapel Royal within Elizabethan religious and political culture. Baldwin does not distinguish or acknowledge the two separate concepts of the 'Chapel Royal' and the 'chapel royal or royal chapel.' Each category of religious space held important, yet complex, symbolism and meaning, and served very specific functions. The 'Chapel Royal' encompassed the monarch's royal and religious establishment: the building, hierarchy, organization, finances, and duties. It was more institutional rather than religious or political. This is not to say that the 'Chapel Royal' was devoid of religion or politics. In fact, the political aspects of the 'Chapel Royal' came from the role that the royal court played in the appointment of individuals. The 'chapel royal', however, refers to the ceremonies, rituals and meanings that occurred in these spaces. This had an impact on the individuals present and contributed to religious discourse and political culture, as well as Elizabeth's own queenship and royal supremacy. The 'chapel royal' was both religious and political. It was the most visible aspect of the monarch's royal prerogative and supremacy. While Baldwin's composition has its limits, it is an important source in our understanding of the complex institutional structure of the Chapel Royal and the history of the Chapel Royal in England.

The mention of "hir graces chappell" in the opening quote of the chapter indicates the expectation of how worship and service was to be conducted in London churches. This reference indicates that the Queen's chapel was the model to which other religious spaces were to conform. This space not only existed in London at the sovereign's royal residences but was also manufactured and seen on progress. Therefore, an examination of the Chapel Royal is critical to our understanding of how religious tensions were addressed and religious conformity was managed and policed on progress.

Throughout the history of Christianity, there have always been fixed sacred places of worship – temporal spaces in which religious services were conducted, thus becoming sacred spaces – and open spaces, such as fields, that served as a sacred space for group worship. One such space was the Chapel Royal. The structure, function and operation of the Chapel Royal evolved from the early days of its establishment to its use during the reigns of the Tudors. It began as a moving, disparate group of people with fluid roles that evolved into a fixed and defined hierarchical institution with deliberate and intentional means of moulding the sovereign's faith and shaping the religious landscape. Thus, this was where the distinction between the Chapel Royal and chapel royal began to emerge.

Studying the Chapel Royal enhances our understanding of the social and cultural dynamics of the period. Financial records, contemporary accounts, pageants and revels, as well as manuscripts, detail the extensive organisation and structure of the Chapel Royal.

⁸⁰³ David Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal: Ancient and Modern* (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co, LTD., 1990).

Three notable sources are the fifteenth-century *Liber Regie Capelle*, the 1478 “Black Book of the Household” of Edward IV, and the Eltham Ordinances of 1526.⁸⁰⁴ Through these sources and other records, it is possible to establish the foundation of the Chapel Royal and its primary role within royal studies. The Chapel Royal was an important part of the visual display of a monarch’s identity, magnificence, and royal imagery. It was one tool the monarch used to project their royal authority, promote peace and solidarity, and display their power and legitimacy.

It is also a means of exploring the Queen’s own agency. The particular use of specific parts of the Chapel Royal on progress adds to the existing work on the notion of the sovereign’s two bodies: the body natural and the body politic. Having the Dean and the Chapel Royal situated at the London palaces served to reinforce the spiritual and political presence of the monarch while she was away: while the natural body was on progress, the spiritual as well as political presence of the monarch was displayed to the populace left behind. Elizabeth I exercised control over the production of her images and the creation of portraits through her proclamation that “representations of hir Maiestys person, favor or grace....erred therein” to maintain a specific image and persona that set an “example..[that] the same may be by others followed” as the standard of her sovereignty, magnificence, and divinity.⁸⁰⁵ Just as she had used portraiture and images to set the standard of royalty, she also used the Chapel Royal as the standard for which the ideal and spirit of the Church of England was performed and displayed. Roy Strong articulated the importance of both the visual image and the ceremonial image, along with the ‘devices’ that created those images, by asserting “As in control of the painted image, the ceremonial one was deliberately and carefully composed” to “hold a divided people in loyalty.”⁸⁰⁶ Furthermore, the Queen’s agency and royal supremacy, particularly in religion, served as propaganda to cultivate an image of queenship that presented Elizabeth as “God’s anointed, the guardian of the Gospel, the virtues personified, [and] the biblical ruler returned.”⁸⁰⁷ Meanwhile, the parts of the Chapel Royal that went on progresses, such as the choristers, musicians and almoner, played a significant role in enhancing the Queen’s royal supremacy. The Queen’s musicians played a crucial role in specific services, such as the Eucharist or liturgy. How and what the musicians played contributed to the model for churches throughout England to follow. Additionally, how the services were conducted on progress served as an ideal that churches were encouraged to

⁸⁰⁴ *Liber Regie Capelle* is from 1449, written by William Say and was an internal guide to the workings of the chapel, including details of when the king was expected in the chapel. The “Black Book of the Household” (also known as *Liber Niger*) is from 1478 and was a full set of ordinances for the household, including the behavior of the chaplains. The Eltham Ordinances again, are for the household as a whole. My sincere appreciation to Dr. Elizabeth Biggs for sharing her research and discussing these complex pieces of literature with me.

⁸⁰⁵ TNA, SP 12/31/25, f. 46. The proclamation is also reproduced and a transcription provided in Nichols, *The Progresses and the Public Processions*, 1:370-372.

⁸⁰⁶ Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth*, 114-115.

⁸⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 116.

strive for. The role that the clergy played in organizing the religious services for the Queen on progress through the Chapel Royal assisted in policing the Elizabethan reformation, demanding conformity to the doctrine, policies, and rituals of the Church of England while projecting her royal magnificence.

The chapel royal on progress during the reign of Elizabeth I has not yet been the subject of an in-depth study. Furthermore, the degree to which the chapel royal was influential in exhibiting Elizabeth's royal supremacy, especially on progress, has been largely ignored. However, the reactions to religious discourse reveal a remarkable commentary on the non-negotiable nature of Elizabeth's royal supremacy and the powerful display of Elizabeth's Chapel Royal on progress. This chapter will not only incorporate the historiographical understanding of the Chapel Royal, but also expand our understanding of how the reformed institution of the Elizabethan Chapel Royal served to facilitate and even advance religious conformity. The use of financial records, music, sermons, and accounts from the royal progresses will provide a deeper understanding of the chapel royal's influence. This relates to the wider historical discussion of the Queen's religion by illustrating that the religious settlement that dominated the early years of Elizabeth's reign was not about appeasement but actually was a balance between the desire for advanced Protestant reform and Elizabeth's approach to religious worship that she preferred. Historians such as Collinson, Doran, Diarmaid MacCulloch and Norman Jones, have examined the concept of *via media* as the general approach taken to establish a religious settlement.⁸⁰⁸ However, this chapter's assessment of the use of Elizabeth's chapel royal on progresses proposes an alternative interpretation. Elizabeth did not openly profess a statement of personal faith, but her preferences in the Chapel Royal hinted at her stance on the religion she envisioned for herself and her subjects. These preferences were also highlighted by the types of music that were performed in the Chapel Royal, the use of the Chapel Royal choristers in secular and sacred services on progresses, and the Queen's response to debates on reform and doctrine that occurred on progresses. This chapter aims to highlight the impact that the use of the chapel royal had on court dynamics, as well its participation in the dynamics of Elizabethan political culture. Finally, the primary sources that are highlighted will help illuminate the set up and rituals that Elizabeth I utilised in the chapel royal as a way of exercising her royal supremacy and therefore her agency. Therefore, suggesting that the sixteenth-century concept of *via media* was Elizabeth's attempt to accommodate Catholic embellishments (i.e. musical composition and crucifixes) with Protestant forms of liturgical worship. The study of chapel culture, which includes services that took place in courtier's great halls, cathedrals,

⁸⁰⁸ Susan Doran, *Elizabeth I and Religion, 1558-1603* (London: Routledge, 1994). Patrick Collinson, "Sir Nicholas Bacon and the Elizabethan Via Media", *The Historical Journal* 23, no. 2 (June, 1980), 255-273. Diarmaid MacCulloch, *All Things Made New: The Reformation and Its Legacy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016). Norman Jones, *Faith By Statute: Parliament and the Settlement of Religion, 1559* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1982).

royal palaces and collegiate chapels, highlights the politically charged parts of royal progresses.

1.2 Royal Supremacy

The royal supremacy was not just about the sovereign's authority over their subjects. It was a notion full of political complexities and dealt with the fundamental matter of religion. Tudor royal supremacy sought to ensure that "faith was defined in a manner compatible with the official policy" to secure order and peace and was "unified behind obedience to its prince."⁸⁰⁹ In the 1534 Act of Supremacy, royal supremacy stipulated that the sovereign was the supreme head of the Church of England and had "full power and authority...to visit, repress, redress, record, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offenses, contempts, and enormities...to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue in Christ's religion, and for conservation of peace, unity and tranquility."⁸¹⁰ The key point was that the sovereign was the highest authority of the Church and served as the mediator between God, the Church and its subjects. However, Susan Doran has suggested that despite the clear articulation of the power and duties of the sovereign, the Act of Supremacy did not eliminate opposition.⁸¹¹ Therefore, the royal supremacy became an important element of Tudor royal power. Elizabeth's Act of Supremacy mirrored her father's act, but illustrated, through the title of "Governor", that she had "not aspired to rule her churchmen as if she were one of them, but disciplined the ecclesiastical body."⁸¹² Therefore, Elizabeth's royal supremacy can be characterised as being the highest authority that governed the Church to ensure God's will was carried out without corruption or undue influence from ecclesiastical leaders. This chapter will focus on the ways in which she functioned as governor to "repress, redress, record, order, correct, restrain, and amend" the practices and doctrine of the Church of England and how both the Chapel Royal and progresses were used to carry out this duty. Claire Cross' unique study explores Elizabeth's royal supremacy and its influence within the Church of England during Elizabeth's reign. Though written in 1969, this study remains the clearest attempt to directly address Elizabethan royal supremacy.⁸¹³ Most discussions of Elizabeth's royal supremacy have focused on how the title of "Supreme Head" changed to "Supreme Governor" and the ways in which Elizabeth's authority and exercise of power over the Church of England deterred Protestant reforms.⁸¹⁴ Studies that address the use of the title

⁸⁰⁹ Daniel Eppley, *Defending Royal Supremacy and God's Will in Tudor England*, (London: Routledge, 2007), 2.

⁸¹⁰ Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/PU/1/1534/26H8nl.

⁸¹¹ Doran, *Elizabeth I and Religion*, 2.

⁸¹² Claire Cross, *The Royal Supremacy in the Elizabethan Church* (London: George Allen and Unwin, LTD., 1969), 23.

⁸¹³ Cross, *The Royal Supremacy in the Elizabethan Church*.

⁸¹⁴ Besides Cross's study on the royal supremacy, Geoffrey Elton, Anne McLaren, and Susan Doran (to name just a few), have examined the full extent that Elizabeth's royal supremacy had in the exercise of power. G.R. Elton, *Tudor Constitutions: Documents and Commentary*, 2nd

“Supreme Governor” do so in terms of how the title change gave Catholics an excuse to reject the Church of England and the Queen. Cross’ work takes this understanding of Elizabeth’s royal supremacy a step further and analyzes the royal supremacy in practice. Unfortunately, she does not explore the role that progresses had or the use of the Chapel Royal in strengthening the Queen’s royal supremacy. Therefore, through examining the use of the Chapel Royal on progresses within the details surrounding the visits, identifying the specific Chapel Royal staff that were utilised on progresses, and analyzing how this contributed to Elizabeth’s religious agenda, we are able to re-calibrate Cross’ understanding of the royal supremacy. This includes acknowledging the influential role that the Chapel Royal and progresses had in strengthening the sovereign’s majesty and their devotion, piety and consecration to Christ through their power and authority. This most notably came from Elizabeth’s push for conformity and religious stability.

II. Historiography of the Chapel Royal

Scholarly work on the history of the Chapel Royal tends to operate within two paradigms. The first, which includes the work of David Starkey and David Loades, has examined the Chapel Royal as a branch of the royal household. Starkey has argued “the history of the court, is the history of those who enjoyed...access.”⁸¹⁵ He also asserts that the main political forum under Henry VIII was the king’s privy chamber; thus making the personal nature of the privy chamber that place where the key elements of political transactions occurred. Starkey’s concentration on the Privy Chamber has led to the comparative neglect of other household departments and other areas of the court such as the Chapel Royal. Furthermore, it ignores the social and cultural dynamics that were commonplace within the Tudor court that influenced politics. Loades has argued that the Chapel Royal, specifically during the early Tudor period, was not a significant component of the household but rather it was simply “related to these departments [the Privy Chamber and Great Chamber]...but not under the control of the Lord Chamberlain”, yet he does affirm that the Chapel Royal was the “focus of formal religious life.”⁸¹⁶

The second paradigm has concentrated on the role of music in the cultivation of religious devotion, worship and faith. For example, Katherine Butler’s studies on the music that was produced and played during Elizabeth’s reign, in particular on progresses, significantly adds to our understanding of the Chapel Royal and, more importantly, how progresses were vital in the shaping of religious dynamics between the localities and central points of power. Butler argues that Elizabeth I “allowed her music-making to develop a

edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982). McLaren, *Political Culture in the Reign of Elizabeth I*. Doran, *Elizabeth I and Religion*.

⁸¹⁵ David Starkey, “Introduction”, *The English Court from the War of the Roses to the Civil War*, ed. David Starkey (London: Longman, 1987), 5.

⁸¹⁶ Loades, *The Tudor Court*, 41 & 172.

political role as part of her royal image.”⁸¹⁷ Butler’s work is the first scholarly study to bridge the gap between how and why music was specifically produced, and by whom (particularly those who were members of the Chapel Royal), during Elizabeth’s reign, and the impact this music had on political, religious and cultural dynamics. However, while Butler does emphasise the importance of Elizabethan music, and its use on royal progresses, she does not discuss its role within the development of Elizabeth’s royal supremacy. This is critical if we are to approach how the Chapel Royal related to Elizabeth’s royal supremacy and understand the wider impact on Elizabethan society, culture, politics and religion.

Elizabeth’s Chapel Royal in the context of the royal supremacy, studied by notable historians such as Peter McCullough, Roger Bowers, and Fiona Kisby, has only been explored as a means of developing our understanding of sixteenth-century belief and modes of worship, and how they helped to shape the course of the Reformation. Peter McCullough’s exceptional work explores the intersection between both court politics and dynamics and religious policy and ideology. His work highlights the more recent studies of political culture, to which this thesis contributes, and focuses on the degree to which sermons and preaching, and the public responses to these two aspects, were symptomatic of Elizabethan religious discourse and debate.⁸¹⁸ McCullough discusses the role of the Chapel Royal within the confines of religious ideologies and court politics within the sixteenth through seventeenth-centuries; thus, the Chapel Royal on progress and its role within the religious discourse of Elizabethan society are largely ignored.

Bowers’ work on the Chapel Royal demonstrates how it was a forum through which Elizabeth was able to “signal her intentions”, thus embarking on a course of action to implement changes through “a litmus test for the nature of religious devotion which seemed most good to the sovereign” within the wider Elizabethan church.⁸¹⁹ This provides a foundation for further exploration of how Elizabeth’s royal supremacy was viewed, received, enforced and employed. By establishing a religious settlement and a uniform service within the Church of England, Elizabeth was able to establish a blueprint of how services were to be conducted. The Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, which declared Elizabeth supreme governor of the Church of England and outlined the use of the *Book of Common Prayer*, set out the forms of worship, established the ecclesiastical authority, and established the requirements for others to acknowledge her authority within the Church of England. It was a way in which Elizabeth was able to exercise her own religious beliefs, and also ensure, especially while on progress, that the populace followed suit and proclaimed her royal supremacy. More importantly, it protected Elizabeth’s subjects and provided a way for their souls to be saved.

⁸¹⁷ Katherine Butler, “By Instrument for her Powers Appeare”: Music and Authority in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I.” *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 65, No. 2 (2012), 353.

⁸¹⁸ Peter McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 1.

⁸¹⁹ Roger Bowers, “The Chapel Royal, The First Edwardian Prayer Book, and Elizabeth’s Settlement of Religion, 1559”, *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (Jun., 2000), 322.

Fiona Kisby's research on the Chapel Royal focuses on Henry VII and Henry VIII. She argues that the Chapel Royal was the centre of ceremony and patronage as well as having "played a crucial role in the representations of power".⁸²⁰ This was evident during Elizabeth's reign, as specific courtiers, like Dudley, William Howard, and Thomas Radcliffe, used the chapel royal as a way of connecting with the Queen and furthering their own religious causes. Dudley used the Queen's Children of the Chapel Royal to enhance court entertainment, as well as gain favour with the Queen.⁸²¹ Howard and Radcliffe served as successive Lord Chamberlains and were responsible for ensuring the organization of the Queen's royal progresses but also liaised with the Chapel Royal to appoint the royal chaplains and ensure Elizabeth's Sunday and holy day services were maintained in the highest manner.⁸²² Yet Kisby's extensive research focuses on the logistical rather than functional and influential aspect of the Chapel Royal, and Kisby does not address the wider implications of the Chapel Royal. For example, she does not look at how the chapel royal was used as a tool to address or mediate the conflicts of religion during the reign of Henry VIII. As a centre of spectacle and power, the Chapel Royal under the reign of Henry VIII was a model in which the changing religious doctrine and forms of worship would have been displayed.

By exploring the Chapel Royal on progress, it is possible to build on previous scholarship on the institution of the Chapel Royal and its significance within the wider context of religious discourse and the cultivation of religion during the Elizabethan period. Monarchs relied on the Chapel Royal to reflect and display their sanctity; while the Chapel Royal was limited in authority and power, relied on the monarch for relevance and to function. The Chapel Royal was a personal place of worship for the monarch and their court from its inception in the seventh century with the marriage of Edwin and Ethelberga.⁸²³ However, it was not a fixed structure but a complex cluster of groups or parts revolving around the monarch: a collection of clerics, musicians and staff that followed the monarch wherever they happened to be.⁸²⁴ This Chapel Royal did not fully represent the monarchy's royal authority and power, and the political role of the Chapel Royal evolved and developed during the sixteenth century with its establishment as a distinct organization with finances, a physical structure and the influence of the royal court.

⁸²⁰ Fiona Kisby, "'When the King Goeth a Procession': Chapel Ceremonies and Services, the Ritual Year and Religious Reforms at the Early Tudor Court, 1485-1547." *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (Jan. 2001), 45.

⁸²¹ This is noted in Dudley's household accounts, when payments were made to "the Children of the Chappell" on 14 April 1560. These payments made to the Chapel Royal staff were identified distinctly from "your lordship's players" or "enterlude pleyers" (59 & 57). *Household Accounts and Disbursement Books of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, 1558-1561, 1584-1586*, ed. Simon Adams, for the Royal Historical Society's Camden Fifth Series (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

⁸²² McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 64.

⁸²³ Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, 10-11.

⁸²⁴ *Ibid.*, 12-18.

Progresses were essential for the medieval kings of England. Thus, the Chapel Royal also functioned on progress. In 1295, a set of clerical petitions asked about the nature and extent of the Chapel Royal's control. In the petitions, it explicitly refers to the "portable chapel".⁸²⁵ The portable nature of the chapel is also seen during the campaigns and conquests of the Angevin and Plantagenet kings. There are a few examples that illustrate the significance of the Chapel Royal on progresses from the medieval period through to the early modern era. In 1394, the Chapel Royal went with Richard II to Ireland.⁸²⁶ When Henry V sailed to France in 1415, he took his Chapel Royal with him, as noted by the account of Agincourt. While he was trapped at Agincourt, Henry engaged in battle on 25 October 1415, the Feast of St. Crispin. The night before, Henry heard mass sung by the Chapel Royal.⁸²⁷ In a painting depicting the Battle of Agincourt, the Chapel Royal musicians are visible in the background, on the battlefield, with the king engaged in fighting in the foreground.⁸²⁸ This not only highlights the extensive travelling that occurred for the Chapel Royal but also shows only the specific parts of the Chapel Royal that were utilised on progresses that reinforced Henry's sovereignty. Furthermore, it highlights the significance that specific parts of the Chapel Royal had in the religious service it offered the king. With the Chapel Royal on the frontlines of battle and not confined to a religious building, its participation and placement illustrates how the Chapel Royal was so much more than a peripheral department and were dependent on each other.

The Chapel Royal was where the sovereign was, or, specifically, where the centre of power was. Thus, the Chapel Royal was an extension of the monarch, illustrating the notion of the sovereign's two bodies. The Chapel Royal conducted services and performed religious acts, regardless of whether the monarch was physically present. In 1475, Edward IV returned to France to capture Calais; once again, the Chapel Royal was with the king. However, the significance of this case was that the dean of Edward's Chapel Royal, William Dudley, "played a crucial...role on the political battlefield in an effort to secure terms for peace."⁸²⁹ Promoting and securing peace is another important function of the early Chapel Royal, showing that it served both the body spiritual and body political.

William Say composed *Liber Regie Capelle* in 1449. This established the Chapel Royal as a defined sub-set of the royal household. The book was a written description of the "ordinance of the chapel." Say was the Dean of the Chapel Royal under Henry VI, and wrote the book because King Alfonso of Portugal's servant "pressed" Say to "set down a full

⁸²⁵ Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, 18.

⁸²⁶ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁸²⁷ TNA, SP 9/36.

⁸²⁸ LP, MS. 6, f. 243. Illumination is from 'St. Alban's Chronicle' written and compiled by English chronicler, Thomas Walsingham (1340-1422).

⁸²⁹ Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, 38.

account.”⁸³⁰ Edward IV incorporated the structure and format of Say’s Chapel Royal establishment in his *Liber Niger Domus Regie*, or “the Black Book”, of 1478.⁸³¹ The Chapel Royal was then established in the White Tower at the Tower of London.⁸³² However, despite the newly fixed location of the Chapel Royal, it continued to be ‘portable’ into the reign of Henry VIII. When he went to France to seize Therouanne in 1513, a “chapel royal priest” and singers followed him.⁸³³

The last journey in which a full retinue of the Chapel Royal was ‘portable’ enough to go on progress was in 1520, when Henry went to France for the Field of Cloth of Gold. While Henry was at the Field of Cloth of Gold, he had to be lodged in a structure that was fit for a royal monarch. Therefore, he dispatched labourers to create a magnificent royal structure that served to be a “bold statement of Henry’s ambition to be ranked among European princes of the first order.” The interiors were “a spectacular showcase of Henry VIII’s personal wealth and taste.” The inclusion of a chapel in the King’s lodgings was to imitate the “Chapel Royal...at Hampton Court Palace”.⁸³⁴ The chapel at Hampton Court Palace was designed to stress the King’s royal magnificence and display the pageantry and authority of the Tudor dynasty. The chapel at the Field of Cloth of Gold was not just a peripheral space; it was a constructed sacred space that functioned, as Glenn Richardson has recognised, with a dual purpose: “apart from daily and Sunday services...[it] is likely to have been used for ceremonies marking two of the major annual Christian festivals” which fell during Henry’s visit.⁸³⁵ The use of the chapel royal on progress at the Field of Cloth of Gold presents two vital points. First, the Chapel Royal was a physical manifestation of the monarch’s magnificence, used to illuminate their sacred authority, virtue and majesty as well as their political authority. Secondly, the construction of this sacred place, and the king’s physical presence in it, signified how the chapel royal at the Field of Cloth of Gold was a part of the king’s body politic, just as the Chapel Royal at Hampton Court served as his body politic. This is crucial to understanding how propaganda and spectacle on progresses were an intrinsic element of the Tudor monarchy, particularly during Elizabeth’s reign, and this will be examined fully later in the chapter.

Despite including the chapel royal on progress at this exceptional event, the Eltham Ordinances of 1526 soon regulated the Chapel Royal and directed that only a reduced portion

⁸³⁰ Translation of *Liber Regie Capelle* provided by David Baldwin, Serjeant of the Vestry of HM Chapel Royal at St. James Palace. I would like to thank David Baldwin for allowing me to use this translation and for his encouragement.

⁸³¹ Say’s *Liber Regie Capelle* and Edward IV’s “Black Book” differ in that they provide emphasis on different provisions.

⁸³² Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, 40.

⁸³³ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁸³⁴ Richardson, *The Field of Cloth of Gold*, 54-66.

⁸³⁵ *Ibid.*, 54-66.

of the Chapel Royal would travel with the king.⁸³⁶ The rest of the Chapel Royal “would form a permanent establishment in London.”⁸³⁷ However, though the Eltham Ordinances restricted the number of staff and Chapel Royal members that went with the monarch on progress, it did not stop its portable nature. It is important to note that Baldwin’s distinction of “establishment in London” indicates the Chapel Royal was not designated at one particular palace but at the royal palaces throughout London. The Chapel Royal, like the household and court, moved between palaces within London, as illustrated by the accounts that detail these movements.⁸³⁸ In fact, it was Elizabeth I who struck a balance between the fixed institution of Chapel Royal in London and the portable chapel royal on progress. Elizabeth resumed the frequency of the Chapel Royal movements after her father restricted them. To understand just how significant the transportation of Chapel Royal or even parts of it were, it is essential to understand the overall hierarchical structure of the Chapel Royal and its functions.

III. The Chapel Royal: Structure and Uses

The Chapel Royal became a fixed and more stationary institution during the reign of Henry VIII: a symbol of magnificence, ritual and power, offering religious services to the sovereign and his court. Eventually, the Chapel Royal served as the blueprint for the Church of England, to reflect the royal vision of the Church of England that was designed to evoke a strong spiritual connection. It was a constant reminder of the importance of faith, and the presence of God and sovereign.

The prominence of the Chapel Royal was due in part to its tradition of nurturing clerics and musicians as chaplains, choristers and composers, to be the best representatives of the sovereign’s spiritual realm. Henry VIII personally selected musicians for both personal/private and public use, and he expected them to have a very high level of skill. He was intent on “creating the most vibrant musical establishment the country had ever seen.”⁸³⁹ In fact, he invited foreign diplomats to attend services, particularly to hear the musicians and music of the Chapel Royal. In May 1515,

Then they [Henry VIII and foreign ambassadors] went to church, where mass was sung by his majesty’s choir, whose voices are more divine than human; never heard such counter basses: afterwards to dinner...He is very handsome, courageous and an excellent musician.⁸⁴⁰

⁸³⁶ *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household Made in Divers Reigns. From King Edward III. to King William and Queen Mary* (Printed for the Society of Antiquaries by John Nichols, London, 1787), 160.

⁸³⁷ Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, 46.

⁸³⁸ Bodl., Rawlinson MS D318, f. 45-46.

⁸³⁹ David Starkey and Katie Greening, *Music and Monarchy* (London: Ebury Publishing, 2013), 63.

⁸⁴⁰ *CSP—Foreign*, 2:118-122, May 1515, Nic. Sagudino to Al. Foscari.

Henry's Chapel Royal musicians and choristers were known as the finest choir in England.⁸⁴¹ Having the best individuals within the Chapel Royal helped reinforce the importance of the Chapel Royal as a royal instrument and "the chief organ of religious ceremonial."⁸⁴² Edward VI and Elizabeth I followed their father's example, and both sought out the very best people who would aid in the projection of their royal supremacy to serve in the Chapel Royal. In fact, Elizabeth's own Chapel Royal was her own private choir that accompanied her.⁸⁴³ A 1560 grant regarding the "singing men at Windsor" declared that the Chapel Royal at Windsor "in the days of our Father of most noble memorye" was "honourably furnished of well singing men and children to mynyster devyne service" and should, during Elizabeth's reign, "be of any lesse Reputacion solemnpnyte & honor."⁸⁴⁴ This wording emphasised the reputation and honour of the Chapel Royal and the "mynyster[ing]of devyne service" that was crucial to the Church of England and the Queen's royal supremacy. Furthermore, the indication of "well singing men and children" highlights that high quality of choristers that were expected to serve in the Queen's Chapel Royal and aids in our understanding of why the Queen used them on progress: to enhance the magnificence and royal establishment.

The importance of the rituals of the Chapel Royal is most evident in the Anstis manuscript, a collection compiled by John Anstis, an English officer of arms and herald. Several folios featured the order, precedence and rituals of service on holy days as well as notations in sixteenth-century secretary hand, which provide further detail of court ceremonies, including the Chapel Royal rituals of the early Tudors. For example, on Ash Wednesday "the king cometh to the Closett and tarieth there till the Asshes be hallowed. Then cometh he downe into the Chappell and receavith Asshes...and there tarieth till Masse be don. And that day he hath the swerde before hym."⁸⁴⁵ This detailed ceremonial aspect of the Chapel Royal illustrates that the services aimed to elevate the majesty, magnificence and pious nature of the monarchy.⁸⁴⁶ Therefore, the Anstis manuscript is important to this

⁸⁴¹ Starkey and Greening, *Music and Monarchy*, 65.

⁸⁴² Fiona Kisby, "Kingship and The Royal Itinerary: A Study of the Peripatetic Household of the Early Tudor Kings, 1485-1547", *The Court Historian*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (1999), 30.

⁸⁴³ Alan Smith, "The Gentlemen and Children of the Chapel Royal of Elizabeth I: An Annotated Register", *R.M.A. Research Chronicle*, No. 5 (1965), 13.

⁸⁴⁴ There are three copies of this grant. An eighteenth-century copy is at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, MS VI.B.I, fos. 111-12. The editor's annotation indicates a copy in "a contemporary hand" is available at Bodl., MS Ashmole 1113, f. 252. Another eighteenth-century copy at BL, Add. MS 4847, f. 54. The editor indicates that Nichols's source is the British Library copy. The source in Nichols is edited by Lynn Robson. Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 174.

⁸⁴⁵ BL, Add. MS 71009, f. 22b.

⁸⁴⁶ The Anstis manuscript is included in the Add. MS collection at the British Library (see above footnote-792). Ian Archer, who identified the Anstis manuscript as a collection that contained "twenty nine items appearing in three sections", examined the provenance and contents of the Anstis manuscript. The manuscript is important because it contains information pertaining to the court ceremonies, "both secular and sacred", of "Henry VII and his son."⁸⁴⁶ John Anstis compiled the collection in the seventeenth century, yet the various

chapter because it provides a basis of the early-Tudor Chapel Royal, rather than the medieval chapel royal, for which to compare the form and services of Elizabeth's Chapel Royal.

It also included the role that high-ranking courtiers played in the ceremony and rituals of the Chapel Royal. During the early reign of Henry VIII, these services were Catholic. However, the ceremony and ritualised structure provided the Chapel Royal with "the ordre and manner" in which divine services were to be conducted in the Chapel Royal even into the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth I, though modified to reflect the transformed Church of England.⁸⁴⁷ In fact, on several of Elizabeth's progresses similar rituals note the carrying of the sword and orb, along with high-ranking courtiers, specifically listed as "knights", in the ceremony. At Windsor, for the celebration of St. George's Day in 1561, the visit and service was described as:

All her Majesty's Chappel came through her Hall in Copes, to the Number of Thirty, singing, O God, the Father of Heaven...After came Mr. Garter, and Mr. Norroy, and Master Dean of the Chapel [Windsor Chapel Royal] in Robes of Crimson Satin...And after, Eleven Knights of the Garter in their Robes. Then came the Queen, the Sovereign of the Order, in her Robes; and all the Guard following in their rich Coats. And so to the Chapel.⁸⁴⁸

During a visit to the University of Oxford in 1566, "the Quenes Maiestie with her nobilitie (the Earle of Ormonde bearing the sworde) went on foote to St. Maries Churche"; in 1573, during the Queen's visit to Canterbury, the service at Canterbury Cathedral included the Queen "going vnder a canapie borne by fower of her temporall knightes."⁸⁴⁹ In another example, Elizabeth was described on a procession to the Chapel at Greenwich in 1598, where she was followed by members of the nobility "all richly dressed...one of which carried the Royal scepter, and the other the word of state...next came the Queen...very majestic...upon her head she had a small crown."⁸⁵⁰ This signifies that it was not only a ceremony that was specific for state functions, but was also used for ceremonies within the Chapel Royal in London and

items are in mid-sixteenth-century hand. The significance of this manuscript is that it provides "a more complete and detailed picture of the schedule and services in the early Tudor Chapel Royal." Ian Archer, ed., *Religion, Politics and Society in Sixteenth-Century England*, Royal Historical Society, Camden Fifth Series, Vol. 22 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 3.

⁸⁴⁷ BL, Add. MS 71009, f. 22a.

⁸⁴⁸ From Strype's *Annals of the Reformation*. Copy text edited by Jayne Elisabeth Archer. John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:180.

⁸⁴⁹ The 1566 visit to Oxford and procession at St. Mary's Church was detailed in Miles Windsor's *The Receavinge of the Quenes Maiestie into Oxford*. This was reproduced in Nichols's collection. Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:477. The 1573 visit to Canterbury was detailed in a letter from Matthew Parker to Edmund Grindal that was reproduced in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:62.

⁸⁵⁰ Kisby, "When the King Goeth a Procession", 56. Kisby has cited this quote from the 1823 version of John Nichols's collection, but the source is reproduced in the fourth volume of the newly edited collection. The extract was the eyewitness account of Paul Hertzner, who visited Greenwich in September 1598. He included the details of the visit in his composition *Itinerarium*. Nichols, *The Progresses and the Public Processions*, 4:67-73.

chapel royal on progress. The Anstis manuscript highlighted the Catholic ceremonies of the Chapel Royal, which was “marked by liturgical splendor but [also] secular rejoicing”, and included the “hollyghost masse”, the rituals of “Asshe Wednysday” and the service of “Easter day.”⁸⁵¹ However, the Chapel Royal service of Elizabeth’s reign involved the “congregation listen[ing] to the word of God and contemplat[ing] whitewashed walls of the Church,” while the splendor, ornamentation, and Catholic rituals were “swept away.”⁸⁵²

Studies of the Chapel Royal within the last fifteen years have not explored the structure, function and place of this institution within the royal household and within court politics. The Chapel Royal was a visible component of the royal household, and its place within the household allowed it to be subjected not only to the Queen’s personal prerogative but also to that of the members of the household staff, particularly the Lord Chamberlain. The Chapel Royal was a hierarchical and defined structure. Headed by a Dean and Sub-Dean, followed by forty-eight chaplains, ten priests-in-ordinary and a “numerous” lay-choir (or Gentlemen of the Chapel, as they were known), the Chapel Royal carried out two specific types of services: normal and divine. Each position carried its own particular role.⁸⁵³ The “divine service” referred to a service that included the sacrament, and the Dean, Sub-Dean and Priest in Ordinary were the only members of the Chapel Royal that could perform these services. “Normal service” consisted of the liturgical services with a sermon. This could be done by the Archbishop, Bishop, Dean, Sub-Dean and Priest in Ordinary, but the Archdeacons and deacons were also able to deliver the sermon. The positions that were important to Elizabeth’s royal supremacy, the Chapel Royal’s visibility and the parts that were utilised on progress: were therefore the choristers (known as the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal), the Children of the Chapel Royal), and the almoner. The splitting of the Chapel Royal staff is evident in the account of the Queen’s progresses. At least “some” of the gentlemen choristers of the Chapel Royal were noted on the Queen’s progresses.⁸⁵⁴ Regarding the Children of the Chapel Royal, between five to ten were noted to have performed services during Elizabeth’s visits.⁸⁵⁵

⁸⁵¹ BL, Add. MS 71009 (Anstis MS). The “hollyghost masse” was described in folio 22. The “Asshe Wednysday rituals were detailed in folio 23. The services of “Easter day” were described in folio 24.

⁸⁵² Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth*, 114.

⁸⁵³ *The Old Cheque-book, or, Book of remembrance of the Chapel Royal, from 1561 to 1744*, edited from the original MS. Preserved among the muniments of the Chapel Royal (St. James’s Palace: by Edward F. Rimbault, printed for the Camden Society, 1872), i.

⁸⁵⁴ The number of gentlemen varied. During the Queen’s progress at Cambridge in 1564, the accounts just identify the “choristers” in general and where they were accommodated. Given that these individuals were performing a religious service and the identification along with other royal household staff reinforces the understanding that these choristers were the Queen’s Chapel Royal choristers. See also Matthew Parker’s account at Canterbury in 1573 in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:75.

⁸⁵⁵ During the Queen’s visit to Kenilworth, “ten Sibills” recited in “English ryme and meter”. Goldring indicates that these roles were “taken by the Children of the Chapel Royal.” The source the copy text of Laneham’s A Letter: whearin, part of the entertainment vntoo the

The absence of comprehensive Lord Chamberlain's accounts poses difficulties in piecing together a full picture of the finances and payments of the Chapel and its staff. However, with the combination of the newly discovered Auditor's accounts, along with the Exchequer accounts of the Chamber (which were secondary copies of the Lord Chamberlain's accounts but specifically financial calculations), and the record of the activities and accounting of the Chapel Royal contained within the *Old Cheque-Book or Book of remembrance of the Chapel Royal*, we are able to piece together enough evidence that highlights vital information about the Chapel Royal and the running of this institution during the reign of Elizabeth I. The *Old Cheque-Book or Book of Remembrance*, edited by Edward Rimbault, lists a history of the Chapel Royal starting in the third year of Elizabeth's reign, revealing that the Chapel Royal was a fully functional and manned institution within the royal household. Members of the Chapel Royal who died are listed there, recording where the individuals were from and their replacements. The available chamber accounts (1560-1598) reveal an interesting financial aspect of the Chapel Royal: staff listed in the accounts included some with paid wages, but not all of them were paid through the household accounts. Some were given money for distribution, including the Almoner (listed as "prevy", "chief" or "Lord" Almoner), who was paid money that was to be distributed for "daylie almes" as well as alms given on "Maundy Thursdaye, Good Frydaye and at the tyme of Easter". The Dean of the Chapel received a yerely "offring", which usually served as payment for his services. In contrast, the musicians ("trumpetter, vyolyns, flutes") were paid actual wages. Then there was the "Clarke of the Clossett" who was paid annually for "wasshing the vestry stufe".⁸⁵⁶

This helps us to distinguish which positions within the Chapel Royal were actual household staff and which were honorary positions. It would mean that the wages for the chaplains and almoner, who was listed consistently as the "Bysshop of Rochester", were paid from their wages through other benefices. What is unique about this account is that there is a distinct difference between payments for alms "at her highnes Courte Gate" and payments of "prevy almes at xxli mounethly for one hole yere."⁸⁵⁷ This distinction highlights the difference between alms given at Elizabeth's royal palaces in London and alms given out in general, whether in London or while the Queen was on progress. In fact, the daily alms were "common practice...to be made to the poor from royal palace, castles, Inns of Court, monasteries and universities".⁸⁵⁸ The general distribution of alms or "Elimonzina" was notated in the records

Queenz Maiesty, at Killingwoorth Castl, in warwik Sheer, in this sommerz Progress. 1575. iz signified: from a friend officer attendant in the Coourt, vntoo hiz freend a Citizen, and Merchaunt of London", edited by Elizabeth Goldring, Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:244.

⁸⁵⁶ TNA, AO 3/127 and 128. All bound manuscripts included mentions of these Chapel Royal positions. In AO 3/127 there are six manuscripts bound together, consisting of the years 1560-1570. AO 3/128 consist of five manuscripts bound together, consisting of the years from 1570-1598.

⁸⁵⁷ TNA, AO 3/127, f. 1- 5.

⁸⁵⁸ Brian Robinson, *The Royal Maundy*, (London: Kate & Ward, 1977), 13.

of the 1561 progress through Suffolk, where alms were given out at “Strond [Strand], Felixhall and Colchester, Harwiche, Ippeswiche, Shelly hall & Smalebridge, Hemingham, Hartford, Hertford, Enduile [Enfield]” and ending at St. James. At each of these locations the same amount of alms were given exactly, “iiijs”.⁸⁵⁹

The Dean of the Chapel Royal was a position of status and relied on royal patronage.⁸⁶⁰ Prior to the Dissolution of the Monasteries in 1536, the Dean of the Chapel Royal amassed great wealth and it is specifically detailed in *Liber Regie Capelle* that “on every day of the year unless it be a double or solemn feast, the king and the queen offer gold” to the Dean.⁸⁶¹ But this was increased by the giving of “offerings” by everyone in the king’s household, which included influential and notable members of court.⁸⁶² This illustrates the influence and visual importance of the Chapel Royal within the king’s court and among his subjects. The Dean’s duties and role with the Chapel Royal had the “authority and power to order and administer all sacraments and all sacramental rights within the Chapel.”⁸⁶³ Pre-Dissolution, all clergymen, including the Dean, heard confession, and had the power to absolve and dispense. The Dean’s roles in the rituals and ceremonies of the Chapel Royal were vital, as he was responsible for carrying the sceptres of the king and queen on solemn occasions such as Christmas Day, Epiphany, Easter Day, Whit Sunday, All Saints Day and the Feasts of St. Edward. Furthermore, the Dean “makithe the said Rules of the parsons, clerkys, and all their ceremonies in this chapel.”⁸⁶⁴ However, during Elizabeth’s reign things changed drastically. As the old forms of Catholic orthodoxy were removed, particularly its rituals, rites and symbols, they were replaced with a more clearly reformed Church of England.

During Elizabeth’s reign George Carew served as the Dean. A few historians have noted there is a discrepancy over who held the position of Dean between 1583-1603 within Elizabeth’s Chapel Royal, because of the availability of various records with erroneous notes (the *Old Cheque-Book* and a parallel Cheque-Book held at the Bodleian Library written by the sub-Deans of the Chapel Royal).⁸⁶⁵ Some suggest that William Day actually held the position. However, this error was due to the confusion between the positions of Dean at the Chapel

⁸⁵⁹ The source for this is excerpts from the daily expenses of the Royal Household in BL, Cotton MS Vespasian C.XIV, vol. 2, fos. 188-196. The source is reproduced and edited by Gabriel Heaton in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:187-197. Heaton translated “elimosina” or “eleemosyna” as alms (1:187).

⁸⁶⁰ Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, 227.

⁸⁶¹ *Liber Regie Capelle*, Ch. 8.

⁸⁶² Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, 230. It is important to note that “offerings” used in connection with the king’s household is specifically referring to a gift given to the Dean of the chapel; whereas offerings given in connection with absolution refers to “tithes.”

⁸⁶³ *Liber Regie Capelle*, Ch. 8.

⁸⁶⁴ Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, 231. “Liber Niger Domus Regie” in *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household Made in Divers Reigns. From King Edward III. to King William and Queen Mary* (London: Printed for the Society of Antiquaries by John Nichols, 1787).

⁸⁶⁵ Peter McCullough and David Baldwin have commented on the discrepancy of the position of Dean within the Chapel Royal. See fn. 51 in McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 63. See also Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, 156.

Royal at Windsor and Elizabeth's Chapel Royal. William Day never occupied the position of Dean of Elizabeth's Chapel Royal; he was appointed Dean of the Chapel Royal at Windsor in 1572.⁸⁶⁶ It is important to note here that the Chapel Royal at Windsor was distinctly different to that of the Chapel Royal in general. In 1348, Edward III founded new colleges that celebrated religious services within the two "political nerve centres of his realm." Each college had a dean and represented the respective chapel: St. George's Chapel at Windsor and St. Stephen's Chapel at Westminster. However, Edward VI, under the second Chantries Act, dissolved St. Stephen's Chapel in 1548. In addition, Whitehall replaced Westminster as the royal residence after 1530, but the two palaces were officially joined into one in 1536, making the Chapel Royal closely associated with the monarch rather than a specific building.⁸⁶⁷ However, the Chapel Royal at Windsor remained intact. In fact, the foundation of St. George's Chapel during Edward III's reign was to combine "piety and chivalry" and was made as a central part of the Order of the Garter. Elizabeth also utilised the Chapel Royal at Windsor and the Order of the Garter.⁸⁶⁸

Unfortunately, there is an anomaly among the historical records of the Dean of the Chapel Royal: there are no records of Carew's writings or papers. Additionally, there is no evidence of his direct involvement or influence within the Church of England or within religious doctrine. It is not certain whether this is because the sources did not survive into the modern era or because the sources never existed, which is an aspect of this project that deserves further exploration.⁸⁶⁹ The very few mentions of George Carew within the letters and accounts of various individuals of the time suggest that Carew had no authority, and that his position was merely a symbolic representative of Elizabeth's Chapel Royal. The Queen's chamber accounts show that the "Deane of the Chappell" was given an annual "offryinge": every year from 1560-1585 Carew was given £32, 13s, and 4d.⁸⁷⁰ The honorary position of the Dean of the Chapel Royal helps to explain how the institution and use of Chapel Royal during Elizabeth's reign took on a unique and very different shape to that of her father, where

⁸⁶⁶ Peter McCullough, 'Carew, George (1497/8-1583)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Brett Usher, 'Day, William (1529-1596)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁸⁶⁷ Elizabeth Biggs, "The College and Canons of St Stephen's, Westminster, 1348-1548" (PhD Thesis, University of York, 2016), 115-120.

⁸⁶⁸ This section combines information taken from the history of St. George's Chapel on the St. Georges Windsor website (www.stgeorges-windsor.org/about-st-georges/history.html) as well as the institutional history provided by A.K.B Roberts, "St. George's Chapel Windsor Castle, 1348-1415: A Study in early Collegiate Administration" (PhD Thesis, University of London, 1947), 1-2. The use of the Chapel Royal at Windsor during Elizabeth's reign is noted in the excerpts from Strype's *Annals of the Reformation* (influenced by Henry Machyn's diary), edited by Jayne Elisabeth Archer in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:155.

⁸⁶⁹ With the assistance of my supervisor, Dr. John Cooper, I have researched the archives of the National Archives, the British Library, Lambeth Palace Library, and reviewed the online catalogue at Windsor for any records or manuscripts relating to or written by Dr. George Carew. To date, I have been unable to locate records or writings of Dr. George Carew.

⁸⁷⁰ TNA, AO 3/127 and 128.

the Dean of the Chapel Royal was an influential figure who held direct ecclesiastical authority over the ceremonial aspects of the Chapel, which included “conduct[ing] the king and queen into chapel before the services began there.” The dean was also “employed...as the king’s privy chaplain”, “appointed preachers”, had “spiritual powers [that] extended over the entire court....[and] hear confessions”. Finally, the early Tudor deans of the Chapel Royal often “sat on council.”⁸⁷¹ The Chapel Royal of Elizabeth’s reign became a double entity: symbolic and political. With the absence of an active or involved Dean, the visible Chapel Royal served as a platform through which Elizabeth I governed the Church of England and asserted her royal supremacy.

No Dean was appointed to the Chapel Royal between 1585-1603, which poses the question of why there was no appointment. During this period, the Lord Chamberlain was responsible for managing the Chapel Royal. Baldwin concludes that the influence of the Lord Chamberlain and close connection the sovereign was why no Dean was appointed.⁸⁷² While this may have been a factor, it was most likely not the sole reason. With Elizabeth’s ban on prophesying in 1577, along with the scandal of Edward Grindal and the growing problem of puritan reformers in the 1580s, the lack of Deans may have been due to the absence of a suitable or agreeable candidate. The position of the Dean of the Chapel Royal was an intimate position and gave access to the Queen, as did the position of Queen’s chaplain, and it required acceptance of the Queen’s personal view of religion. The intimacy and access that Deans and chaplains had to their Queen was detailed in an account of the Queen’s progress to Cambridge in 1564, which explicitly mentioned that the Dean

standing about iij yeardes from the Quene...made his obeziaunce & curtesies...commynge towardes her maiestie and...[the Queen] knelyng hard at her stoole kissed his hand...And vnderstandyng that she would pryvatlye praye he lyckewyse pryvatlye sayed the sayed psalme.⁸⁷³

Though the position held neither authority nor power, it was not one where a casual appointment could be made. After all, the Chapel Royal was an important component not only of Elizabeth’s household but also of her body politic and the Church of England. It was the Dean’s responsibility to hold the Bible at the swearing of oaths between the king and foreign ambassadors, and it was one of the few positions in which Elizabeth could make major appointments. The Dean, as with most priests in England, had multiple appointments. For instance, George Carew was not only the Dean of Elizabeth’s Chapel Royal, but was also the

⁸⁷¹ Kisby examines and discusses the Dean of the Chapel Royal during the reigns of Henry VII, Henry VIII, with the occasional mention of Edward VI and Mary I. Kisby, “Officers and Office Holding at the English Court”, 7-11.

⁸⁷² Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, 234.

⁸⁷³ The source is detailed in “XI. Queen Elizabeth’s reception and entertainment in King’s College chappel and in King’s College, on Saturday, 5. August 1564” recorded in “Stokys’s Book”. The original manuscript source is located at CUL, University Archives, Misc. Collect. 4, fos. 68-69. It is included in Nichols’s collection and edited by Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Faith Eales in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:402.

Archdeacon of Exeter and the Dean of Bristol, Christ Church and Windsor.⁸⁷⁴ This illustrates the fact that they were peripatetic. Therefore, identifying and making specific appointments within deaneries was important because of the influence that high-ranking clerics had. These appointments could help and hinder the Queen's governance of the Church of England and undermine her royal supremacy.

While the role of the Dean of the Chapel Royal was primarily a representative one without authority, the role of sub-dean had a more active and authoritative role within the Chapel Royal. They were responsible for recording information and maintaining the chequebook. This was vital to the Chapel Royal, as the important events, ceremonies, and duties were recorded to detail the life and administration within the Chapel Royal. The importance of the sub-dean was noted in the chequebook as replacements and appointments were regularly recorded. After the death of George Carew in 1582, there was no replacement made. However, between 1560-1602 the sub-deans were replaced and sworn in.⁸⁷⁵ The sub-deans were also responsible for the daily administration of the Chapel Royal, including the selection of music for services, "authorizing absences", and exacting punishment for "minor offences" committed by other members of the Chapel Royal staff.⁸⁷⁶ The sub-Deans, "of whom a half are usually priests", had roles in the services of the Chapel Royal, particularly throughout the early sixteenth century, that included "one priest for the mass of the Blessed Virgin and for the reading the Gospel, and another clerk to read the Epistle".⁸⁷⁷ There were usually twenty-four sub-Deans and they were "endowed with virtues morolle and specikatyve, as of musicke, shewinge in descante, eloquent in reading, suffytyente in organs playing, syttyng at the deane's boarde."⁸⁷⁸ One of the primary functions of their role was "encouraging the gentlemen to perform their best" and "maintaining the high standards of musical accomplishment to divine service."⁸⁷⁹ Furthermore, the sub-deans were required to take an oath to "recognise the sovereign as 'the only supreme Governor of this Realme and all other her Hignes dominions and contreys, as well in all spirituall and ecclesiasticall things and causes temporall.'"⁸⁸⁰ The swearing of a specific oath acknowledging the Queen's royal supremacy and the duties that emphasised "high standards" played a central role in elevating the Queen's Chapel Royal, and maintained a certain standard within the Church of England that was an ideal to strive towards.

The sub-deans oversaw "The Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal", who were essentially the Queen's choir. The exact number of these "Gentlemen" fluctuated depending on where they were utilised and what function they performed, whether for the Queen's own personal

⁸⁷⁴ McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 63-64.

⁸⁷⁵ *Old Cheque-book*, 1-6.

⁸⁷⁶ Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, 249.

⁸⁷⁷ *Liber Regie Capelle*, Ch. 3.

⁸⁷⁸ *Old Cheque-book*, iii. The original MS dates from 1561 and is currently located at St. James Palace, London.

⁸⁷⁹ Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, 250-254.

⁸⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 249.

service, service for the court, or on progress. Their sole responsibility was the musical contribution to elevate services of the Chapel Royal. They played an instrumental part in the rituals and ceremony of services on holy days, but they also maintained the daily services. At the same time, the Gentlemen also served as the Clerk of the Check, which combined the duties of secretary, treasurer, accountant, and music librarian, and required them to work alongside the sergeant of the vestry.⁸⁸¹

The final level in the hierarchy was the “Children of the Chapel Royal”, who were boys chosen for their distinctive and angelic voices. During Elizabeth’s reign, there were twelve Children of the Chapel Royal.⁸⁸² They sang in the choir until their voices broke, at which point a provision was made for them at “a college of Oxinford or, Cambrige.”⁸⁸³ A letter from March 1589 shows that the Queen herself was involved in this process:

John Pitcher, sometime a chorister of your church of Wells, was from thence brought hither to serve us in the room of a child of our Chapel, in which place he hath remained...till now that his voice beginneth to change, he is become not so fit for our service. And herewith understanding that...we have thought it meet to recommend him unto you, to be placed in the same with our express commandment that according to the order of your house, ye do admit and place him.⁸⁸⁴

However, not everyone saw the Children of the Chapel Royal as innocent young men with pure voices. An unknown commentator published a pamphlet entitled *The Children of the Chapel Stript and Whipt*, in which the author protested:

Her maiestes unfledged minions flaunt it in silks and sattens. They had well be at their Popish service, in the deuils garments...Even in her maiesties Chappel do these pretty vpstart youths profane the Lordes Day by the lascivious writhing...gorgeous decking of their apparel.⁸⁸⁵

The author remarks negatively on the children of the Chapel Royal and how they dishonoured the majesty of the Queen’s chapel. Furthermore, the author associates the pageantry and spectacle of the Queen’s Chapel Royal with an ostentatiousness inappropriate for religious service, not because the pageantry and apparel themselves were offensive but because the materials and garments were synonymous with the Catholic Church.

The Master of the Children was responsible for the education of the choristers, both academically and musically, as well as their upbringing and pastoral care. In *Liber Regie Capelle*, there was mention of a “Song Master,” who had responsibility “to teach these boys and duly instruct them in both plain chant and harmony”, and a “Grammar Master,” who was “appointed to teach the science of Grammar to the young noblemen brought up in the King’s

⁸⁸¹ Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, 273-274 & 288.

⁸⁸² Smith, “The Gentlemen and Children of the Chapel Royal of Elizabeth I”, 13-14.

⁸⁸³ Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, 320; Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 2:27.

⁸⁸⁴ The letter is cited in Baldwin’s *The Chapel Royal: Ancient and Modern*, which indicates that the letter is within Wells Cathedral archives. This is suggested by the notation of the Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of Wells. Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, 119-120.

⁸⁸⁵ Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 2:34-35. Chambers notes that the author is not known and that the original MS of the pamphlet was possibly destroyed.

court and the boys of the Chapel as they grow older.”⁸⁸⁶ It can be concluded that the two positions became one over time, as the “Master of the Children” was described as “not only instructed in music” but also provided “a learned education.”⁸⁸⁷ The Master of the Children was an important position ultimately because he trained children for royal service.

The royal almonry was another significant role within the Chapel Royal. The royal almonry was responsible for the giving of alms and a “major participant” in the Maundy service.⁸⁸⁸ The almoner, sometimes referred to as the Lord Almoner, was chosen from the monarch’s chaplains and was one of the more visible members of the Chapel Royal, as they assisted with poor relief.⁸⁸⁹ The Lord Almoner was easily identified in the financial records and was frequently recorded in the chamber accounts of Elizabeth’s reign. The almoners were paid with regularity in the annual accounts, unlike the Dean of the Chapel Royal who was paid an “yereyly offyrin[es]”, the almoner was paid “from tyme to tyme to thandes of..her Ma[jes]t[ies] Almoner of subalmoner.”⁸⁹⁰ This suggest that unlike the “offyrings” which were fees payable to the dean, the payments to almoners amd subalmoners were not wages, but household money that was filtered through the almoner’s hands to be distributed to the poor; thus indicating that they were household staff representing the Queen’s religious foundation. Furthermore, the individuals that were appointed the position of almoner, and noted to receive these payments, included influential bishops such as William “Byll”, Edmund Freke, Edmund Guest and John Piers.⁸⁹¹

The early texts on the foundation of the Chapel Royal established that no one had power or authority over the institution of the Chapel Royal other than the Dean or the sovereign.⁸⁹² This provided an unusual case during Elizabeth’s reign and it would seem that the Lord Chamberlain and the Queen worked together to govern the Chapel Royal. With the Dean being a symbolic role within the Chapel Royal during the first half of Elizabeth’s reign and the role being vacant in the latter half, the management of, and communication with, the Chapel Royal naturally fell under the jurisdiction of the Lord Chamberlain as a department of the royal household. Therefore, the authority and influence that the Queen had on the administration and practices of the Chapel Royal would have been significant. This also signals where Elizabeth exercised her agency by contributing to the maintenance of the persona of governor of the Church of England and as an expression of her royal prerogative to emphasise her royal supremacy. The Lord Chamberlain would have been an important figure in carrying out the Queen’s affairs as he was both loyal to her and had intimate access to her. Between 1585-1603 the Lord Chamberlains of the Queen’s household were Henry

⁸⁸⁶ *Liber Regie Capelle*, Ch. 3.

⁸⁸⁷ *Old Cheque-book*, iv.

⁸⁸⁸ Robinson, *The Royal Maundy*, 50.

⁸⁸⁹ Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, 374-375.

⁸⁹⁰ AO 3/127, f. 41.

⁸⁹¹ These individuals are indicated in the annual chamber finances listed in AO 127-128.

⁸⁹² *Liber Regie Capelle*, Ch. 2.

Carey, William Brook and George Carey.⁸⁹³ This is important because these individuals were influential figures during Elizabeth's reign in both their roles within the royal household and at court.⁸⁹⁴ Henry Carey was Elizabeth's cousin, whom she identified as "by God appointed the instrument of my Glory", and he was also a critical figure in the administrative and political dynamics of the royal court, household and government.⁸⁹⁵ He also had "ultimate control of the revels office", which was the governing body of court plays and entertainments.⁸⁹⁶ Therefore, coordinating and utilising the staff of the Chapel Royal for both religious and secular functions would have been easy. George Carey followed in his father's footsteps and became Lord Chamberlain in 1597, thus continuing the familial connection, as well as the loyalty and trust to serve the Queen and carry out her plans and policy. The Lord Chamberlain's supervision over the Chapel Royal helps to explain the dual role that the Chapel Royal had in court life. The secular and sacred uses of the Chapel Royal staff clarifies why there are references to gentlemen choristers or the Children of the Chapel Royal in household records, such as the Revels accounts, or in the accounts of pageants and entertainments provided for the Queen on progress.

There are many reasons why Chapel Royal staff were employed when the Queen went on progress. One reason was due simply to patronage and ties that the Chapel Royal staff had with influential court members. Another reason why the Chapel Royal staff were utilised on progresses was due to the Lord Chamberlain being responsible for ensuring that provisions were made for the Queen while on progress. This contributed to the blurred lines between the Chapel Royal as a religious institution and the Chapel Royal as a team of performers. Additionally, the Queen's hosts utilised the musicians of the Chapel Royal to maintain the high standard of entertainments to please Elizabeth. This was evident from Dudley's household account books, where it was noted that in "April Anno Secundo Regni Reginae" [April in the second year of the reign of the Queen—1560] "the children of the Chappell the xxixth [29th] daye of April" were paid "xijs iiijd" [12s and 4d].⁸⁹⁷ The Queen was entertained at Deptford on 24 April in 1560 when she visited the royal ship, the Golden Hind, and when the

⁸⁹³ Kinney and Lawson, *Titled Elizabethans*, 14.

⁸⁹⁴ Henry Carey was a cousin of Queen Elizabeth I and served as a Privy Council member, in the position of Lord Chamberlain and Master of the Queen's Hawks. He also had his own group of players, which would have given him access to use the Queen's musicians and choristers for secular events such as his plays [Wallace T. MacCaffrey, 'Carey, Henry, first Baron Hunsdon (1526–1596)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)]. William Brooke was also Lord Chamberlain, along with various other diplomatic and military positions. He was known to have Protestant connections despite having a Catholic-leaning wife [Julian Lock, 'Brooke, William, tenth Baron Cobham (1527–1597)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)]. Finally, George Carey was the son of Henry Carey and also served in various aspects of the Queen's household and government before becoming Lord Chamberlain. He also inherited his father's players (noted in MacCaffrey, 'Carey, Henry, first Baron Hunsdon (1526–1596)').

⁸⁹⁵ TNA, SP 15/17, f. 263.

⁸⁹⁶ MacCaffrey, 'Carey, Henry, first Baron Hunsdon (1526–1596)', *ODNB*.

⁸⁹⁷ *Household Accounts and Disbursement Books of Robert Dudley*, 156. The Queen's visit to Deptford is explained in detail by Cole. Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 156.

accounts were notated days later the payment was made on the 29th by Dudley, who would have organised the entertainments for this secular event.⁸⁹⁸ The use of the Master of the Children, and thus the Children of the Chapel Royal, was commonplace. This was indicated in the records by which the payments in “March/April Anno Predicto” [March/April of the aforesaid year] 1561, were made to “Mr Bower Master of the Children of the Chappell.” He was paid “xixs” [19s].⁸⁹⁹ Though Bowers died in 1563, the successive Masters of the Children were utilised for court entertainments.⁹⁰⁰ In 1575, it was noted that “the deuise was inuented, and the verses also written by M. Hunneys, master of the children in her Ma[j]esties Chappell.”⁹⁰¹ Master Hunneys, or William Hunnis had been master of the Children of the Chapel Royal since 1566. This highlights the second reason why the Chapel Royal was utilised on progresses: the ties and patronage between members of the Chapel Royal and courtiers. It was Hunnis’ close connection to the Dudley family that led to his patronage from Dudley. In 1578, after the Kenilworth visit, Hunnis dedicated his composition to the Earl of Leicester.⁹⁰² Given Dudley’s position at court and on the Queen’s Privy Council, it would not have been impossible to liaise with the Lord Chamberlain to employ the Master and Children of the Chapel Royal for the entertainments. This interesting dynamic of utilizing the Chapel Royal for secular and divine events was common, given the extraordinary patronage system that existed within Elizabethan political culture. The Chapel Royal was another device, like the royal household, through which patronage, favours, and services were exchanged. However, this did not diminish the influence of the Chapel Royal. The multiple uses of the Chapel Royal staff increased its impact, because of the high standards they represented and the magnificence of the Queen. As a result, the Queen’s royal supremacy was enhanced.

Musicians of the Chapel Royal, particularly choristers, lutenists and violists, played a crucial role in performing and exalting religious service, but were also utilised to bring prestige to secular events on progresses. This often blurred the line between the sacred and secular functions of Chapel Royal staff.⁹⁰³ Music was an integral part of the Elizabethan court and the frequent use of these musicians was evident throughout the accounts of the Queen’s progresses.⁹⁰⁴ In fact, Elizabeth herself played these instruments and as Butler argues, “had a

⁸⁹⁸ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 180.

⁸⁹⁹ *Household Accounts and Disbursement Books of Robert Dudley*, 162.

⁹⁰⁰ *Old Cheque-book*, 1.

⁹⁰¹ The source is Gascoigne’s *The Princely pleasures*, edited by Elizabeth Goldring, in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:291.

⁹⁰² This information is noted in the editor’s footnote (442) in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:291. It is noted that Hunnis’ composition was titled *Hyve Full of Hunnye: Contayning the Firste Booke of Moses, called Genesis. Turned into English Meetre*.

⁹⁰³ Butler, *Music in Elizabethan Politics*, 76.

⁹⁰⁴ These notations of the “Queenes musicians” are noted throughout the accounts of the Queen’s royal progresses in John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I*, Vol. I-V, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014). The progresses to Cambridge in 1564 (1:435); to Oxford in 1566 (1:656); to Litchfield in 1575 (2:333); to Worcester in 1575 (2:355) all include mentions of the Queen’s musicians.

reputation as a musical monarch."⁹⁰⁵ Furthermore, musicians themselves, particularly William Byrd and Thomas Tallis, both asserted, "music was indispensable to the state."⁹⁰⁶ Byrd and Tallis were key performing members of the Chapel Royal. This illustrates their knowledge of the impact of music and highlights the influence and impact that the Chapel Royal had on religion and politics. Additionally, the music of Byrd and Tallis was presented and performed during the Queen's progresses.⁹⁰⁷

Musicians were highly regarded by not only the Queen but also members of her court, and they would often use them to push a specific theme or focus in the pageants. Rather than risk the Queen's displeasure, courtiers used musicians to provide an environment that was not only pleased the Queen but also helped to direct the Queen's attention to the performance that had a specific theme, agenda or subject matter. Music on progresses was "a medley of political interests...sometimes complementary and at other times competing" with the Queen's royal prerogative. Therefore, music was "multi-layered, multi-purpose, and aimed at multiple audiences."⁹⁰⁸ There were thirty-two gentlemen choristers and twelve children of the Chapel Royal.⁹⁰⁹ However, only "some" were utilised on progress.⁹¹⁰ Smith reinforces the point that not all gentlemen choristers were utilised, "[n]ormally only sixteen, about half the full number of gentlemen, were present at [Chapel Royal] services". More importantly, Smith notes that "between St. Peter's day (29 June) and Michaelmas (29 September) there were no weekday choral services."⁹¹¹ I would argue that the Queen's summer progresses were a factor for this, along with the fact that a portion of the gentlemen choristers were performing for Elizabeth's services on progress. Yet the maintenance of the Chapel Royal staff on progress was similar to that of the Queen's household staff, while their purpose was sometimes varied. For example, the use of the Queen's choristers during the Cambridge visit in 1564 served a dual purpose for competing individuals. The Queen's household paid the choristers, but they were housed and fed by the colleges of Cambridge.⁹¹² This did not distract from their purpose of representing the Queen's religious agenda. The university was known for its radical Protestantism and the visit provided an opportunity to hint at the desire for radical reform

⁹⁰⁵ Butler, "By Instruments her Powers Appeare", 353.

⁹⁰⁶ Katherine Butler cites Byrd's *Cantiones sacrae* for the assertion of Byrd and Tallis' understanding the impact of music. Butler, *Music in Elizabethan Court Politics*, 2.

⁹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 150. William Byrd's madrigal, 'This Sweet and Merry Month of May', was performed during the Queen's progress to Elvetham in 1591. Given the Earl of Hertford's transgressions earlier in the reign, utilizing the music composed by one of the Queen's influential Chapel Royal musicians might have been to please the Queen.

⁹⁰⁸ Butler, *Music in Elizabethan Court Politics*, 3-4.

⁹⁰⁹ These numbers are noted by Butler, *Music in Elizabethan Court Politics*, 76; David Starkey, *Music and Monarchy*, 40; David Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, 287; and Alan Smith, "The Gentlemen and Children of the Chapel Royal", 13.

⁹¹⁰ The reference to "some" is from the previously mentioned account of Matthew Parker during the Queen's visit to Canterbury. The account is provided in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:75. See fn. 1.

⁹¹¹ Smith, "The Gentlemen and Children of the Chapel Royal of Elizabeth I", 13-14.

⁹¹² TNA, AO 3/127; See also the placements noted in "Stokys's Book", edited by Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Faith Eales, in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:435.

through orations and sermons, along with having services conducted according to the *Book of Common Prayer*.⁹¹³ However, the Queen was not only there to inspect the university but also to ensure conformity. The use of the Chapel Royal musicians would have served the interests of both the Queen and the reformers. The musical performance would have been pleasing to the Queen, and possibly created an environment where she was more receptive to the disputations, orations and sermons. Furthermore, the musical performance would have been conducted in strict accordance with the practices of the Church of England, and the Chapel Royal musicians would have reinforced those practices. This would have fortified Elizabeth's royal supremacy. Another example that illustrated the multiple uses of Chapel Royal musicians was the 1575 visit to Kenilworth. The use of the Children of the Chapel Royal during the Queen's entertainments allowed the Earl of Leicester to present his views on the marriage negotiations through a means pleasing to Elizabeth.⁹¹⁴

The Chapel Royal and its multiple uses, especially on progresses, illustrate the complex and dynamic nature of Elizabethan political culture. Fundamentally, the Chapel Royal was also an extension of the monarch, and its primary role was to be a platform for Elizabeth, as well as serve the Queen. However, the balance between the institutional and portable nature of the Chapel Royal mirrored a much larger concept that was evident during Elizabeth's reign: the Queen's two bodies.

IV. The Queen's Two Bodies: Function and Employment of the Chapel Royal on Progress

Having examined the role, hierarchy and functions of the Chapel Royal, we are in a better place to understand the way the Chapel Royal was organised and how it functioned on progress. Since the establishment of the Chapel Royal as a fixed and permanent institution during the reign of Henry VIII, its inclusion on progresses was also a consistent feature. Within the early books on the establishment of the Chapel Royal, there had always been a proviso that the Chapel Royal went with the sovereign on progress. The *Liber Regie Capelle* instructed "to conduct all other divine service in any suitable place, and to set up altar euen in the open air if necessary, and at it consecrate."⁹¹⁵ In Edward IV's description of the household, he refers to positions of the Chapel Royal, specifically their role "on such dayes as the King's Chapell removeth."⁹¹⁶ Furthermore, we know that part of the Chapel Royal had a historical precedence of following the sovereign on progress as highlighted by the Chapel Royal's mention and feature in the previous examples of Henry V, Henry VI, Edward IV, and Henry

⁹¹³ The discussions of religious reform is noted in the disputations recorded in "Stokys's Book", edited by Leedham-Green and Eales in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:402, 408, 435.

⁹¹⁴ The notation of the Children of the Chapel Royal being used during the Cambridge visit is indicated in "Stokys's Book", edited by Leedham-Green and Eales and reproduced in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I*, 2:292.

⁹¹⁵ *Liber Regie Capelle*, Ch. 12.

⁹¹⁶ "Liber Niger Domus Regie", 51.

VIII. Accordingly, the use of the Chapel Royal on progress was not uncommon, and it was an important means of projecting the sovereign's magnificence and royal image.

The dichotomy of the Chapel Royal having both a fixed component and portable component was important for two reasons. First, having specific parts of the Chapel Royal on progress highlighted which components were important to the monarch in contributing to their personal worship practices and the impact and display of the Chapel Royal for their subjects as they travelled. Through the Chapel Royal, the queen could make sure that both her clergy and her subjects conformed to Church of England doctrine, services and rituals. Second, having the Chapel Royal as a fixed institution that remained in London represented the political stability and religious authority of the sovereign. The Chapel Royal situated at the London palaces played a critical role in the political and religious functions of state, including "baptisms, churching, marriage, eucharist...[and] state diplomacy."⁹¹⁷ The use of the Chapel Royal within state functions helped to establish it as a political extension of the sovereign. Furthermore, the Chapel Royal showed "how...liturgical and musical uniformity was to be achieved throughout the realm."⁹¹⁸ Therefore, with both the political and religious authority associated with the Chapel Royal, it was a component in securing order, discipline and conformity. When the sovereign's physical presence was not in London, the political authorities (the mayor, the remaining Privy Councillors, and sheriffs) worked alongside religious authorities (the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London) to maintain peace against the vulnerability of unrest, civic disorder and religious extremists and heresy in the Church. The use of Paul's Cross in central London was susceptible to heretical preaching to the masses. Therefore, the Chapel Royal played a crucial role in maintaining religious services, as it was one of two spaces used for court sermons, besides Paul's Cross.⁹¹⁹ Therefore, having an operational Chapel Royal in London while the Queen was on progress aided in provided appropriate services. The fear of unrest and disorder was clearly evident in the letter from the Queen to the Lord Mayor of London in 1572, which indicated

The Queen, intending a Progress, strictly enjoined the Lord Mayor to have a special Regard to the good government and Peace of the City during her absence; and, for the further accomplishing of which, gave him, as Assistants, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop of London, &c. and upon that Occasion wrote him the following letter...during this Time of our Progress and Absence in remote Parts from thence; and especially that no Disorder should arise in the Suburbs, or other Places made Choice of the Most Reverend Father in God the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London [Edwin Sandys], Lord Wentworth, Sir Anthony Cook, Sir Thomas Wroth...Dr. Wylson...shall join with you, to devise by all good Means, from Time to Time, as Occasions may give Cause, for quiet Order to be continued in our said City.⁹²⁰

⁹¹⁷ Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal*, 96.

⁹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 148.

⁹¹⁹ Peter McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 61.

⁹²⁰ This paragraph is the copy text from William Maitland's *The History and Survey of London from its Foundation to the Present Time*, 3rd edn. (1760), 1:261-262. Nichols reproduced it in his collection of Elizabeth's progresses. The paragraph is annotated and edited by Jayne

Not only was the Queen appointing individuals in both political and religious capacities to be in charge, but she also indicated that daily routines would continue as normal. This included the conduction of religious services for the court by the Chapel Royal, which was indicated by the references to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker, and the Bishop of London, Edwin Sandys. Furthermore, the unrest occurring in London in 1572 was due to hunger caused by lack of adequate food and the discontent of the poor.⁹²¹ With parish churches being responsible for poor relief, and the Chapel Royal contributing to the poor with “daylie almes”, the direct link between the Chapel Royal and its aid in the social crisis in London is not far fetched.⁹²² In fact, the individuals that Elizabeth left in charge of London while she was on progress in 1572 were not only important administrators of local enforcement but also influential courtiers.

Hindle suggests that Tudor government, particularly Elizabethan government, maintained order and strived “to mould local society by providing it with an instrument of authority that served local social needs...[this] was arguably crucial to the keeping of the public peace at every social level.”⁹²³ The local instruments of authority in London during this specific time were those that the Queen named in the letter. This refers to both institutions and individuals, including the Chapel Royal, the Tower of London and the London administration. The individuals Elizabeth had placed in charge were loyal to the crown and a few had local positions. This was important because as a representative and extension of the sovereign’s political body, they were counted on to act in the best interests of the crown. Lord Wentworth, Sir Anthony Cook, and Sir Thomas Wroth were all courtiers who performed services for, and were loyal to, Elizabeth, though they did not hold official positions. Sir Owyen [Owen] Hopton, Sir Thomas Gresham, and Thomas Wilbraham all held local positions. Hopton was Lieutenant of the Tower of London. Gresham was a close friend of William Cecil and heavily involved in the administration and development of civic projects in London. Wilbraham was the Recorder of London, who was responsible for maintaining town records and were legal administrators. However, recorders in the Tudor period “enjoyed considerable social status...[in] politics.”⁹²⁴ Yet, none of these individuals had high-ranking

Elisabeth Archer in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:6-7. However, neither the editors of the new collection or myself have located the original letter.

⁹²¹ The editors notate the discontent and issue of hunger in the Nichols’s collection. See footnote 29 in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:6. Additionally, Steve Hindle discusses the issue in London in his chapter on “Poverty and the Poor Laws.” Hindle asserts that the 1572 crisis saw a change in the characterization of the poor moving from just those that were disabled and sickly, to the “labouring poor” and the elites involvement in providing relief. Steve Hindle, “Poverty and the Poor Laws”, *The Elizabethan World*, eds. Susan Doran and Thomas Freeman, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), 311.

⁹²² TNA, AO 3/127 & 128.

⁹²³ Steve Hindle, *The State and Social Change, 1550-1640*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 115.

⁹²⁴ James Lee, “Urban Recorders and the Crown,” *The Fifteenth Century, III: Authority and Subversion*, ed. Linda Clark (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), 164-166.

positions within government or within the Queen's household and therefore could not wield significant power. In 1572, the positions of the Vice-Chamberlain and Lord Steward, who were next in the chain of command after the Lord Chamberlain, were vacant.⁹²⁵ Consequently, since the Lord Chamberlain, along with most of the Privy Councillors, was with the Queen on progress, ensuring that her household and accommodations were functioning, the responsibility of managing the royal household (including the Chapel Royal) and serving as representative for the Queen, fell to the highest ranking individual appointed by Elizabeth in the letter: the Archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker. This situation is a prime example of the way in which political culture was forged and cultivated in sixteenth-century England. Though Parker was not the dean of the Chapel Royal, he played a significant role, through his advice and suggestions, in the way the Chapel Royal was constructed for the Queen and how it functioned, particularly how spaces within the homes of London courtiers, as well as those on progress, "imitated" the Chapel Royal.⁹²⁶ Additionally, he was an outspoken opponent of the ornamentation of the Queen's chapel.⁹²⁷ Therefore, the running of the Chapel Royal in London was the responsibility of Parker during the Queen's progress in 1572. The continued use of and services within the Chapel Royal served as a model for order, peace and religious harmony. In fact, with splitting the Chapel Royal staff, the peace and stability of the kingdom was able to reach further as those that remained in London served to represent the virtual presence of the monarch. We know that part of the Chapel Royal remained in London because of the continued administration that occurred while the Queen was away on progress.⁹²⁸

The complex nature of rulership was reinforced by the concept of the sovereign's two bodies. This notion of the sovereign's two bodies was based on an anonymous medieval author's writings that identified a "persona mixta."⁹²⁹ This author indicated that the "mixed person" had various abilities, powers and myths vested within them. The medieval context of this concept was tied closely with Church authority and used regal conventions that endowed bishops with religious and secular powers.⁹³⁰ However, in the sixteenth century this concept was modified and utilised by Elizabethan legal scholars to argue a case concerning lands that belonged to the Duchy of Lancaster but which had been given away by Edward VI. The basic premise of the sovereign's two bodies was that the monarch "has in him two bodies...a body natural and a body politic", or more clearly "a body natural that lives and dies, and a symbolic

⁹²⁵ Finney and Lawson, *Titled Elizabethans*, 13-14.

⁹²⁶ McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 23.

⁹²⁷ David J. Crankshaw and Alexandra Gilliespie, 'Parker, Matthew (1504-1575)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁹²⁸ For instance, the replacement of a sub dean occurred on 17 August 1567, when "Mr. Norrice was sworne subdeane." *Old Chequebook*, 2. The Queen was on progress at Guildford. Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 196. In August 1591, Richard Plumley was "Sworne" while the Queen was on her progress to Sussex and Hampshire. *Old Chequebook*, 3-4; Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 196.

⁹²⁹ Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 43.

⁹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 44.

body that endures and is assumed by the ruler's successor."⁹³¹ Furthermore, as Kantorowicz has analyzed, the concept of the sovereign's two bodies is not clear cut and straightforward. The discussion of the two bodies concept proposes "to outline the historical problem" and allows for historians to approach the concept with their own questions and perspectives.⁹³² Scholars of Elizabethan studies have built upon this concept by examining representations of the monarch's two bodies, thus emphasizing the importance that this concept had in the establishment of Elizabeth's legitimacy as ruler and cultivation of her queenship.⁹³³ This study, and particularly this chapter, is no exception in contributing to the understanding of the sovereign's two bodies. The Chapel Royal, both the portable and fixed components, existed to display the Queen's two bodies, enabling her to project her royal supremacy. This also allows us to understand how the two bodies encapsulated the use of progresses to "homogenize the multiplicity of rule...into the image of a solitary, united sovereign will." Additionally, the sovereign's two-bodies concept helps to ensure that "individual agency" was reinforced.⁹³⁴ Overall, this furthers our understanding of culture, religion and politics in the Elizabethan era.

The body politic refers to the role and position of monarch, which was both physical and mystical and included aspects of government, policy, power, authority, court and the overall royal institution. The body natural referred to the physical body or mortal body and its natural processes and limitations, such as age, infirmities, and gender. However, both were "one unit."⁹³⁵ Edmund Plowden, an English scholar and lawyer, who recorded the verdict of the 1561 case, concluded

The King has in him two Bodies, viz., a Body natural, and a Body politic. His Body natural (if it be considered in itself) is a Body mortal, subject to all infirmities that come by Nature or Accident, to the Imbecility of Infancy or old Age, and to the like Defects that happen to the natural Bodies of other People. But his Body politic is a Body that cannot be seen or handled, consisting of Policy and Government, and constituted for the Direction of the People, and the Management of the public weal, and this Body is utterly void of Infancy, and old Age, and other natural Defects and Imbecilities, which the Body

⁹³¹ Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, ix & 7.

⁹³² *Ibid.*, 6.

⁹³³ Levin explores the way in which representations of Elizabeth, constructed by those around her or through her own means, further enhanced the concept of the sovereign's two bodies. Carole Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994). Susan Doran uses the debates about Elizabeth's dual body to explore the politics of marriage. Susan Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony: The Courtships of Elizabeth I* (London: Routledge, 1996), 8-12. Marie Axton examines the ways in which Elizabethan drama emphasised the Queen's two bodies. Marie Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977). Finally, Helen Hackett analyzes the iconography of Elizabeth I to address the ways in which the Queen's two bodies were both male and female and how her 'virgin' status was emphasised. Helen Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen* (Basingstoke: The Mcmillan Press, 1995), 40.

⁹³⁴ Patricia Clare Ingham, *Sovereign Fantasies: Arthurian Romance and the Making of Britain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 4.

⁹³⁵ Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 9.

natural is subject to, and for this Cause, what the King does in his Body politic cannot be invalidated or frustrated by any Disability in his natural Body.⁹³⁶

The key here was that while the “Body politic” incorporated the “Body natural”, the body politic was supreme and superseded the body natural because it was “immortal”.⁹³⁷ Based on the arguments of Plowden, the body politic contained “the office [royal monarchy], Government, and Majesty royal [royal structures]” and formed “one unit” within the sovereign by having acceded to the throne. Yet, it was not until the sovereign was anointed that they were the “divine prototype...to display great similarity [with Christ], as they were supposed to reflect each other.”⁹³⁸ Therefore, upon being consecrated the sovereign was “God by grace” and the “mediator’ between heaven and earth.”⁹³⁹ The Church performed the ritual of anointing. This suggests the Church had a mystical superiority over the sovereign.

Prior to Henry’s break with Rome in 1533 and the passing of the Act of Supremacy in 1534, the spiritual body of the monarch was considered a representative element of the body politic but only to a certain degree. Essentially the king was God’s representative on earth, not its authority as “The prince who [was] head of the mystical body of the State was compared with Christ, the head of the mystical body of the Church.”⁹⁴⁰ The Church was the mystical body of Christ and therefore the authority that guided the sovereign and their realm.⁹⁴¹ However, after the break with Rome, Henry assumed the title of “Head of the Church of England.”⁹⁴² This meant that the mystical body of the state and the mystical body of the Church were joined together within one individual: the king. Thus, Henry was transformed into both “*corpus ecclesiae mysticum*” and “*corpus reipublicae mysticum*”, the Church and the State.⁹⁴³ Therefore, the Chapel Royal was a part of the physical representation of the sovereign’s mystical body of the religious establishment and their political body. When we take our understanding of the Chapel Royal as it existed in 1526 according to the Eltham Ordinances, it is clear how and why the Chapel Royal, with both its fixed component and portable component, displayed and projected the sovereign’s sanctity to their subjects. The components of the Chapel Royal that remained in London, while the Queen was on progress, and the physical structures provided the space to ensure religious services continued to assist with the preservation and maintenance of their courtier’s faith and soul. The portable components of the Chapel Royal served as a moving display of the sovereign’s body politic,

⁹³⁶ *The Commentaries or Reports of Edmund Plowden: An Apprentice of Common Law, containing Divers Cases upon Matters of Law, argued adjudged in the severall Reignes of King Edward VI. Queen Mary, King and Queen Philip and Mary, and Queen Elizabeth* (Printed by Catharine Lintot, and Samuel Richardson, Law Printers, 1761), 212.

⁹³⁷ Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies*, 15.

⁹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 88.

⁹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 216.

⁹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 208.

⁹⁴² TNA, C 65/143, m. 5, nos. 8 & 9.

⁹⁴³ Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies*, 207-212.

religious prerogative and royal supremacy. Essentially, the royal progress was the mobile display of the sovereign's body politic to emphasise their magnificence, power and authority. The organization, function, hierarchy, and rituals of the progresses were a symbolised ideal for the public (civic establishments and personal hosts) to strive towards in their own domains.

The Church of England, including the Chapel Royal, was part of the Queen's body politic and a visible element of her queenship. She was also its mystical head. Elizabeth was endowed with the body because, as Justice Southcote argued in the case of the lands belonging to the Duchy of Lancaster, the concept of the sovereign's two bodies affirmed that upon death the "Body politic [was] transferred and conveyed over...to another body natural."⁹⁴⁴ Therefore, the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England transferred to Elizabeth. However, religious leaders, including Edmund Sandys, Matthew Parker and Thomas Lever, opposed Elizabeth assuming the title of "Head", and subsequently she took the title of "Governor." It is interesting to note that despite taking the title of "Governor", according to Levin, Elizabeth exceeded the title by refusing to relinquish her powers and acted as the head of the Church of England.⁹⁴⁵ This suggests that the title of "Governor" was just a formality.

Unlike Mary, Elizabeth did not share power with specific individuals or institutions. Instead, she maintained the rulership, like her father, serving as both the head of the realm and governor of the Church of England with the counsel of her councillors and ecclesiastical ministers. In the end, Elizabeth's dual bodies allowed her body politic to rule supreme while her body natural merely served as host. Elizabeth became more Christ-like in her role as sovereign than her predecessors had. Therefore, I would argue that she embodied the central concepts of the "Royal Christology" when she maintained the image and ideal of the "Virgin Queen" that was cultivated by her contemporaries, which was expressed through her words that "a marble stone shall declare that a queen, having reigned such a time, lived and died a virgin".⁹⁴⁶ This statement exemplified the two bodies concept and the religious role in her rulership. Elizabeth's christology was also cultivated through her use of the Chapel Royal staff and by articulating her thoughts on the doctrine and development of the Church of England on progress.

⁹⁴⁴ Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 234.

⁹⁴⁵ Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*, 14.

⁹⁴⁶ This debate over the sovereign's two bodies and the authority of religion in sixteenth-century England contributed to what Kantorowicz has identified as a "Royal Christology". Royal Christology centered on the notion of the "dual capacities of the Christ-like king": the personality of god and the office of king. This "twined nature" elevated the sovereign. This idea served as the basis for the concept of the sovereign's two bodies that was developed in the sixteenth century and helped Elizabethan jurists to establish the case of Queen Elizabeth's rulership. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 52-56. Elizabeth I, *Collected Works*, 57-58.

One element of the Royal Christology that was explained and discussed by Kantorowicz was the “Athasian Symbol” or “Athasian Creed”, which included the description

Latin:

...non duo tamen, sed unus...Unus autem non conversione divinitatis in carnem, sed assumptione humanitatis in Deum...Unus omnino, non confusione substantiae, sed unitate personae.

English:

...He is not two, but one, not by conversion of the Godhead into...the flesh, but by taking of the Manhood into God...One altogether, not by confusion of Substance, but by unity of person.⁹⁴⁷

This essentially referred to the sovereign being devoted to God and functioning as an extension of God or God’s representative on earth. This explicitly stated that the sovereign was not God in the “flesh” or “substance”. This was important for two reasons. First, the creed emphasised the sovereign’s close connection with God and their godlike qualities, which elevated their supremacy over earthly authority. This was crucial to the royal supremacy. Second, the creed strengthened the arguments that Elizabethan jurists made that addressed the question of religion in the interplay of the body politic and the body natural. Surprisingly and importantly, the Athasian Creed was “popular among the English laity, since at Cranmer’s suggestion it was incorporated into the Book of Common Prayer”.⁹⁴⁸ Therefore, the *Book of Common Prayer* reinforced not only the dual nature of Christ but also the dual nature of the monarch. This is evident in the 1559 *Book of Common Prayer* with a collect to be said during communion that asked the Lord to “rule the hart of thy chosen servant Elizabeth our Quene and governoure”. This references the Queen’s body politic along with expressing that “we her subjects (duly considering whose aucthority [sic] she hath) may faithfully serve, honour, and humblye obey her.” This is interesting for two reasons. First, the congregation during communion which traditionally had been associated with the body of Christ, was guided towards articulating the Queen was governor and God’s “chosen” and that they were to “obey” her. Second, the rest of the collect seems to be a reminder to Elizabeth that her role was to “preserve thy people committed to her charge.”⁹⁴⁹ This was similar to the dual body of the Queen that was also featured on progresses, like the Coventry visit in 1566 in which the oration provided by John Thogmorton proclaimed that “the naturall bodie cannot longe contynewe in safetie, excepte the heade as principall parte...Wee all as members of one bodie wherof yow are the headde, and so as good subjects to youre highness, and as good Christians to our Quene do wishe for your Maiestie...”⁹⁵⁰ The articulation of this distinction of the Queen and her subjects echoes the Athasian Creed, which highlights how it was used on progresses.

⁹⁴⁷ Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies*, 17.

⁹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁹⁴⁹ Cumming, *Book of Common Prayer*, 126.

⁹⁵⁰ “The oration of Master John Thogmorton, Recorder of Coventry at Coventry”, copy-text, ed. Gabriel Heaton in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:456. The original manuscript source for this belongs to the Viscount De L’Isle.

In 1558, John Knox proclaimed, “both by God’s law and the interpretation of the Holy Ghost, women were utterly forbidden to occupy the place of God.”⁹⁵¹ This of course was in direct contrast with the notion of the sovereign’s two bodies that was later argued. Despite the opposition to female rule, the concept of the sovereign’s two bodies that emerged during Elizabeth’s reign cultivated a unique aspect of Elizabeth’s queenship, which included the element of a “sacred monarch”. Levin has argued that this development of a “sacred monarch” was due to a “change in the conception of monarchy and the practices that went into that change” in the sixteenth century.⁹⁵² Royal progresses and the use of the Chapel Royal was an important part of those practices that enabled the changes and provided moving display of the Queen’s magnificence, religious inclinations and royal supremacy. Furthermore, having a fixed component and a portable component of the Chapel Royal allowed for the Queen’s body politic and royal supremacy to be widely visible. This strengthened Elizabeth’s queenship, provided stability and reinforced her power and authority.

The concept of *via media* was considered the middle way approach by Elizabeth and her councillors to establish religious stability and appease both Catholic’s and Protestants. Richard Rex argues that Tudor *via media* rested on the denial or affirmation of Christ within the sacraments.⁹⁵³ Collinson asserted that Elizabethan *via media* transformed from a means of “healing confessional divisions” in the early 1560s, to being “abandoned in an atmosphere of religious partisanship and of ideological commitment.”⁹⁵⁴ Doran and MacCulloch argued against the belief that Elizabethan *via media* was a hybrid between Rome’s iconography and Geneva’s reforms because she was not based on Church principles. They contend that *via media* was built on “political considerations” and shaped by the nobility.⁹⁵⁵ However, it is proposed that Elizabethan *via media* should be considered the approach that Elizabeth maintained to reflect her own religious leanings. Therefore, the concept of *via media* utilised here incorporates Doran and MacCulloch’s arguments that political influences contributed to the development of Elizabeth’s *via media*, along with Rex’s assertion that the affirmation of Christ within the sacraments was against Protestant belief, but included the Catholic celebrations of Christ. Arguably, *via media* remained Elizabeth’s approach throughout her reign, which was ultimately abandoned by the political elite, as Collinson pointed out. This is confirmed by Mears’s point that many of Elizabeth’s courtiers were not on board with *via media* in the last decades of her reign.⁹⁵⁶ Therefore, this suggests that the middle way

⁹⁵¹ John Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, (London, 1558).

⁹⁵² Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*, 12.

⁹⁵³ Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 172-173.

⁹⁵⁴ Patrick Collinson, “Sir Nicholas Bacon and the Elizabethan Via Media”, 272.

⁹⁵⁵ Doran, *Elizabeth I and Religion*, 21. McCulloch, *All Things Made New*, 276.

⁹⁵⁶ Natalie Mears, “*Regnum Cecilianum?* A perspective of the Court”, in *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade*, ed. John Guy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 53.

approach was most likely Elizabeth's aim, which is highlighted when we explore how the chapel royal was used.

Elizabeth signaled her religious intention in the one place where she had control and authority – the Chapel Royal – through her appointment of the Dean. As Roger Bowers argues, services in the Chapel Royal served as an important “litmus test for the nature of religious devotion which seemed most good to the sovereign to advertise.”⁹⁵⁷ In fact, within a week of becoming queen, Elizabeth removed Thomas Thirlby from the Chapel Royal. Thirlby was not only the Dean of the Chapel Royal under Mary I but also the Bishop of Westminster and Ely. He even served as a Privy Councillor for Mary. Significantly, he voted against the Act of Supremacy and Act of Uniformity and refused to take the Oath of Supremacy.⁹⁵⁸

Bowers asserts that the replacement of Thirlby with Carew ensured “that Elizabeth had a servant who could be relied on to do precisely as he was told in conformity of her wishes.”⁹⁵⁹ This argument can be taken further: the act of appointing the Dean of her Chapel Royal because of his loyalty and religious preferences signaled Elizabeth's agency. This was important because the Chapel Royal served as the vessel of her religious beliefs and devotion, thus maintaining her religious persona, while exercising her authority over the Chapel Royal and reinforcing her royal supremacy. This also clearly represents the dual body of the Queen. She was anointed by God to serve in the capacity as sovereign, and therefore the contemporary literature made clear distinctions between the two. Even Elizabeth made this distinction, when she declared that: “I know I have [th]e body butt of a weake and feble woman, butt I have [th]e harte and stomack of a kinge.”⁹⁶⁰ Although she did not make decisions regarding the regulation and ecclesiastical rules of the Church, but rather governed them, it is important to note that this did not remove her as an agent of influence and change when it came to ecclesiastical matters. Elizabeth “refused to follow dictates for behavior that would have effectively made her a puppet of the reformers”, thereby asserting her agency, particularly in the practices of religion.⁹⁶¹ Elizabeth was steadfast in her role as sovereign of England, which was clear during her accession council when she stated that her councillors “assistant to me...w[i]th yo[ur] service”. It was also clear in the royal supremacy when she declared that she was and “oughte to bee, by the worde of God, the only Supreame governor of this Realme and all other...dominions.”⁹⁶²

Examining both contemporary and modern debates over Elizabeth's body furthers this concept of the dual body of the monarch. Elizabeth, as a woman, could not serve as the head of state according to the concepts, notions and role of women expressed in literature

⁹⁵⁷ Bowers, “The Chapel Royal”, 322.

⁹⁵⁸ C.S. Knighton, ‘Thomas Thirlby’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁹⁵⁹ Bowers, “The Chapel Royal”, 322.

⁹⁶⁰ BL, Harley MS 6798, f. 87.

⁹⁶¹ Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*, 13.

⁹⁶² TNA, SP 12/1, fo. 7; Chapel Royal at St. James Palace, folio 16, “The Othe for the Gentlemen of the Chappell”.

during the sixteenth century. However, contemporaries such as John Aylmer, William Cecil and others have argued that the Queen could rule because she was ordained and selected by God; therefore making her female body or natural body function as a vessel to fulfill her royal and divine responsibilities. Levin argues that “the nature of kingship emerges in the sixteenth century as an office so awe inspiring and powerful that it could even encompass a female rule, thus making it possible for her to perform religious acts—priestly acts”.⁹⁶³ One of the most significant of these was the Maundy service. This was important because the ritual and ceremony employed the services of the almoner and utilised the musicians and choristers of the Chapel Royal. Ultimately, the Chapel Royal was the stage of her sacred monarchy.

The Maundy services were the rite and rituals of the washing of the feet of the poor. Over time, the ceremony of the Maundy Thursday service came to be joined together with the medieval ceremony of the Royal Touch or “Touching for the King’s Evil.” This ceremony began in England in the thirteenth century, and as Stephen Brogan has argued, it was a “key aspect of sacral monarchy.”⁹⁶⁴ During the coronation ceremony, the anointing “consecrated the sovereign: it made them holy.” Therefore, it illuminated the distinction that the sovereign’s two bodies consisted of a “mystical body” or “the immortal part”, which was included in the body politic.⁹⁶⁵ The ceremony of the royal touch affirmed the “God-given authority” of the sovereign. The continuity with which the Tudors touched the sick meant that the “ceremony became an established part of English ritual.”⁹⁶⁶ The ceremony developed throughout the medieval and early modern periods to include the provision of meals and gifts, including clothing, food and money.⁹⁶⁷

With the Tudors, the Maundy services were further removed from their medieval origins and became known as the Royal Maundy.⁹⁶⁸ Significantly, Elizabeth performed the Royal Maundy on progresses.⁹⁶⁹ However, the ceremonies were reformed during Elizabeth’s reign. The rituals no longer included the “references to saints and the Virgin Mary” and the Queen washed the feet of the poor “annual on Maundy Thursday, by contrast no special day was set aside for the royal touch because she practiced this regularly”, which would suggest that the Maundy Thursday became the important annual ritual.⁹⁷⁰ At Kenilworth in 1575, the Queen “by her accustomed mercy and charitee” proceeded to perform the Royal Maundy on nine individuals and thus they were “cured of the peynfull and daungerous diseaz, called the kings euell, for the Kings and Queenz of this Ream, without oother medsin (saue only

⁹⁶³ Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*, 12.

⁹⁶⁴ Stephen Brogan, *The Royal Touch in Early Modern England: Politics, Medicine and Sin* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), 23.

⁹⁶⁵ Brogan, *The Royal Touch*, 24.

⁹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 25 & 57.

⁹⁶⁷ Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*, 22-23.

⁹⁶⁸ Robinson, *Royal Maundy*, 25-26.

⁹⁶⁹ Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*, 31.

⁹⁷⁰ Brogan, *The Royal Touch*, 64-65.

handling and prayerz) only doo cure it.”⁹⁷¹ This clearly demonstrates that on this particular occasion the two forms of royal, sacral ceremonies were performed together. Given that the royal touch was not designated as a special ritual and the Maundy Thursday was, this indicates that the two were performed together throughout Elizabeth’s reign. The fact that each ceremony and ritual (royal touch and Maundy service) was performed together does not invalidate their individual significance, but rather indicates each was bound up in the Queen’s royal authority, royal supremacy and queenship. Furthermore, the ceremony occurred wherever the Queen happened to be, whether within her Chapel Royal at the London palaces or within the cathedrals on progress. Another point to note is that one of the key individuals that assisted the Queen with these royal ceremonies was William Tooker, who was Elizabeth’s chaplain in her Chapel Royal and wrote a treatise on *The Royal Gift of Healing* in 1597. He fervently declared that the Queen had touched many people and with great accomplishment.⁹⁷² Additionally, the presence of the Queen’s almoner, listed as “Lord Almoner”, reinforced the important parts of the Chapel Royal that went on progress.

The Queen’s Almoner “was usually a Bishop, who preached at court, distributed alms for the poor and was responsible for the annual distribution of the Maundy Thursday money to the poor.”⁹⁷³ This further adds to the use of the Chapel Royal on progress and adds to the royal magnificence that Chapel Royal signified among the Queen’s subjects. In 1566, the Lord Almoner was Edmund Guest, who was also the Bishop of Rochester and was listed as being present on progress with the Queen in Coventry. Guest was described in the accounts when “On Sondie, the morning...her grace kepte her chamber and came not abrode but the nobylitie came to St. Michaels church to service where the Bishop of Rochester preached...”⁹⁷⁴ The fact that the Queen did not attend the service suggested the possibility that the Chapel Royal, or at least part of it, still functioned whether the Queen was present or not. Even more telling was that throughout the visit to Coventry, the pageants, orations and entertainments continually touched on how poor the city was. Given the Lord Almoner’s presence in Coventry, and the fact that alms were given out to the poor on progress, the Chapel Royal was fulfilling its role in distributing alms to the poor in Coventry.⁹⁷⁵ The notation of payments made each year to the almoners in the Chamber accounts and the frequent use of the distributing alms and the

⁹⁷¹ From Laneham’s “Letter”, edited by Elizabeth Goldring in Nichols, *The Progresses and Procession*, 2:263.

⁹⁷² Brogan, *The Royal Touch*, 59.

⁹⁷³ Kinney and Lawson, *Titled Elizabethans*, 89.

⁹⁷⁴ From the copy text of the De L’Isle manuscript that recorded the Queen’s visit. The manuscript is located in the private hands of Viscount De L’Isle, De L’Isle MSS, CKS, U1475, L2/1. It is edited by Grabiell Heaton and reproduced in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:464.

⁹⁷⁵ Also from the De L’Isle MSS reproduced in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:458-462.

royal Maundy both in London and on progress signified the almoner's importance in the ceremony.⁹⁷⁶ This further emphasises how the Chapel Royal's staff were split.

An important factor in exploring when and why the Chapel Royal was on progress is in relation to the conduction of everyday, normal services and holy days that were observed throughout Elizabethan society. Religious observance was central to early modern life; as Brian Cummings has argued, prayer was believed to affect "the state of the soul in this life and the next; but it also impinged on whether the crops would survive the winter, whether the plague would come next year, if it was safe to hold a meeting of town elders next week or go on a journey tomorrow."⁹⁷⁷ This is evidenced by the contentious interpretation of Church doctrine and the use of the *Book of Common Prayer* during the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth I, which was a "symptom of the Reformation and a major catalyst for further change."⁹⁷⁸ Thomas Cranmer's work was to make worship, devotion and the observance of Church services accessible to everyone: accessible in language and accessible in the development of a personal relationship with God.

During the reign of Henry VIII, Cranmer published a series of English prayers to be recited on processions, and possibly progresses, throughout the country.⁹⁷⁹ This was the first step in establishing a structure of one particular service that would consist of "plentiful prayers for the royal person and dire warnings against dissent or rebellion."⁹⁸⁰ This is critical because this production of one particular piece was intended to be used on progress, in public, as a form of display for both the monarch and the populace: a display of how services were to be conducted.

The 1559 *Book of Common Prayer* also provided a structure for everyday services and important holy days, including those that took place during the months that Elizabeth was on progress (most often June, July and August).⁹⁸¹ These services were conducted with precision within the Chapel Royal and in the Queen's presence, as evidenced by the numerous entries of religious services being performed on progress. The form, structure and performance of service were important in sixteenth-century England because they provided individuals with stability and continuity. By briefly identifying, in this section, the basic forms of services and worship practices within the Church of England, it will help to establish the language and flow of worship. This is important in being able to examine the source material, particularly those relating to Elizabeth's progresses, and to provide a guide from which to pinpoint how the services were conducted on progresses.

Everyday services included Morning and Evening Prayer, which included a reading of a scripture which the "Minister shall reader with a lowde voice." The reading of a specific

⁹⁷⁶ TNA, AO 3/128.

⁹⁷⁷ Cummings, *Book of Common Prayer*, xxiii-xxiv.

⁹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, xvii.

⁹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, xvii.

⁹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, xxiii.

⁹⁸¹ Cummings, *Book of Common Prayer*, xxxiv.

scripture was limited to that which was listed in the *Book of Common Prayer*, as noted by the notation that scripture was to be read using “some one of these sentence of the Scriptures that folowe.” The scripture reading was followed by a “generall confession” and then an “absolution”. This was followed by a people’s response that flowed into the Lord’s Prayer. Following this, a Psalm “shalbe sayde or song.” The next part of the service included “certeyn Psalmes in order, as they bene appointed in a table made for that pourpose, excepte there be proper Psalme appointed for that day.” Two lessons concluded the psalm, and they were explicitly stated to have “the first of the olde Testament, the seconde of the new, lyke as they be appointed by the Kalendar, except there be proper Lessons, assigned for that daye.” The *Te Deum* followed the first lesson. The second lesson was concluded with ‘Benedictus’, which was to be said “in Englyshe”. The entire service continued with a prayer where all participants were described to be “al devoutlye knelyng.” The “Crede”, and the “Lordes Praier” which followed required a dialogue and interaction between the minister and the people. Finally, “three Collectes/ The firste of the daye, whiche shall be the same that is appointed at the Communion. The seconde for peace. The thirde for grace to live wel. And the two laste Collectes shal never alter, but dayly be sayde at Mornyng praier, throughout the yere.”⁹⁸² The evening service began with the Lord’s Prayer, the reading of psalms “as they be appointed in the Table for Psalmes” followed by the Magnificant “in Englishe” and Nunc dimittis “in Englyshe.” This was then followed up with the “Crede” and “thre Collectes.”

The dates when Elizabeth was on progress, displayed in the table (Appendix 8), illustrated a common pattern: Elizabeth’s progresses coincided with holy days and worship services that were commonly observed. Therefore, Elizabeth and her court would have observed these special days and daily services, despite being on progress. This further illustrates that progresses were an extension of the royal establishment and basic daily routines were expected to continue. The table combines the holy days listed in the *Book of Common Prayer* with the dates of Elizabeth’s progresses as detailed in Cole’s logistical work on Elizabethan progresses and the accounts of the Queen’s progresses in the Nichols collection. The table also includes civic visits, not a particular holy day, because Elizabeth was given a special service at the cathedrals and by the bishops within these locations. These visits and holy days did not have special performances or services, but rather they conformed to the daily services that were proscribed in the *Book of Common Prayer*. However, these services usually included a special “collecte”, “epystle” and “gospel.”⁹⁸³ For instance take the holy day of St Barnabas. The “collecte” specifically stated:

Lord almightie, whiche hast endured thy holye Apostle Barnabas, with singular giftes of they holy Gost: let vs not bee destitute of thy manyfolde

⁹⁸² The entire service of the Morning Prayer described above came from Cummings, *Book of Common Prayer*, 102-111.

⁹⁸³ Church of England, *The Book of Common Prayer* (1559).

giftes, nor yet of grace, to vse them always to thy holnoure and glorye:
Through Jesus Chryste oure Lorde.⁹⁸⁴

This specific collect was to honour the apostle Barnabas, who was, according to the *Book of Common Prayer's* "epystle", "a good man and ful of the holye Ghost and of faith, and much people was added vnto the Lorde", and who, interestingly, "taught much people: in so much that the disciples of Antioch were the fyrste that were called Chrysten."⁹⁸⁵ These holy days, while also celebrated in Catholic mass, were more to celebrate and honour influential people of the Christian faith as examples of good, Christian people rather than having special holy, spiritual significance. The gospel of the holy day service referred to the entry in the Bible that spoke of the honoured apostle.

For the St Barnabas service, the holy day was observed by having "the Apostle's Mass ceased, and no Mass was said any more... And on that day Dr. Sandys peached... and many of the court present. And that Afternoon was none of the old Even Song there, and so abolished."⁹⁸⁶ This distinction clearly denotes the transition from the Catholic orthodoxy that was conducted during the reign of Mary I to the Protestantism and form of worship detailed in the *Book of Common Prayer*.

With our understanding of the progresses on these dates, and coinciding with religious holy days, as well as the importance of everyday services for the laity, these progresses and special visits can be analysed to index the use of the Chapel Royal, the forms and formats which these days were celebrated or the services that were planned for the Queen. The holy days and the occasions where Elizabeth made civic visits, and involved local cathedrals playing host to the Queen and her court, the chapel staff and finances were supplemented to make sure the Chapel Royal could function at full capacity. This staff included the gentlemen choristers and Children of the Chapel Royal.⁹⁸⁷ Additionally, yeomen of the Chapel Royal were used to ensure that these spaces were adequate for the Queen's service.⁹⁸⁸ In fact, as Cole asserts, "the Queen became both guest and host.... the fine buildings and the resources to erect them often had come into the host's control by royal grant... the Queen had given hosts the same fortunes that were paying for her visit."⁹⁸⁹ The Chapel Royal

⁹⁸⁴ Cummings, *Book of Common Prayer*, 132.

⁹⁸⁵ Church of England, *Book of Common Prayer* (1559).

⁹⁸⁶ Quote is from Strype's *Annals of the Reformation*, which used Machyn's chronicles as the main source. It is edited by Jayne Elisabeth Archer and reproduced in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:155-156.

⁹⁸⁷ The uses of the gentlemen choristers and Children of the Chapel Royal is noted in Matthew Parker's account in *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ*, edited by David J. Crankshaw in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:75. They are also noted in Laneham's "Letter", edited by Elizabeth Goldring, in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:244.

⁹⁸⁸ The previous example of the yeoman Burchall who replaced another yeomen after his death illustrates how the Chapel Royal staff were used and replaced on progresses. *Old Cheque Book*, 131.

⁹⁸⁹ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 65.

would not have been exempt in this case; therefore, when the Queen visited her hosts, their chapel would have served as the chapel royal.

Personal chapels existed in many of the great manor houses in Tudor England. In fact, during the reign of Henry VIII, houses were being built at an incredible rate. Many of them had chapels built, which Annabel Ricketts argues served two functions: “to cater for the spiritual needs of the household and to emphasize the secular state of the patron.”⁹⁹⁰ Girouard contends that “large houses still had a chapel and chaplain: but smaller did without and their master conducted daily or twice-daily prayers for the household in the hall or great chamber.”⁹⁹¹ To have a personal chapel required numerous conditions to be met, from obtaining a license to appointing a chaplain to the supervision of the chapel’s decoration. The license to build a chapel required the approval of the Bishop of the diocese in which the estate was situated.⁹⁹² This was important because hosts’ religious space (ie. the chapel or great hall) served as the structure for the Chapel Royal during the Queen’s visit.

During Elizabeth’s reign, many of the great Elizabethan houses had chapels, especially houses like Theobalds, where the chapel was built separately from the main house or hall.⁹⁹³ In fact, Ricketts asserts “personal chapels were either included within the fabric of the house or took the form of a detached building close to the house.” Ricketts’ study of Protestant country house chapels demonstrates that during the Elizabethan period there were not a lot of chapels being built, and the ones that were built functioned more as the “Great Chamber” and were absent of ornamentation or decoration. Furthermore, these “Great Chambers” were designed more for assembling and large groups than for individual, private worship.⁹⁹⁴ However, many of the estates that had been converted from monasteries in the 1530-1540s maintained their chapels. Places like Woburn (Woburn Abbey), Warwick Priory, Berden Priory and Oseburn Priory were all ecclesiastical buildings that were converted to private houses after the Dissolution. Elizabeth made visits to each of these places on progress. The houses that were known to have chapels and that hosted the queen were: Eltham (8), Ingatestone (2), Theobalds (13), Kenilworth (3), Copt Hall (2), Vine in Sherborne (2), Thorpe (3), Burghley House (3), Wimbledon (4) and Euston, Kimberly, Compton Wyniaties, Hengrave, Horseheath and Longleat (where the Queen only visited once).⁹⁹⁵

⁹⁹⁰ Annabel Ricketts, “The Protestant Countryhouse Chapel, c.1500-c.1700” (PhD Thesis, Birkbeck University, 2003), 27.

⁹⁹¹ Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (London: Book Club Associates, 1978), 88.

⁹⁹² *Ibid.*, 15.

⁹⁹³ Alford, *Burghley*, 143.

⁹⁹⁴ Annabel Ophelia Clare Ricketts, “The Evolution of the Protestant Country House Chapel, c. 1500-c. 1700” (PhD Thesis, University of London, Birkbeck College, 2003), 27.

⁹⁹⁵ The figures in parenthesis are the number of times the Queen visited these locations and were compiled using a combination of sources: Cole’s chronology of visits in *The Portable Queen*, Annabel Ricketts’ study of Protestant country house chapels, and Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*.

During Elizabeth's visits to these country houses, the Queen, her hosts and the court would have had services in the parish church or gathered in the host's private chapel for services. This was evident in the account of the Queen's 1575 visit to Kenilworth. The first Sunday the Queen was at Kenilworth, a "diuine seruis and preaching" was given "at the parish church".⁹⁹⁶ Yet, the following Sunday, the Queen and court had service in the parish Church and a "woorship" in "Kenelwoorth Castl".⁹⁹⁷ However, estates were not the only places where the chapel was used for royal service. As previously mentioned, Elizabeth's civic visits often involved cathedrals. One such case where the Chapel Royal was supplemented either with staff or finances from the local cathedral was the 1578 visit to Norwich. Payments were "gevene by the Cittye of Norwiche to the officeres & servantes of the Queenes Retynewe", which included the musicians of the Chapel Royal. Additionally, the Queen was entertained and lodged at the Bishop's Palace.⁹⁹⁸ The staff of Norwich Cathedral acted as gentlemen, officers, sub-Deans, clerks and serjeants of the vestry of the Chapel Royal, and it was recorded that they made elaborate preparations. Within the cathedral "a great throne was made...[and] the canopy stiffened with buckram and covered and hung with crimson velvet, satin and silk..."⁹⁹⁹ The description of the throne and set up within the cathedral was similar to the set up of the Chapel Royal described in *Liber Regie Capelle*. This reinforces the Queen's royal authority and supremacy that was displayed through the Chapel Royal in Norwich Cathedral.

It was Anthony Wingfield, a gentleman usher of the Queen's chamber, who reviewed the preparations of the cathedral to make sure it was ready for the Queen. Wingfield's role involved checking the preparations to ensure that the chapel royal functioned. After the Queen was received in the city of Norwich and heard the pageants devised and presented, Elizabeth and her court, along with the mayor and city dignitaries, gathered in Norwich Cathedral to hear "Te Deum sung."¹⁰⁰⁰ This particular song was a daily hymn that was to be sung by everyone in the English tongue and was specifically used in Morning Prayer, as noted in the *Book of Common Prayer*. The *Te Deum* had to be sung in English, and it was noted that: "any man shalbe bound to the saying of them but sches as from tyme to tyme in Cathedrall, and Collegiate Churches, Parishe churches and Chapelles...[and] shall serve the congregation," which only reinforced how the service should have been conducted.¹⁰⁰¹ The adherence to worship services and the use of the *Te Deum* would have been critically important in Norwich. This was due to two specific reasons. First, Norwich had a large congregation of Puritans. Puritans preferred stricter practices and doctrines within the Church of England, and they rejected music that has been used in Catholic practices or that

⁹⁹⁶ From Laneham's "Letter", copy-text, ed. Elizabeth Goldring in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Procession*, 2:248.

⁹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 2:253.

⁹⁹⁸ Bodl., Rawlinson MS B, 146, f. 116.

⁹⁹⁹ H.W. Saunders, "Gloriana in 1578", 3rd annual report, Friends of Norwich Cathedral (1932), 13-14.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress*, 72.

¹⁰⁰¹ Cummings, *Book of Common Prayer*, 6-7.

were remotely similar to Catholic music. The second reason why the services performed in Norwich were important was because with Elizabeth in attendance, she could ensure conformity. Many other people in Norwich would have attended this special event, as the cathedral was a public place of worship, and they would have seen the ceremonial and royal display of the Chapel Royal and the services conducted in strict accordance with the *Book of Common Prayer* and doctrine of the Church of England.¹⁰⁰² Thus, displaying the correct form of worship and practices emphasised the Queen's royal supremacy.

The Bishop of Norwich, Edmund Freke, his priests and officials led a procession through the cathedral and conducted a service for the Queen.¹⁰⁰³ Interestingly, the dean of Norwich was George Gardiner, who was listed as one of the Queen's chaplains.¹⁰⁰⁴ Having Gardiner, who was a member of the Chapel Royal, as one of the Queen's chaplains involved in the services in Norwich helped to ensure that services were conducted accordingly. Given Freke's background, it would have been both a test and an uncomfortable task to serve as the head of the pseudo-Chapel Royal. This was one way in which Elizabeth ensured conformity.¹⁰⁰⁵ What is important to note is that every ceremony, ritual and display had significance and meaning, which would have sent a strong message to a troubled area.

This use of the chapel royal in the services at Norwich Cathedral illustrates how the Chapel Royal was supplemented on progress. This is confirmed further by the fact that payments were made to the Queen's officials and servants, including "20s to Anthony Wingfield" by the Cathedral.¹⁰⁰⁶ There is little detail about the actual music that was played during these services for the Queen on progresses, however, the music composed for the Queen's service at Norwich Cathedral has been identified as the work of Osbert Parsley.¹⁰⁰⁷ Only a little of information exists regarding Parsley's upbringing and education, or whether he had been educated as a child of the Chapel Royal. It is something to consider because of the type of music that was composed for the service. As Ian Payne has noted, the complex composition of the "sacred music to both Latin and English vernacular text" was unique, and contained an "elegant, polyphonic style" which was not common of the ordinary "singing-man."¹⁰⁰⁸ Given this attractive yet unusual style of music, it was not clear why Parsley was chosen to compose this piece and sing it for the Queen's chapel royal service in Norwich. Polyphonic music was an echo of the pre-Reformation Church and functioned as a "ceremonial adornment" to the standard plainsong style that most of the liturgical music was

¹⁰⁰² Cummings, *Book of Common Prayer*, lxvi.

¹⁰⁰³ *Records of Early English Drama: Norwich, 1540-1642*, ed. David Galloway (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 59.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Kinney and Lawson, *Titled Elizabethan*, 90.

¹⁰⁰⁵ The background and Puritan leanings of Edmund Freke and Queen Elizabeth's campaign of conformity is discussed in detail in Collinson's piece "Pulling the Strings", 127-128.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Saunders, "Gloriana in 1578", 15.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Dovey, *An Elizabethan Progress*, 72; Butler, *Music in Elizabethan Politics*, 147.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Ian Payne, 'Parsley, Osbert (1510/11-1585)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

constructed.¹⁰⁰⁹ The Queen was a patron of musical composition and had a strong fondness for music, both secular and sacred. Thus, polyphonic music was, most likely, created to please the monarch. It would have been entirely possible that during Elizabeth's private worship within her Chapel Royal the use of the polyphonic style was something that she enjoyed and could also be indicative of her "moderate approach to religion".¹⁰¹⁰ If this was the case, then it is also possible to conclude that having Parsley design this style of music was the work of Elizabeth's household administrators, particularly the Lord Chamberlain. After all, the use of the chamber staff on progress and the organization of lodgings and events on progress were the responsibility of the Lord Chamberlain.

However, despite this interesting point, the use of this pre-Reformation style of music on progress, especially in Norwich, would have received great criticism, as it was Protestant extremists (particularly Puritans who were prevalent in Norwich) who believed the music did not belong in the Church. In fact, the *Te Deum* used throughout the mid-Tudor period, and noted in the accounts of Elizabeth's progresses, was in accordance with the *Book of Common Prayer*. As John Alpin has argued, it was spoken and sung in English with a "precise Latin identity", in that it utilised many of the pre-Reformation structures of composition. Prior to 1549, it was often used at coronations and to "proclaim victory after battles", consisting largely of "celebratory associations."¹⁰¹¹ The *Te Deum* was therefore both Catholic and Protestant. Alpin argues that the traditional Catholic *Te Deum* chant was incorporated into the newly formed Protestant settings of plainsong.¹⁰¹² This not only highlights the continuity of Catholic traditions but highlights the Queen's *via media* approach. The notation of Parsley's "elegant, polyphonic style" offers clues that the music that featured in the Norwich Cathedral service was the *Te Deum*, and, furthermore, that it was the morning service. This also signaled Elizabeth's musical "vision" which, as Starkey remarks, reinforced her role as "defender of musical faith".¹⁰¹³

Music was an important aspect of Church of England services and the Chapel Royal. The music and musicians, including the choristers, were important not only to make sure that the services were conducted accordingly, but also because music was thought to "hold influence over the minds, bodies and souls of those who hear[d] it."¹⁰¹⁴ However, music was not a universally accepted tool in the Church. Emilie Murphy has noted that during the "Henrician Reformation, music was attacked by reformers; music, like the liturgy, must no

¹⁰⁰⁹ Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 393. Additionally, an examination of the forms in which the *Te Deum* was constructed is the basis for an article by John Alpin. John Alpin, "The Survival of Plainsong in Anglican Music: Some Early English *Te Deum* Settings," *Journal of American Musicological Society*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (1979).

¹⁰¹⁰ Starkey, *Music and Monarchy*, 112.

¹⁰¹¹ Alpin, "The Survival of Plainsong in Anglican Music", 251.

¹⁰¹² *Ibid.*, 274.

¹⁰¹³ Starkey, *Music and Monarchy*, 112.

¹⁰¹⁴ Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, 32.

longer be in Latin but in English”.¹⁰¹⁵ In fact, music during the medieval period was dominated by “Latin plainsong” and was usually performed within monasteries and churches before the clergy. However, beginning in the 1550s, “a succession of moralist and godly authors warned that music could all too easily become the servant of Satan corrupting and destroying the minds of listeners.”¹⁰¹⁶ This is illustrated in injunctions throughout the period between 1547 and 1560. In fact, injunctions issued between 1550 and 1559, particularly Cranmer’s, stressed that the music for the established Church should not “be full of notes, but as near as may be for every syllable a note so that it may be sung distinctly and devoutly.”¹⁰¹⁷ The vernacular services established in the 1549 and 1552 *Book of Common Prayer* included no mentions of musical instructions. However, a few of the 1559 injunctions articulated Elizabeth’s views on music in worship and was to be presented:

for the comforting of such as delight in music, it may be permitted that in the beginning or in the end of common prayer, either at morning or evening, there may be sung an hymn or suchlike song to the praise of Almighty God, in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised.¹⁰¹⁸

Elizabeth did not just enjoy music but understood its power. Significantly, music, Butler argues, had the capability of “evoking both feminine and masculine qualities”, and was a means to “reconcile Elizabeth’s female sex with her gendered masculine position of political authority.”¹⁰¹⁹ The distinction between religious and secular music and events is important because while the content of the performances varied at times, the use of exceptional musicians (singers and instrumentalists) illustrates how valued and important the Chapel Royal was. It may be that this is why she surrounded herself with the best musicians and choristers. The Queen’s well-known Chapel Royal composers, Thomas Tallis and William Byrd, not only composed secular music but also “were employed...to write new music for divine services.”¹⁰²⁰ In fact, in 1576, Elizabeth and her government introduced a “special Church service” for the celebration of her accession, and highlighted how they had “come to accept that psalm-singing was a valuable device.”¹⁰²¹ What is more telling is that the Chapel Royal was the institution through which music and services were tested before being disseminated to the public. In 1548, Edward VI’s Lord Protector wrote a letter to the leaders of the Cambridge colleges instructing them to set down the forms of service that was in use

¹⁰¹⁵ Emilie Murphy, “Music and post-Reformation English Catholics: place, sociability and space, 1570-1640” (PhD Thesis, University of York, 2014), 4.

¹⁰¹⁶ Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, 32.

¹⁰¹⁷ *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, ed. W.H. Frere and W.P.M. Kennedy (London: Longmans Green and Company, 1910), 2:246-252.

¹⁰¹⁸ Starkey comments on how the injunctions were connected to Elizabeth’s royal prerogative regarding religions. Starkey, *Music and Monarchy*, 113. *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, 2:251.

¹⁰¹⁹ Butler, “By Instruments her Powers Appeare”, 353.

¹⁰²⁰ Cummings, *Book of Common Prayer*, lvxi.

¹⁰²¹ Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England*, 409.

for Edward's Chapel Royal.¹⁰²² This indicates that the Chapel Royal was the model through which Church conformity was imitated.

The complexity of the music, like the piece composed by Parsley, highlighted not only the complex nature of the religious tensions of the period, but also reflected the nature of the Queen's two bodies. The shifting styles within liturgical music consisted of varying degrees of tones. The mathematical aspects and harmonies within music—both sacred and secular—were considered masculine and feminine. The lower register and mathematical relations between the notes resembled a masculine tone, while the notes in a higher register, especially in the mathematical distances, resembled feminine and sensual qualities and tones.¹⁰²³

Therefore, both sacred and secular music were employed on progresses. In 1574, the Queen made a progress to Bristol in which she was “to heer a sarmond, whear thear was a speetch to be sayd and an Imme [hymn] to songe” in “the colledge”. This referred to Bristol Cathedral, which was formerly the collegiate Church of St. Augustine's Abbey. However, the “speech was left out by an occasion vnlooked for, but the Imme [hymn] was songe by a very fine boy.”¹⁰²⁴

The Queen visited the Archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker, during Lent in 1573. As part of the Queen's visit, there was a religious sermon given by “Doctor Perse [John Piers], Professor of Sacred Theology” who was also the Dean of Chester, Salisbury and Christ Church. More importantly, he was also the Queen's Lord Almoner. In this particular case, the chapel royal was represented by the presence of the Queen's Chapel Royal staff and was supplemented with the Archbishop of Canterbury's staff, according to the Lambeth Churchwarden's records of the payments to her staff for her visit.¹⁰²⁵

Similarly, the Queen's visit to Canterbury in September 1573 involved an elaborate ceremonial and religious spectacle. In the account of her visit to Canterbury Cathedral the Queen

... was celebrated in a Latin oration by a youth...When it was over she knelt before the throne and the customary prayers were offered by the Archbishop (Matthew Parker), Bishop, the Bishops of Lincoln (Thomas Cooper) and Rochester (John Young)... in honour of her arrival. Then the Dean [of Canterbury—Thomas Godwin], together with his prebendaries, canons,

¹⁰²²Stephen Alford, *Kingship and Politics in the Reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 87-88. See also Biggs's thesis for her discussion of Edward's Lord Protector role in the dissolution of St Stephen's Chapel. Biggs, “The College and Canons”, 118-119.

¹⁰²³ Both Butler and Alpin discuss the mathematical connections of music and the distinctions between the harmonies. Butler, *Music in Elizabethan Court Politics*, 19 & 24. Alpin, “The Survival of Plainsong in Anglican Music”, 251.

¹⁰²⁴ From Thomas Churchyard, “The First parte of Churchyardes Chipptes”, edited by Gabriel Heaton and reproduced in Nichols, *The Progress and Public Processions*, 2:208.

¹⁰²⁵ *Lambeth Churchwarden Accounts, 1504-1645 and Vestry Book 1610*, ed. C. Drew (Printed by Butler and Tanner for the Surrey Records Society, 1950), 1:118. From *Matthæus* relating to the life of Matthew Parker, located at LP, MS 959, f. 331. It is edited by David J. Crankshaw and reproduced in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:184.

ministers and the choir of the cathedral together within some singers from her own choir...¹⁰²⁶

This elaborate description of the events and people involved in the religious service, particularly the Queen's own choir of the Chapel Royal, demonstrates how the Chapel Royal functioned on progress and displayed the Queen's majesty, authority, and royal supremacy.

It was important to continue this crucial element of the Queen's service while on progress. The court followed the Queen on progress, and local citizens and leaders would have been present at these important and magnificent occasions. Being accessible was important to the Queen, both for her royal image and for the loyalty her presence encouraged. However, these occasions of having the Chapel Royal functioning on progress provided a stage and platform from which the Queen could enforce conformity, police extremists and moderate religious discourse, thereby exercising her position as Supreme Governor. The portability of the Chapel Royal evolved from the reign of King Henry VIII, where it existed as the fixed place where the king and queen had Church services, into being divided between an institutional component that remained fixed in London at the royal palaces and the portable component that was mobile during the reign of Elizabeth I. The key to the institutional and portable components of the Chapel Royal was that both were a part of the royal monarchy and, therefore, the portable component existed wherever the Queen happened to be, while the institutional component existed as part of the royal body. Similarly, the court as a whole was different from that of the individual royal courtier. The court existed wherever the monarch was, as opposed to individual courtiers remaining behind in London to represent and serve the Queen. The court, as opposed to the Chapel Royal, was "more secular in spirit and culture", and therefore relied on the Queen for validity, whereas the Chapel Royal was embedded and closely connected with the royal body.¹⁰²⁷

V. The Queen's Chapel Royal on Progress and Royal Supremacy Displayed

Although historians, like Collinson, Cole and Bergeron, have explored the role that royal progresses had on religious discourse, little attention has been paid to the influence and role that the various aspects of the Chapel Royal (services, clergy and music) had on policing the Elizabethan reformation, or on how the Queen's royal supremacy shaped discourse and religious policies.

Having explored the organization and history of the Chapel Royal and discussed how it functioned and was supplemented on progress, it is necessary to examine the relationship between the Chapel Royal on progress and the religious services, doctrine and belief throughout Elizabeth's realm. As Claire Cross has argued, despite Elizabeth's title as

¹⁰²⁶ From Matthew Parker's *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ*, edited by David J. Crankshaw and reproduced in Nichols, *The Progress and Public Processions*, 2:74-75. The identification of those mentioned in the text was cross-referenced with the names of Elizabeth's principal officers in Kinney and Lawson, *Titled Elizabethans*, 73-91.

¹⁰²⁷ Peter McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 1.

“Supreme Governor”, her ability to be “lay ruler” and “attempt to exercise [ecclesiastical] jurisdiction” was limited by the “united” ideology of the clergy, and their belief that they had “exclusive rule...in the Church.”¹⁰²⁸

From the outset, Elizabeth was faced with condemnation for her role as the head of the Church of England. Despite this, within the first weeks of ascending to the throne, Elizabeth signaled her religious intention and preference. This was evident with the passage of the Act of Supremacy and the Act of Uniformity, which Cross argues set out the “exact position of the monarchy in the Church...and defined the doctrine of the Church”, and therefore “proved keystones to the Elizabethan religious settlement.”¹⁰²⁹ With the refusal of many religious men (Protestant and Catholics alike) to acknowledge and accept Elizabeth as the supreme head, the new title of Governor “made no difference in practice to the extent of royal authority over the Church, as Elizabeth exercised the same rights over religion as had her father, and was determined to keep religion firmly under the control of the crown.”¹⁰³⁰ Elizabeth’s religious convictions were not only illustrated by how she organised worship in her chapel as she wanted, but also illustrated in the cases where she asserted her agency and vocalised or displayed her disapproval. This was crucial to the construction of the Queen’s persona and queenship, as well as to the expression of her royal authority. As part of this, Elizabeth’s religious Chapel Royal served as both the topic and the stage for religious discourse and debates. One of the key debates was over the silver crosses that the Queen kept in her Chapel. The complaints and extensive mentions of the Queen’s Chapel containing “relics of popery” continued throughout her reign. Strype records that in 1559 “presently after her Chapel went to Evening Song: The Cross, as before, standing on the Altar, and two Candlesticks, and two Tapers burning in them: and Service concluded, a good Anthem was sung.”¹⁰³¹ The use of the silver crosses “infuriated reformers”, but this was not enough to have them removed. However, Strype also records that “the use of the crucifix” was the cause of “such offence” that Dr Peter Martyr and Heinrich Bullinger were encouraged “to write the queen against it.” Within that same year “crucifixes...were taken down by authority in all Churches, yet the crucifix remain[ed] in the Queen’s chapel afterwards.”¹⁰³² In 1560, Thomas Sampson wrote to Martyr about how “the crucifix is allowed...with light burning before it” after the “altars are removed” but “the crucifix and candles are retained at court alone.” Sampson wrote “what hope is there, when our party are disposed to look for religion in these dumb remnants of idolatry.” He feared that “supposed the queen should enjoin all the bishops

¹⁰²⁸ Cross, *The Royal Supremacy in the Elizabethan Church*, 20.

¹⁰²⁹ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁰³⁰ Doran, *Elizabeth I and Religion*, 14. The discussion of the refusal by religious leaders can be found in Cross’ study on the royal supremacy. Cross, *The Royal Supremacy in the Elizabethan Church*.

¹⁰³¹ From Strype’s *Annals of the Reformation*, edited by Jayne Elisabeth Archer and reproduced in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:172. See next footnote.

¹⁰³² John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation: A New Edition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1824), 1:1:259-262.

and clergy...to admit this image” and begged that Martyr write to the queen “to exhort her to preserve with all diligence in the cause of Christ.”¹⁰³³

Throughout the early 1560s, the pursuit of preaching and the presence of the crucifix within the Queen’s Chapel were major debates among the bishops. The matter of the crucifix in the Queen’s chapel became known as the great “crucifix controversy.”¹⁰³⁴ The Queen’s chapel served as the focus of this controversy because it was here that the crucifixes were visible. The Queen’s stance on Catholicism was confusing, as her own beliefs and actions contradicted one another. However, Elizabeth was private in her worship and protected her right to be so. Yet, the dividing line between the Queen’s private worship and belief and public worship was conformity. Private worship was just that: private. Yet public worship required conformity to the Church of England and its doctrines. Having the crucifix in her own Chapel showed that she connected and resonated with its presence, and the crucifix would have been set up for the Queen while on progress. However, the public association with these symbols and icons of idolatry were admonished. This was certainly the case in 1562 when Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul’s Cathedral, was noted to have displeased the Queen:

The aforesaid Dean [Nowell]...having gotten from a Foreigner several fine Cuts and Pictures, representing the Stories and Passions of the Saints and Martyrs, had placed them against the Epistles and Gospels of their Festivals in a Common-Prayer Book. And this Book he had caused to be richly bound, and laid on the Cushion for the Queen’s use.¹⁰³⁵

This also denotes the Queen’s agency in controlling religious discourse within her realm. Yet while this may have been a gift “to have pleased her Fancy”, it certainly did not please the Queen for she “considered how this varied from her late open Injunctions and Proclamations against the Superstitious Use of Images in Churches, and for the taking away all such Reliques of Popery.” In fact, she “frowned and blushed” and after the service “went strait to the vestry” and confronted Nowell, asking him “How came it to pass that a new Service Book was placed on my Cushion?” The Dean answered “...I caused it to be placed there.” The Queen asked him why he would give her such an item, stating that she had “an Aversion to Idolatry; to Images and Pictures of this kind.” The Dean replied that he meant no harm, and the Queen only replied “You must needs be ignorant then.” She continued to question him on the facts of how he came to be in possession of these items and why he had not brought this to the attention of

¹⁰³³ *The Zurich Letters, comprising the correspondence of several English bishops and others, with some of the Helvetian reformers, during the early part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. John Hunter and Hastings Robinson (Cambridge: The University Press, 1824), 78-79.

¹⁰³⁴ Angela May Ranson, ““Because Thy God Loves England’: Bishop John Jewel and the Catholicity of the Church of England, 1535-1599” (PhD Thesis, University of York, October 2013), 177.

¹⁰³⁵ From Strype’s *Annals of the Reformation*, edited by Jayne Elisabeth Archer and reproduced in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:252. The notation of Nowell as Dean indicates that he was Dean of St. Paul’s Cathedral; Kinney and Lawson, *Titled Elizabethans*, 83.

the appropriate authorities. The Queen concluded the matter by stating that “Pray let no more of these Mistakes, or of this kind, be committed within the Churches of our Realme for the future.”¹⁰³⁶ This entire exchange illustrates the Queen’s agency as she was articulating her royal prerogative and maintained her persona of being the governor of the Church of England.

While Elizabeth publically proclaimed “an aversion” to items of idolatry, her use of crucifixes was well known. In 1564, the Catholic John Martial wrote *A Treatyse of the Crosse*, and dedicated it to her. In the treatise, Martial acknowledged the Queen’s prerogative and her affinity to being “so well affectioned to the cross...that youre Maiestie haue alwayes kept it reuerently in youre chapel”.¹⁰³⁷ The book presented the theory of how Catholics sought to gain from Elizabeth’s personal use of crucifixes to further their own claims for more freedom in their worship. The treatise did not sit well with reformers and it possibly did not sit well with Elizabeth. It was during this period that one particular priest, Alexander Nowell, tried to “refute Martial while preaching at Whitehall...with such vigour that the queen ordered him to stop-during the sermon itself.”¹⁰³⁸ Having already offended the Queen once in 1562, Nowell’s refutation of Martial may have been aimed at winning back the Queen’s favour. However, the incident highlights how the public and private aspects of the Chapel and religion were debated, discussed and negotiated in sixteenth-century England.

However, the debate over images continued, and physical action was taken in 1562. John Pankhurst, Bishop of Norwich, wrote, “that the crucifix and candlesticks in the Queen’s chapel are broken in pieces, and, as some one has brought word, reduced to ashes.”¹⁰³⁹ Despite the physical destruction of the Queen’s crucifix in her chapel twice, she replaced them. In 1568, Burghley had written to Richard Shelley about “the crucifix being honoured...in the queen’s chapel.”¹⁰⁴⁰ The crucifix controversy throughout this period highlights the Queen’s agency in establishing how her Chapel Royal was set up, highlighting her *via media* approach, as well as her assertion of royal supremacy in matters of religion.

Another controversy during Elizabeth’s reign involved vestments. In the 1560s, Elizabeth favoured a more formal attire for the clergy. Since her proclamations in 1559, there was a steady stream of dissent against the forcing of clerics to wear what was considered “popish trumpery.”¹⁰⁴¹ Elizabeth’s visit to Cambridge was preceded by instructions from Cecil

¹⁰³⁶ The entire confrontation between Alexander Nowell and the Queen was detailed in John Strype’s *Annals of the Reformation*, but edited by Jayne Elisabeth Archer and reproduced in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:252-253.

¹⁰³⁷ John Martial, *A Treatyse of the Crosse Gathred Ovt of the Scriptures, Councelles, and auncient Fathers of the primiti[v]e church* (Imprinted at Antwerp by John Latius, 1564), 1-2.

¹⁰³⁸ Noted in Ranson’s PhD thesis. Ranson, ““Because Thy God Loves England””, 177.

¹⁰³⁹ *Ibid.*, 160-161.

¹⁰⁴⁰ This source was recorded in Strype’s *Annals of the Reformation*. It was taken from the Harleian manuscripts at the British Library; BL, Harleian MS 6992, fo. 4.

¹⁰⁴¹ Linehan discusses how William Fulke, a fellow of St. John’s College, Cambridge, advanced the cause of further reform.” Peter Linehan, *St. John’s College, Cambridge: A History*,

in which all members were to have “uniformity in apparell and religion.”¹⁰⁴² The Queen’s visit to the university was to “encourage learning”, as she was intelligent and well learned. However, the Queen’s visit was also to “promote religious conformity.”¹⁰⁴³ The visit and call for “uniformity” among the Cambridge scholars was met with widespread frustration, and their disputations added to the vestments controversy. One of the reasons why there was tension regarding matters of religion in the areas surrounding the universities, particularly Cambridge, was due to the religious tensions between Catholic and Protestant zealots as the universities were filled with learned men that discussed, debated and pushed for further reform, or contained members who remained loyal to the Catholic Church.¹⁰⁴⁴ In fact, during the reign of Henry VIII, universities had “long been identified as the most fertile ground for reform”; particularly as university scholars were instrumental in arguing Henry’s case of divorce. However, Marshall cautions, “a sense of proportion is required here” as many “Oxford and Cambridge scholars remained orthodox in this early period.”¹⁰⁴⁵ During Mary I’s reign, “Oxford proved particularly amendable to the reimposition of orthodoxy.”¹⁰⁴⁶ Another factor as to why the universities proved viable in drawing reformers to them was the fact that influential Protestants were in positions of authority at these institutions. Thomas Cranmer, for example, had held chairs of divinity at Oxford and Cambridge during Henry’s reign.¹⁰⁴⁷ During her reign, Elizabeth appointed William Cecil as the chancellor of Cambridge and Robert Dudley the chancellor of Oxford. Both chancellors were loyal Protestants.

Upon Elizabeth’s accession to the throne, Protestant exiles began to return to England. Areas like Cambridge provided an environment that facilitated the exchange of ideas, and the zeal for Protestant reform increasingly flourished. In the spring of 1570, “a series of Cambridge lectures, delivered by the Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, Thomas Cartwright” increased Protestant radicalism.¹⁰⁴⁸ All the while, though, there were Catholic practices still being utilised within the university areas throughout Elizabeth’s reign, such as the 1582 incident in Cambridge where bells were rung at the end of evening prayer on All

(Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001), 71; See also Leo F. Solt, *Church and State in Early Modern England, 1509-1640* (Oxford University Press, 1990), 85.

¹⁰⁴² Peter Linehan, *St. John’s College, Cambridge: A History*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001), 71.

¹⁰⁴³ Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Faith Eales provide a context and discussion of the Queen’s desire for conformity in their annotation of visit to Cambridge in 1564. They also discuss how the visit was a form of counsel. Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:377.

¹⁰⁴⁴ From Stokys’s university records (CUL, University Archives, Collect. Admin. 5, f. 156[a]), edited by Leedham-Green and Eales (see above footnote) and reproduced in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:381; Linehan, *St. John’s College*, 71.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Peter Marshall, *Reformation England, 1480-1652* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012), 34.

¹⁰⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 104.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Ranson, “Because Thy God Loves England”, 79.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Marshall, *Reformation in England*, 131-132.

Saint's Day.¹⁰⁴⁹ Furthermore, Elizabeth endowed both Oxford and Cambridge universities with "several forms of patronage, reserving useful livings for promising divinity graduates", which contributed to the Protestant presence at the universities.¹⁰⁵⁰ Given the context of the university environment, it was necessary for the Queen to visit and police conformity.

With Cecil's instructions delivered, the Queen's reception at Cambridge was elaborately prepared for, particularly at the Chapel of King's College. The chapel was prepared for the Queen's service and since there were many disputes and issues surrounding the conduct of such services, it was seen as vitally important to have it go well. The Chapel

Was hanged with fyne tapustrey or arras. Of the Quenes/from the north vestrye doore rounde by the communion table vnto the sowth vestrie door/ and all that place strowed with rushes The communion table and pulpit handed Richelye vpon the sowthe syde about the mydle between the vestrye doore...a ryche trabas of Crymson vevet for the quenes maiestie with all other thynges apertaynynge...¹⁰⁵¹

This elaborate description was similar to the description of the Chapel Royal contained within the early books on the Chapel Royal's establishment. It was a clear demonstration and creation of the Chapel Royal for the Queen. This is further evidenced when the Queen arrived, along with the Bishop of Ely, Richard Cox. He went through the festivities with the Queen and "then cam the trumpetours and by solemn blast declared her majestie to approche" followed by "her almner, the bishop of Rochester [Edmund Guest], bareheded with the Bishop of Ely".¹⁰⁵² Significantly, Edmund Guest was the Royal Almoner within the Queen's Chapel Royal and Richard Cox was a staunch Protestant, used by Elizabeth in enforcing conformity. In fact, he was asked to address "disciplinary issues" at Cambridge and developed a reputation "as a stern investigator of Catholic recusancy".¹⁰⁵³ Having them both present in front of the scholars of Cambridge in the attire the Queen had deemed appropriate was a reinforcement of Elizabeth's royal authority and power, as well as an example of her royal supremacy in action.

Finally, the Queen entered the Chapel "and kneled downe/at the place opoynted/...then the provost revestyd in a rich cope all of nedell woorke standyng about iiij yeardes from the Queen."¹⁰⁵⁴ The magnificence and ceremony of the royal service with the

¹⁰⁴⁹ Christopher Marsh, "'At it ding dong': Recreation and Religion in the English Belfry", *Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain*, ed. Alec Ryrie and Natalie Mears (London: Routledge, 2013), 153.

¹⁰⁵⁰ See annotation by Leedham-Green and Eales in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:377.

¹⁰⁵¹ From "Stokys's Book" (CUL, University Archives, Misc. Collect. 4, f. 65-66) edited by Leedham-Green and Eales and reproduced in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:392.

¹⁰⁵² *Ibid.*, 1:394.

¹⁰⁵³ Felicity Heal, 'Cox, Richard (c.1500–1581)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

¹⁰⁵⁴ From "Stokys's Book" (CUL, University Archives, Misc. Collect. 4, f. 68-69) edited by Leedham-Green and Eales and reproduced in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:401-402.

Queen projected the majesty of the Chapel Royal. The ceremony continued with the description of how the Bishop “pointed vnto the psalme deus misereatur in Latin/ inquiryng whether it should please her maiestie to awnswer/and saye with hym. And vnderstandyng that she would pryvatlye praye/ he lyckewyse pryvatlye sayed the sayed psalme... which done the whole [Queen’s] queere begone to synge in Englishe a song of gladnes.”¹⁰⁵⁵ This richly described event echoed the services conducted in the Chapel Royal. The fact that the Queen was taken to a closet for private prayer was a clear indication that the Chapel at Cambridge served as the chapel royal. Furthermore, this service was conducted according to the services of the Church of England which Elizabeth expected, and therefore those individuals who were either Catholic or Puritan were given a full view of the Queen’s Chapel Royal, thereby reinforcing her royal supremacy.

Of further significance was the use of the term “cope”. Copes in the sixteenth century referred to a “short cloak reaching to the knees and farther up at the arms, forming an oval” over the “cassock or long tunic.”¹⁰⁵⁶ Copes were traditionally associated with the Catholic Church. There are extensive notations of where copes were destroyed because of their association with the idolatry of the Catholic Church. Even John Jewel “disliked vesture, and would have preferred that cope[s], rochet and surplice had been done away with.”¹⁰⁵⁷ However, copes were permitted in cathedrals and collegiate churches because of their use in the “administration of the sacraments.”¹⁰⁵⁸ In 1559, there was an injunction that explicitly instructed “the Churchwardens of every parish shall delivered unto our visitors the inventories of vestments, copes, and other ornaments.”¹⁰⁵⁹ Essentially, this meant that copes were to be used in cathedrals and collegiate churches, but not within parish churches. By obtaining the inventories of Churchwardens, it would have been indicative of the push by government and Church officials to restrict the use of copes and possibly identify places that could be susceptible to, or actively pursuing, Catholic practices. The specific use of copes did not sit well with Church reformers, as it is noted on 24 August 1559 that, being St Bartholomew Day “were burnt of all the roods of St. Mary and St. John and many other church goods, with copes, crosses...[and] altarbooks.”¹⁰⁶⁰ The disputations and debates about

¹⁰⁵⁵ Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:402. The inserting of the notation [Queen’s] is to distinguish that members of the Queen’s Chapel Royal choir were present in the services, because noted on p. 435 is a list of all of the noblemen and the Queen’s staff that were housed while in Cambridge. It is noted that “choristers” were lodged in the “butterye” of one of the colleges at Cambridge.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Cummings, *Book of Common Prayer*, 696.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Bryan D. Spinks, “The Elizabethan Primers: Symptoms of an Ambiguous Settlement or Devotional Weaning?”, in *Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain*, eds. Alec Ryrie and Natalie Mears (London: Routledge, 2013), 77.

¹⁰⁵⁸ David Cressy and Lori Anne Ferrell, eds., *Religion and Society in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1996), 89.

¹⁰⁵⁹ *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, 3:22.

¹⁰⁶⁰ This was an excerpt from Strype’s *Annals of the Reformation* that was edited by Jayne Elisabeth Archer and reproduced in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:163.

religious reform and the remnants of the Catholic Church, particularly the vestments controversy, were persistent on progresses throughout the 1570s and 1580s.

Upon her reception at Cambridge in 1564, Elizabeth's procession entered through "the west dore of the kynges colledge churche with a canapye..." to which "the provost of the sayde colledge with all his companye standing in copes" received her.¹⁰⁶¹ The use of the copes in a secular event was still an unusual aspect, despite tradition, because it was seen as an item of "superstition". The use of the copes during the proceedings at Cambridge is important because the use of particular types of garments demonstrated the conformity that Elizabeth expected to see. One particularly entry in the accounts of the Cambridge visit stands out because of its detail of the service. On 5 August, the Queen's reception and entertainment at King's College Chapel included "the provost begane *Te deum* in Englishe in his cope...which was solemnplye songe in prycksonge. After that he began Evensonge/ which was solemplye soung everye man standing in his cope."¹⁰⁶² This extraordinary entry highlighted the crossroads at which issues pertaining to the vestments and forms of music collided. This provides three distinct points that relate to how Elizabeth's royal supremacy was achieved. First, the notation of the provost in a cope leading a religious service signaled how the sacred and secular uses of church vestments intertwined, but, more importantly, that they were incorporated for the services for the Queen. Second, that the *Te Deum* was sung in "prycksonge", which clearly denoted that the song was sung in polyphonic form as opposed to a chant.¹⁰⁶³ Finally, that the Evensong began with "everye man in his cope" signals how, despite the discourse, debates and disagreements, services were conducted according to the specifications of Elizabeth's royal supremacy in the presence of the Queen and through the *Book of Common Prayer* and her injunctions.

On 30 January 1559, Richard Cox preached against the "evil[s] of the Pope" from the Queen's own pulpit.¹⁰⁶⁴ Through this sermon, Elizabeth's Chapel Royal was the stage on which the Church of England's structure, doctrine and services were developed and displayed. As previously discussed, the Chapel Royal was under the authority of the Dean of the Chapel Royal. The Dean was only answerable to the sovereign, yet during Elizabeth's reign the "transference...[of] control over preachers" shifted from the Dean of the Chapel Royal to the Lord Chamberlain and, in some cases, the Lord Treasurer.¹⁰⁶⁵ This reinforced the blurred line between the Chapel Royal as a religious institution and a household department.

¹⁰⁶¹ Matthew Stokys's account of the Queen's visit in "Stokys's Book" (CUL, University Archives, Misc. Collect. 4, f. 63-64), edited by Leedham-Green and Eales and reproduced in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:384.

¹⁰⁶² Ibid., (f. 69-69), 1:402.

¹⁰⁶³ Ibid., (f. 69-69), 1:402. The editors have specifically notated that the use of "prycksonge" described the use of a specific type of musical construction and form.

¹⁰⁶⁴ CSP—Venice, 7:15, 30 January 1559, letter between Mantuan ambassador and King Phillip at Brussels.

¹⁰⁶⁵ McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 61.

However, the fact that there was transference of power signaled that the Chapel Royal had power to be the prototype and visual representation of the Church of England.

The Chapel Royal under Elizabeth was responsible for and highly involved in the liturgical services of the court. In fact, the increased musical and ceremonial aspects of religious services are better understood in this framework. By having the services conducted, and in some ways perfected, without the outside influences of preaching and debates between polarizing groups, liturgical services and music flourished in the Chapel Royal. While McCullough affirms the important role that the Chapel Royal had on the liturgical development and influence at court, he denies that the Chapel Royal followed on summer progresses, despite having confirmed that the Chapel Royal did adhere to “regularly observed vacations in summer and major feast...[and] holy days.”¹⁰⁶⁶ It is agreed that the Chapel Royal did not follow “the court”, as McCullough suggests, but part of the Chapel Royal did follow the sovereign. This is evident in the multiple entries in the *Old Cheque-Book* and the Nichols collection. One particular entry in the *Old Cheque-Book*, dated 1591, recounts when “a yeoman of the Chapel Royal, John Burchall died at Chichester in the Queen’s progress”, he was replaced immediately with John Patten, who was sworn in “in the same progress” by gentlemen ushers of the Chapel Royal.¹⁰⁶⁷ Furthermore, in 1595 an order was logged into the *Old Cheque-Book* that ordered “two yeoman of the vestrie are by dewtie to see her Majesties stufte meete for her Chappell...remove and sent to her highness nexte house of waytinge.”¹⁰⁶⁸

Most importantly, these entries in the chequebook and accounts of the Queen’s progresses indicated that the Chapel Royal and Dean of the Chapel Royal remained in London with a reduced choir. This occurred so that members of the Queen’s court and visiting dignitaries received their religious services, but also so that they remained as a physical representation of the Queen’s body politic in London while she was physically away. More precisely, the fact that parts of her Chapel Royal went with her on progress, along with her physical presence, helped to continue the visible and physical representation of the Queen’s body politic and display of the Queen’s royal authority, magnificence and power to the populace on progress.

With the understanding of how the Chapel Royal contributed to Elizabeth’s royal supremacy and the role it played in religious discourse, we can begin to collectively look at examples of when the Chapel Royal was the subject of religious discussions and when it was used to enforce conformity – serving as a prototype for how services should be conducted and affirming the Queen’s royal supremacy on a larger scale. The Chapel Royal was used as a visible and aural display of Elizabeth’s royal supremacy, so it is not surprising that the roles of the Lord Chamberlain, Lord Treasurer and the Archbishop of Canterbury increased regarding the arrangement of preaching during services. Previously, the role of organizing

¹⁰⁶⁶ McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, 62.

¹⁰⁶⁷ *Old Cheque-book*, 131.

¹⁰⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 136-137.

preachers and sermons for the public and royal occasions was the responsibility of the Dean of the Chapel Royal. However, as previously mentioned, the Dean of the Chapel Royal during Elizabeth's reign was more a position of status rather than a position of authority. The visible and aural display of the Chapel Royal elevated Elizabeth's own presence on progresses to "cultivate religious conformity."¹⁰⁶⁹

One of the strongest cases in which we see Elizabeth's royal supremacy displayed was on the progresses to East Anglia, first in 1561 and again in 1578. While the second chapter of this thesis focuses on the political elements of the 1578 progress to Norwich, extracting some of the religious elements here provides one final example of how Elizabeth's royal supremacy was displayed and the role that the Chapel Royal played in it. It supports the work of Cole, who argued that through a "mixture of royal example and ceremonial dialogue, Elizabeth used her presence" and the Chapel Royal to "validate the national Church that she meant to have."¹⁰⁷⁰ Cole has focused on the issues of conformity on the 1578 progress, but this section contends that the issues within Norwich were greater than just the issues of conformity. There were issues of political allegiance, civil unrest, and religious dissension, and Elizabeth sought to address these through demanding political obedience, asserting authority to curb civil strife, and enforcing religious conformity, all while displaying her royal supremacy and power.

In 1561, Elizabeth progressed through Essex and into Suffolk to Ipswich. In August, Elizabeth stayed at Smallbridge Hall, the home of Sir Edward Walgrave. Walgrave was a personal advisor to Mary I and refused to conform under Elizabeth. He was arrested for conducting mass in his home and harboring Catholics. This suggests that Smallbridge Hall had a personal chapel, which would have been used for Catholic mass. At the time of Elizabeth's progress, Walgrave was imprisoned, and it was his son, William Walgrave, who did conform, who hosted the Queen.¹⁰⁷¹ Elizabeth stayed at Smallbridge for two days. Given that daily services had to be conducted, the personal chapel at Smallbridge would have served as a space for the services for the Queen. This public visit showed that Elizabeth appreciated those who conformed and bestowed upon them the honour of her presence. It is also possible to conclude that Elizabeth's visit was to make sure that the younger Walgrave's conformity was not superficial, particularly with regard to the conducting of daily services there. This illustrates the issues the Queen intended to address, which involved combatting the religious non-conformity that existed in the area. By the time the Queen reached Ipswich, the various accounts of the Queen's progresses reveal a pattern of her involvement in issues of Church conformity as well as her subject's conformity. A letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury from William Cecil concerning the "troobleson progress of Suffolk and Essex"

¹⁰⁶⁹ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 136.

¹⁰⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 137.

¹⁰⁷¹ Extract from Strype's *Annals of the Reformation*, edited by Jayne Elisabeth Archer and reproduced in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:192.

reinforced this ongoing concern of religious unrest in East Anglia.¹⁰⁷² It was with this letter that Cecil, on Elizabeth's behalf, issued an injunction against the clergy marrying. The letter was sent to Parker to review, and it refers to the "Bishop of Norwich" and how he is to blame for the lax religious leanings and issues within the area and these "remisses." On Elizabeth's arrival in Ipswich, the Bishop of Norwich conducted religious service for the Queen. However, Elizabeth took issue with both the lack of surplices being used and "so many wives, and widows and children."¹⁰⁷³ It was in the same month that Elizabeth issued a proclamation "concerning married clergy."¹⁰⁷⁴

The letter, the visit and the services that were given to the Queen highlighted some key fundamental issues with the Church of England, its services, and the clergy in the area. Elizabeth wrote to Parker to get him to address the "open and manifest disorder" in the Church brought about by a "diversity of opinions."¹⁰⁷⁵ Cole asserts that it was "after her experience in Ipswich" that Elizabeth shaped her future itinerary to include two university towns, where "her presence would advance religious conformity."¹⁰⁷⁶ Yet, Cole does not mention how and where the Chapel Royal fitted within this agenda of religious conformity, something which is clearly evident in the sources. Elizabeth visited Cambridge in 1564 and Oxford in 1566. These two trips provided the opportunity for the Chapel Royal to be used as a model of conformity.

VI. Conclusion

The Chapel Royal was a physical structure where religious services for the monarch were held: a building that served as a prototype and blueprint for the Church of England. It was a stationary and fixed institution during the reign of Henry VIII. The Chapel Royal was a symbol of the sovereign's magnificence, ritual and power because it featured the best representatives of the sovereign's spiritual realm. Also, it operated within, and highlighted the regal and grand architecture, of the buildings, thus giving centre stage to holiness, devotion and piety. With the reign of Elizabeth I, the Chapel Royal had multiple purposes, with specific parts being employed on progress to enhance her religious authority.

While the Chapel Royal has traditionally been considered "the Chapel Royal" whenever the king or queen had Church service, this chapter has established that Elizabeth's Chapel Royal was wherever the Queen happened to be, regardless of whether she attended a service or not. This meant that the Chapel Royal staff was split. Some of the choristers, sub-dean, and yeomen remained in London, while some of the gentlemen choristers, children of

¹⁰⁷² Account by town clerk of Bristol who recorded details of the Queen's visit in "Ricart's Calendar", a civic record located in the Bristol Record Office, 04720(1)a. It is edited by Gabriel Heaton and reproduced in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:199.

¹⁰⁷³ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 137.

¹⁰⁷⁴ See annotation by Gabriel Heaton in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 2:197.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Solt, *Church and State in Early Modern England*, 83.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Cole, *The Portable Queen*, 138.

the Chapel Royal and almoner went with the Queen on progress. Thus the Chapel Royal of Elizabeth's reign can be defined as a moving display that symbolised Elizabeth's own religious devotion, agency and power but also a system that people and institutions were to emulate, ultimately cultivating the religious development of individual faith and safeguarding their souls. Furthermore, by illustrating the dual aspects of the Chapel Royal, we have concrete examples of the ways in which the concept of the Queen's two bodies was employed, specifically on progress.

The Elizabethan Chapel Royal was a mobile display of magnificence, ritual and power. This display was exemplified through the music and content of religious services, as well by being situated in the homes of important members of the Queen's court. Thus, the Chapel Royal became accessible to a variety of people within the communities of the Queen's host, allowing her to use it effectively to maintain her religious reforms and stability. Services on progresses were meant to model the 1559 version of the *Book of Common Prayer* that had been first formed by Thomas Cranmer in 1549. It was a visual representation and model of the ways in which Elizabeth wanted the Church of England to conduct its services, engage its parishioners and conform to Elizabethan Church policies and settlement. Ultimately, Chapel Royal existed to set the standard for religious worship. The use of the chapel royal on progresses delivered the standard to the public and reflected Elizabeth's royal supremacy.

Elizabeth I went on annual progress the coincided with religious holy days, therefore the Elizabethan Chapel Royal, which had traditionally been scaled back when the sovereign went on progress, was actually supplemented. However, the fact that she did go on progress did not prevent the morning and evening services or the religious holy days to go unobserved. Furthermore, the discussion of these services conducted on progress serves as a starting point for a more in-depth exploration. This is because the services on holy days and the standard daily services contained many complex elements and required multiple people to execute the services, including the Bishop, the Dean, the choristers and musicians.

The grand houses and estates belonging to members of Elizabeth's court had a space designated for religious worship (either a chapel or great hall). During the Queen's visit these spaces were utilised for her purposes. The host's own household staff or finances supplemented the Chapel Royal. This served two crucial functions. First, it allowed the Queen and her host to share the financial cost of the services. This was significant because certain hosts were either Catholic sympathisers or extreme Protestants. By utilizing the host's religious space and having it function as a pseudo-Chapel Royal, it not only demonstrated the way in which the Church of England was to be conducted but it also policed conformity.

Second, it reinforced the structure, function and importance of Elizabeth's religious services. One of the crucial aspects of the Chapel Royal that highlighted how critical the staff was to Elizabeth's religious and court rituals was the musicians. Music was important to the Queen, and having key musicians on progress allowed her to hear the music that she enjoyed. Also, it allowed the musicians to be part of the host's pageants and entertainments. The

various ways in which the Chapel Royal musicians were employed allows us to understand the religious and secular dynamics of the Elizabethan Chapel Royal. The Chapel Royal was an influential part in the production of musicians and music and in promoting various agendas. Their close proximity and vital connection to the Chapel Royal made them useful for both religious functions, like the services within the Chapel Royal, and secular functions, like performances at court and within pageants and entertainments on progress.

The Chapel Royal was an important political and religious tool while on progress during Elizabeth's reign. Most importantly, the Chapel Royal on progress gave Elizabeth, her councillors and her clergy the ability to police and enforce conformity while simultaneously reinforcing the Queen's royal supremacy. This served two purposes: personal and institutional. First, as a personal purpose, the Chapel Royal on progress encouraged the personal development of the Queen's faith. By having the Chapel Royal on progress, the Queen could not only confirm her stance on specific principles, policies and beliefs, but also cultivate her personal devotion. It also gave her the opportunity to exercise her role as "Supreme Governor of the Church of England". The Queen was able to assure that her loving subjects were protected and their souls saved. Secondly, as an institution, the Chapel Royal and the Queen on progress reinforced the important role that the Church of England had on spiritual devotion and religious worship. Therefore, Queen Elizabeth I's role as Supreme Governor held a great deal of significance for her responsibility to maintain the salvation of the souls of her subjects, for the development of individual faith and for the establishment of a strong relationship with and connection between their churches. Thus, the importance of having the components of the Chapel Royal on progress aided Elizabeth I in fulfilling her duties as Supreme Governor, and added to her queenship as being a mother to her people and, in essence, their Deborah: the warrior, protector and judge.

Conclusion: The Future of Royal Progresses

In conclusion, the words that Queen Elizabeth I voiced in the Old Palace at Hatfield House in 1558, ran true. The Queen did rule and her “Lords” assisted her, as this thesis has demonstrated through the study of her royal progresses. The final question that is proposed is: in what ways does the study of royal progresses change our understanding of authority and power; social and cultural dynamics; agency, identity and political culture? The answer, as this thesis has demonstrated, is as complex and multi-layered as the nature of royal progresses themselves. The study of progresses has allowed us to examine and reassess key themes in the historical narrative of the sixteenth century. Progresses highlighted the occasions where the interaction between central royal/crown authority and the institutions and personnel of local government came into contact with the wider populace throughout England. Ultimately, the study of progresses has given us a new perspective on the practical exercise of royal authority in this period. This thesis has identified key social and cultural factors that influenced the balance of power in Elizabethan England, particularly those that determined the Queen’s agency and the characteristics that shaped her queenship. It has also illustrated some of the ways in which Elizabethan political culture operated through encounters between the Queen and her subjects, whether members of the royal court, nobles and local elites, the church authorities or the wider population.

Agency, as the thesis has demonstrated, were instances of which Elizabeth I deliberately constructed and maintained her divine and public persona of mother and prince illustrated through the dialogues on progresses. She actively made decisions from where to stay on progresses, demanding obedience and allegiance from her subjects and choosing who had access to her while hunting, that articulated her royal prerogative. Finally, agency occurred in instances where Elizabeth exercised royal authority such as commanding obedience and conformity. This explicit definition of agency has not been fundamentally addressed in the historiography, in large part due to the various ways that agency has employed in historical research. The case study of the Elizabeth’s progresses in 1578 culminating in the visit to Norwich has presented a different set of questions and ideas that have critically engaged with material that has already been the subject of helpful scholarly debate. Though historians such as Cole, Collinson and Bergeron have examined the 1578 progress, their work has tended to focus on the religious dimension of the progress. This is important; however in examining just one element, we tend to pass over others and miss critical evidence or historical connections that can provide a new perspective, thus losing the overall story. By offering a fresh examination of some familiar material but also highlighting important new sources, chapter 2 has revealed that the Queen was capable of asserting her own agency without having to rely on the Privy Councillors or influential courtiers who have tended to dominate the historical narrative of Elizabeth’s power and authority. Furthermore,

this case study has identified and assessed the dialogue that existed between central government and localities—between ruler and ruled, that resulted in the Queen’s demand for allegiance and obedience from her subjects. Studying factors that include the political vacuum within the region, the threat of foreign invasion, and the unrest that occurred between citizens and refugees, along with the issue of religious non-conformity, has enabled us to expand our understanding of the relationship between the sovereign and their subjects, as well as the intention for this royal progress. This dialogue has also illuminated the nature of the rhetoric used to construct Elizabeth’s queenship by her subjects, and Elizabeth’s own responses to that construction. All this contributes to our understanding of the way in which Elizabethan political culture functioned, fluctuated and can be defined. It was not merely the interactions between individuals (i.e. the Queen and her Principal Secretary), but it was also the interactions between individuals and groups of people (i.e. Queen and the Privy Council, ecclesiastical leaders and the laity, the Lord Chamberlain and household staff, the crown and urban and rural subjects). These interactions shifted depending on the issues and discourse within society (religious beliefs, wars, economy, art and spectacles), thus influencing policy and shaping the identity of England.

This study of progresses has also identified and presented an original study on the rituals and significance of hunting. This study expands our understanding of the ways in which the sovereign’s identity was constructed, the interplay and relationship between sovereign and various groups of people, and the process through which hunting contributed to the dynamics and development of political culture. The third chapter has demonstrated that hunting was not an infrequent recreational or casual pursuit, but a popular, commonplace and hierarchical activity that had political, cultural, social and even religious significance in the sixteenth century. The financial records and hunting manuals provided evidence that hunting was a permanently established feature of the Queen’s household. The chapter concluded that hunting on progress provided opportunities for the Queen not only to assert her agency through granting and denying access to her, but also to project a martial identity through diplomatic exchanges. These occasions of hunting on progress also contributed to the dynamics of political culture by creating connections between the sovereign and host, as well as between sovereign and her household staff. The examples of Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon and Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester, illustrate this close connection. The organization and hierarchy of the hunting staff has identified an apprenticeship system and the influence of familial networks. Hunting on progresses symbolised the Queen’s royal authority and martial identity through physical display.

Finally, the study of progresses has led to the confirmation of how politics and religion were interconnected while being shaped through the Queen’s desire for conformity, policing the conduct of services and influencing religious policies through the use of spectacle and display. The fourth chapter has built on previous work of scholars on religious dynamics within England, but has also contributed to these scholarly works and the understanding of

these dynamics by examining the role of the Chapel Royal in influencing the exercise of faith and the moulding of religious practice. By examining the components of the Chapel Royal that were taken on progress with the Queen, this thesis has demonstrated that joining religion and politics with spectacle and display enabled progresses to serve not only as a vehicle for carrying the Queen around her kingdom, but also as a means by which propaganda and royal supremacy were projected to both her court and her subjects.

In a recent modern day depiction of a conversation between Queen Elizabeth II and her grandmother, Queen Mary, they discuss the role and duty of monarchy. Mary declares:

Monarchy is God's sacred mission to grace and dignify the earth, to give ordinary people an ideal to strive towards, an example of nobility and beauty to raise them from their wretched lives. Monarchy is a calling from God. That's why you're crowned in an abbey, not a government building, why you're anointed, not appointed...you're answerable to God in your duty, not the public.¹⁰⁷⁷

This dialogue is not so remote from sixteenth-century ideas of monarchy as it articulates the essence and embodiment of the British monarchy, and how they saw their role as sovereign. Unlike the modern British monarchy, the Tudor monarchy was “answerable” to the public and saw their role as sovereign in similar ways. The reign of Elizabeth I highlighted the benefits of being visible and accessible by the public through royal progresses. The quote, in many ways, highlights the important belief that was at the heart of Elizabeth I's queenship: that the duty to God and the wielding of power were essential for effective rulership and sovereignty.

I. Reflection and the Wider Contribution

This thesis contributes to the wider study of sixteenth-century European history by identifying the royal progress as a key means of projecting magnificence and display. In the process, it highlights opportunities for scholars to engage with and expand upon our knowledge of not just Elizabeth I and her world, but also larger themes within the historical landscape including the exercise of female power, definitions of political culture, and the spread of transcultural ideas. By utilizing royal progresses as a lens through which to re-examine the exercise of power, and more specifically the exercise of female power, we are able to develop new approaches to the rituals, ceremonies and methods by which power was cultivated and female networks were created. For example, if we take the methodology used in the three case studies presented in the thesis and apply it to women in Europe across the social hierarchy, then we are able to develop our understanding of how female power and diplomacy was cultivated through progresses, how female networks functioned and

¹⁰⁷⁷ Peter Morgan, “Act of God”, *The Crown*, episode 4, season 1, directed by Julian Jarrold (Netflix, aired 4 November 2016). Claire Foy played the role of Queen Elizabeth II and Eileen Atkins played the role of Queen Mary.

expanded, and finally, how relationships between women across classes were identified and conducted.

As a point of comparison with Elizabeth I, Catherine de Medici also went on royal progresses through France in the sixteenth century, in her case accompanied by her sons. These progresses have been characterised as “longer...grander...and more classically inspired” than their Elizabethan equivalents.¹⁰⁷⁸ By applying the same questions posed within this thesis to the Valois royal progresses and exploring the differences between English and continental European progresses in more detail, we can potentially assess which had the greater impact and how these differences influenced dialogues about power in both England and France. Identifying the dialogues that took place between the sovereign, royal family and their hosts and subjects, and assessing the responses to the sovereign’s presence, would allow us to understand the nature of the relationship between the French rulers and their people, along with understanding how identities were formed and expressed.

European political culture had its own unique dynamics and a variety of influencing factors. Through the study of European progresses, and the application of similar questions and the use of the methodology from this thesis, then we can expand our understanding of how diplomatic relations, court dynamics and social connections were formed and executed. Studying the royal progresses of Frederick V, for instance, would expand our understanding of the relationship between him and the “rest of Bohemian crown lands.”¹⁰⁷⁹ We would be able to assess how he saw his subject within these areas, and how his people saw him. We might also ascertain if any of these visits influenced political policies and also if these visits aided in the furthering of careers within Frederick’s court. Furthermore, we would be able to analyse how diplomatic relationships were forged, and the rhetoric used between the sovereign and the people of authority within these territories, thus determining whether any of these areas prospered because of the royal visits. Additionally, through progresses we would be able identify influential members within the various European courts serving as ambassadors within England, and their influence and contributions to the political dynamics. In fact, within the Holy Roman Empire royal progresses served to “win recognition of those Lords” within the localities.¹⁰⁸⁰

Finally, progresses provided a mode through which ideas, beliefs, language, and knowledge were shared. By engaging in the study of progresses within Europe we can examine when and how progresses aided in the spread of ideas, and the extent to which transcultural exchange occurred between nations, governments and people. For example, with the Holy Roman Empire consisting of a variety of cultural states, each one essentially had its own social system, cultural history and custom. By utilising the study of progresses,

¹⁰⁷⁸ Butler, *Music in Elizabethan Court Politics*, 143.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Andrew Thomas, *House Divided: Wittelsbach Confessional Court Cultures in the Holy Roman Empire, c. 1550-1650* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 192.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Peter Wilson, *Heart of Europe: A History of the Holy Roman Empire* (London: Penguin Books LTD, 2016), 308.

we are able to determine if any visits influenced the exchange of those social customs or cultural ideas. This could be done by assessing the literature and festivals that celebrated these royal visits within the specific areas and identify the rhetoric used and do a comparative study of the various accounts and literature produced for the various festivals. As Peter Wilson has observed in his study of the Holy Roman Empire, it was “clear that written official rules were often ignored and misunderstood by their intended recipients.”¹⁰⁸¹ Therefore, we are left to wonder if royal progresses served to fix these misunderstandings?

II. Going Forward

While this thesis has provided three case studies, each with its own set of questions and outcomes, there is still more scholarly work that can be done on the progresses of Queen Elizabeth I, particularly in terms of continuing to define her queenship and finding instances of when she asserted her agency. Elizabeth’s progresses provided many opportunities for the exchange of knowledge, ideas and methods of learning. Linda Shenk concludes that Elizabeth understood that “the image of a learned prince would become a key facet of royal image-making.”¹⁰⁸² In fact, on progress throughout her reign Elizabeth I had several occasions where she engaged in scholarly and learned debates with her subjects. In 1564 and 1566, the Queen visited the two great institutions of learning: Cambridge and Oxford.¹⁰⁸³

While it was common for Tudor monarchs to go to the institutions of learning, the question that could be posed is: did the monarch engage in debates? To what extent did they value learning, and how was that sense of value expressed? Were these learned exchanges distinct because they occurred on progresses, as opposed to taking place in the Queen’s palaces in London? Progresses provided an opportunity for Elizabeth to engage publicly in the pursuit of learning. More importantly, these visits to the Universities were also occasions that provided opportunities “to counsel the Queen.”¹⁰⁸⁴ Yet, how far did they counsel her? Did the Queen reciprocate this counselling? Finally, how far did the pursuit of learning and counsel go? These questions will hopefully help us to understand the nature of learning in

¹⁰⁸¹ Wilson, *Heart of Europe*, 321.

¹⁰⁸² Linda Shenk, *Learned Queen: The Image of Elizabeth I in Politics and Poetry* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 5.

¹⁰⁸³ For the Cambridge visit in 1564, most of progress and its contents are detailed in the records of HHA, Cecil Papers, Vol. 229, fos. 27-28, in “Stokys’s Book” (CUL, University Archives, Misc. Collect. 4, fos. 63-78), and Stokys’s official university records (CUL, University Archives, Collect. Admin. 5, fos. 156[a-b]). These records have been edited by Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Faith Eales and reproduced in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:374-437. For the Oxford visit in 1566, the progress and its contents are taken from miscellaneous records. They are edited by Sarah Knight and reproduced in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions*, 1:466-672.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Siobhan Keenan, “Spectator and spectacle: Royal Entertainments at the Universities in the 1560s”, in *The Progresses, Pageants and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*, eds. Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 86.

Elizabethan England as well as the way that learning was perceived throughout the social hierarchy, and finally, how progresses facilitated learning and knowledge.

These learned exchanges could help point to instances in which Queen Elizabeth asserted her agency. An example occurred in chapter 4, in which the debates with Oxford scholars in 1566 revealed the dialogue regarding the wearing of vestments, which became a huge controversy. By exploring these situations on royal progresses within the parameters of learning and knowledge, we could begin to understand that though it was a controversy, the dialogue exchanged within the universities served as teaching and learning moments. Elizabeth I listened to the scholars and their arguments. Progresses provided a non-threatening and conducive environment that facilitated that discussion. It was this knowledge and learning that could have played a factor in the Queen writing a letter to Archbishop Matthew Parker after the Oxford visit about the vestments and other religious issues. The continuing study of royal progresses is vital for obtaining a holistic understanding of this influential sovereign and her people.

Appendix 1

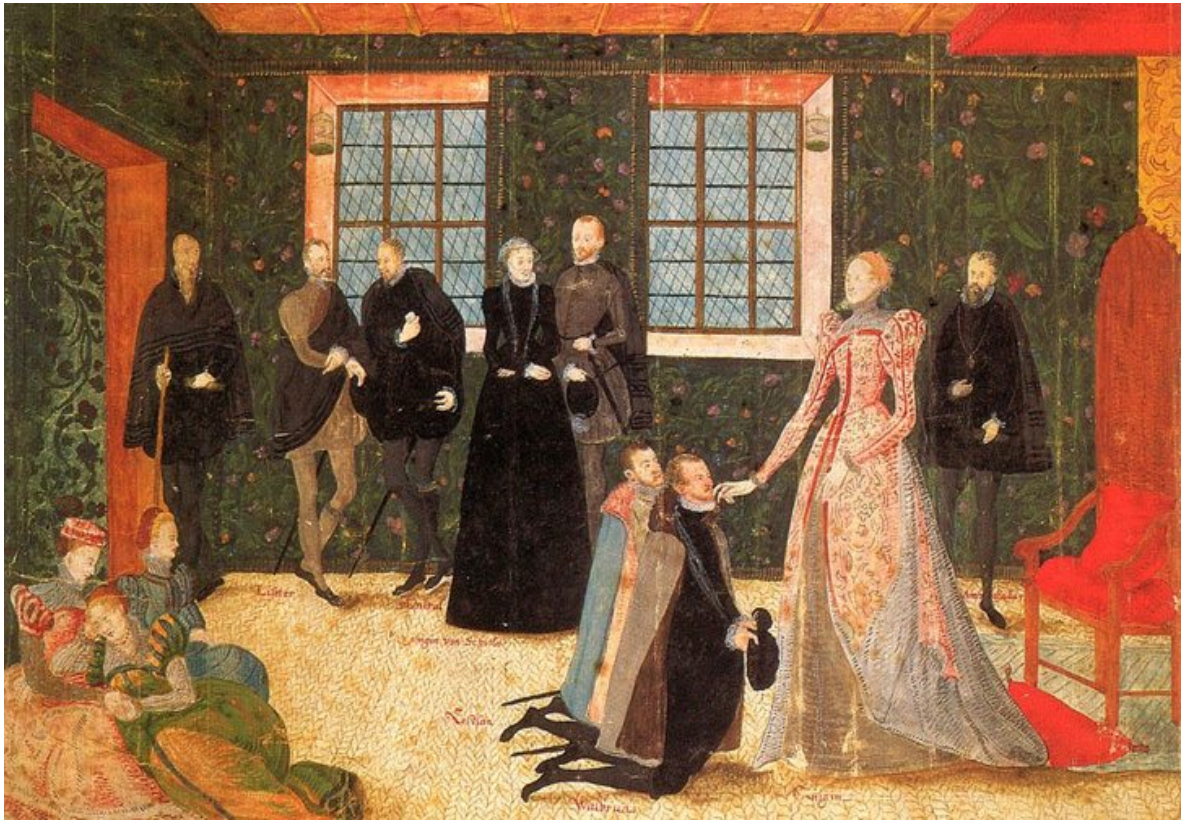


Image 1: “Queen Elizabeth I receiving two Dutch ambassadors”, unknown artist, c. 1575, Neue Galerie, Kassell, Germany.

90

The booke of Hunting.

Of the place where and howe an assembly should be made,
in the presence of a Prince, or some honorable person.

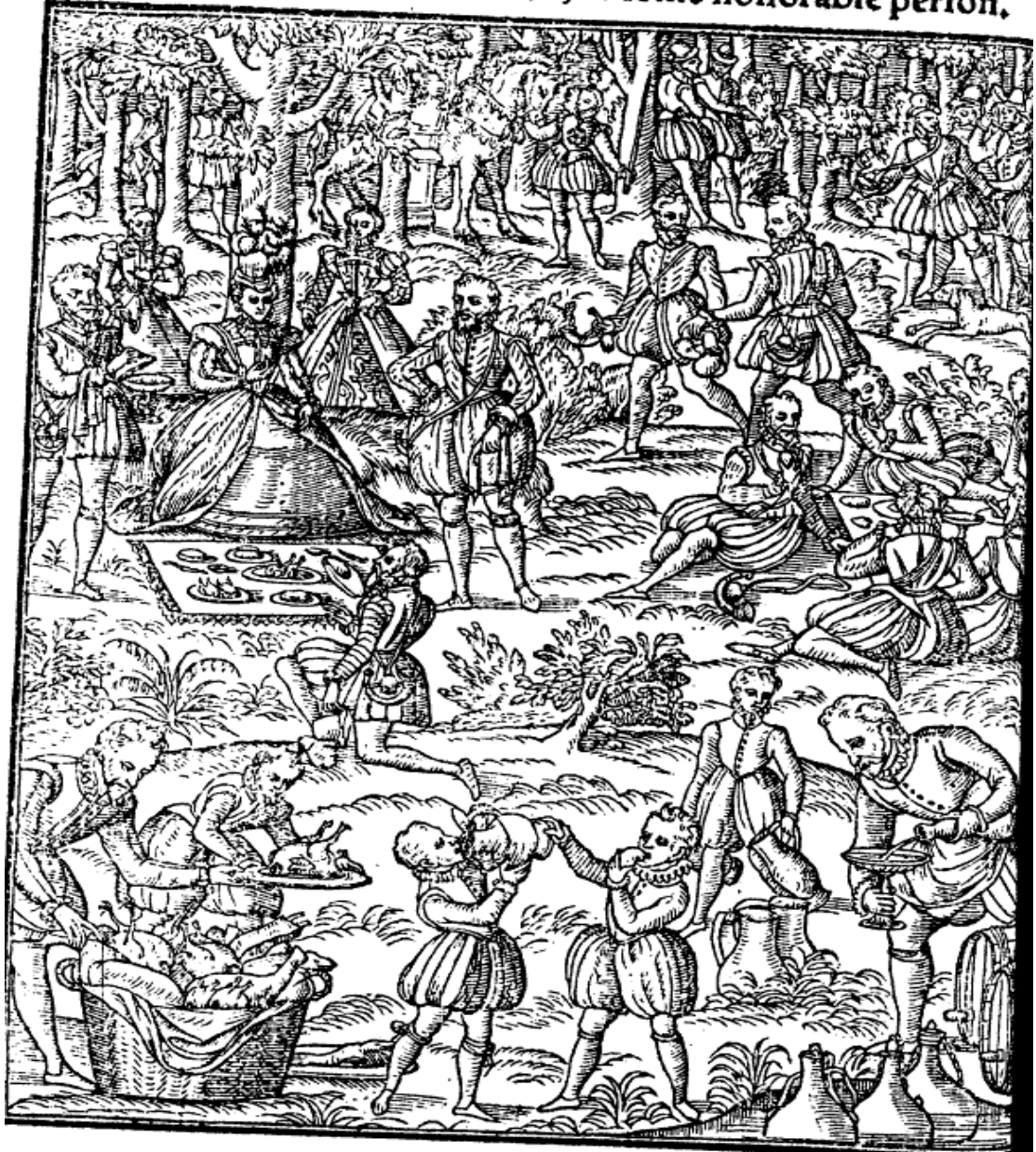


Image 2: "An Assembly" from George Gascoigne's *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, c. 1575, 90.

The booke of Hunting. 95
**The report of a Huntelman vpon the sight of
 an Hart, in pride of greace. Chap.36.**

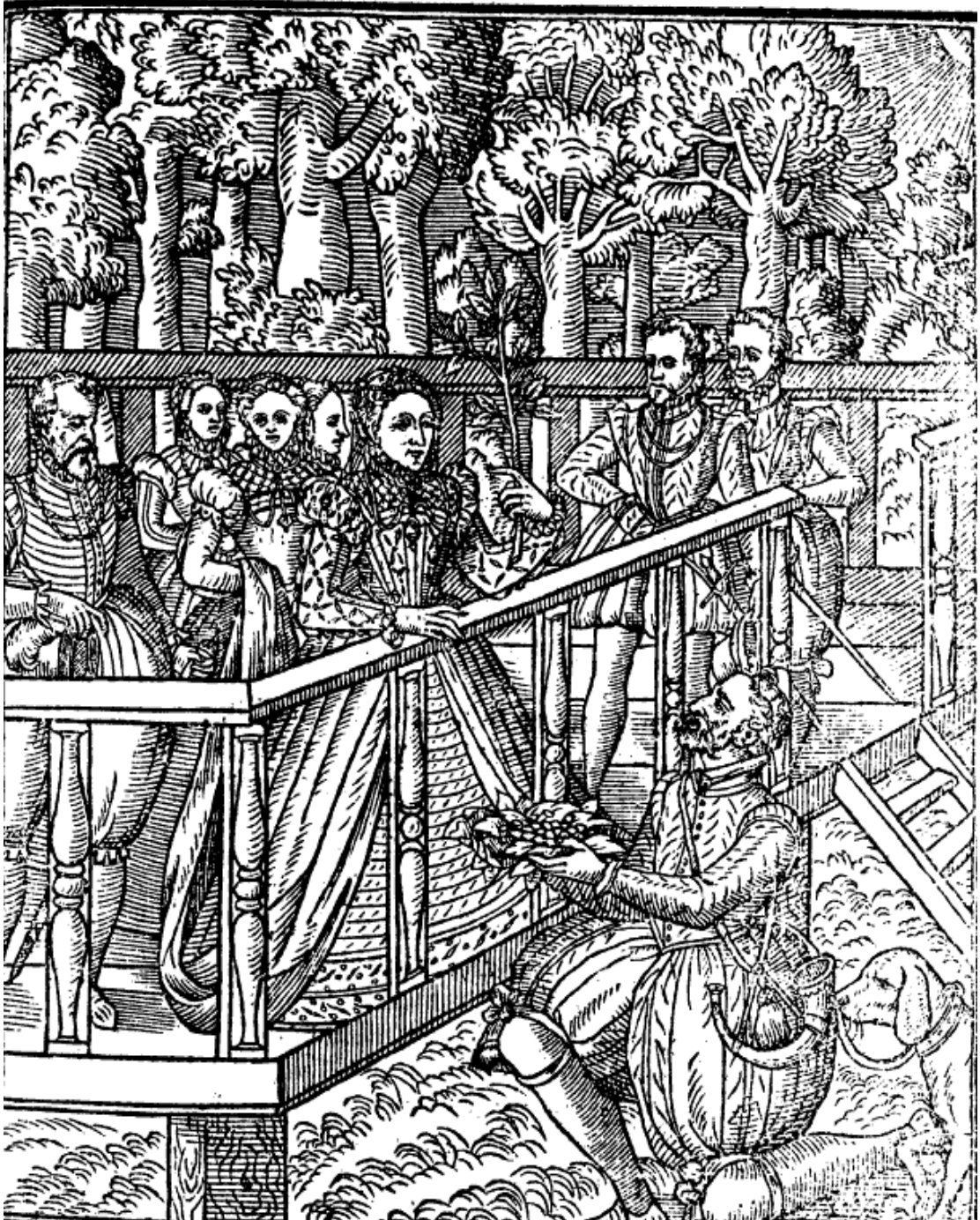


Image 3: "Report of the Huntsman" from George Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, c. 1575, 95.

Appendix 4



Image 4: "Death of the Deer" from George Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie*, c. 1575, 133.

Appendix 6: Table 1— Queen Elizabeth I Hunting on Progress

The following table compiles all of the instances of when Queen Elizabeth I was hunting on progress and the location of where she hunted. This was determined by notating where there were hunting parks with the corresponding hosts, along with the primary source that notes that Queen hunting. This is then cross-referenced with Mary Hill Cole's table (180-201) in *The Portable Queen* (1998) and/or John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I* (2014). The notation of the source that mentions or highlights the hunting activities of the Queen follows each instance. In reading the table, where "Cole" is indicated refers to the table between pages 181-202. Any other pages indicated reference an occasion that is used within the text of the work. The reference of Nichols indicates the source used within the relevant volume. The following abbreviations are used:

LMA—London Metropolitan Archives

SP—State Papers (The National Archives or State Papers Online)

MS CP—Cecil Papers Manuscripts located at Hatfield House Archives

CSP—Calendar of State Papers (Spanish)

Year	Location/Host	Source
1559 August	Eltham (royal residence)	Cole; Nichols, Vol. I
1561 July	Wansted/Epping Forest	LMA; Cole
1561 September	Hatfield (royal residence)	MS Cecil Papers; Cole
1561 September	Enfield (royal residence)	Cole; Nichols, Vol. I
1564 June	Hampton Court/Queen	State Papers 70/72 f.81
1564 June	Richmond/Queen	State Papers 70/72 f.81
1564 July	Theobalds	MS CP; Cole
1564 July-August	Enfield (royal residence)	MS CP; Cole
1566 July	Hatfield (royal residence)	MS CP; Cole
1566 August	Kenilworth/Robert Dudley	Cole; Nichols, Vol. I
1568 July	Enfield (royal residence)	Cole; Nichols, Vol. I
1568 July	Hatfield (royal residence)	MS CP; Cole
1571 August	Flitcham	MS CP
1571 August	Hatfield (royal residence)	MS CP; Cole
1571 September ??		SP 12/80/21; Cole-152
1571 September	Theobalds	MS CP; Cole
1572 July	Enfield (royal residence)	Cole; Nichols, Vol. II
1572 July	Hatfield (royal residence)	MS CP; Cole
Aug 1572	Kenilworth/Robert Dudley	Nichols, Vol. II, 38 & 41
Aug 1572	Berkeley Castle/Lord Berkeley	Nichols, Vol. II, 43
1573 February	Theobalds	MS CP; Cole
1574	Berkeley Castle/Lord Berkeley	Cole, 149
1575 May	Theobalds	MS CP; Cole
1575 June	Hatfield (royal residence)	MS CP
1575 July	Kenilworth/Robert Dudley	Nichols, Vol. II; Cole
1576 June	Hatfield (royal residence)	MS CP; Cole
1576 June	Eltham (royal residence)	Cole; Nichols, Vol. II
1576 August	Hatfield (royal residence)	MS CP; Cole
1577 February	Wansted/Epping Forest	LMA; Cole
1577 May	Theobalds	MS CP; Cole
1577 September	Hanworth (royal residence)	Cole; Nichols, Vol. II
1578 May	Theobalds	MS CP; Cole
1578 May	Wansted/Epping Forest	LMA; Cole
1578 August	Cotessy	Dovey, 76 (Cross ref. Cole and Nichols)
1578 September	Horseheath	Dovey, 121 (Cross ref. Cole and Nichols)
1578 September	Horham Hall	Dovey, 126 (Cross ref. Cole and Nichols)

1578 September	Roodwood Hall	Dovey, 140 (Cross ref. Cole and Nichols)
1578 September	Wansted/Epping Forest	LMA; Cole
1579 September	Wansted/Epping Forest	LMA; Cole
1581	Nonsuch	CSP Spanish, 1580-86, 175-176
1581 June	Eltham (royal residence)	Cole; Nichols, Vol. III
1581 July	Wansted/Epping Forest	LMA; Cole
1581 September	Eltham (royal residence)	Cole; Nichols, Vol. III
1583 May	Theobalds	MS CP; Cole
1585 May	Theobalds	MS CP; Cole
1587 July	Theobalds	MS CP; Cole
1587 July	Enfield (royal residence)	Cole; Nichols, Vol. III
1587 July	Waltham Forest	Cole; Nichols, Vol. III
1588 May	Wansted/Epping Forest	LMA; Cole
1590 June	Waltham Forest	Cole; Nichols, Vol. III
1590 August	Oatlands (royal residence)	SP 78/28 f. 322
1591 May	Theobalds	MS CP; Cole
1591 May	Eltham (royal residence)	Cole; Nichols, Vol. III
1592 July	Enfield (royal residence)	SP 78/28/ f. 294
1592 August	Hanworth (royal residence)	Cole; Nichols, Vol. III
1594 June	Theobalds	MS CP; Cole
1594 June	Eltham (royal residence)	Cole; Nichols, Vol. III
1597 July	Enfield (royal residence)	MS CP; Cole
1597 July	Enfield Chase (royal park)	MS CP; Cole
1597 August	Waltham Forest	Cole; Nichols, Vol. IV
1597 September	Waltham Forest	Cole; Nichols, Vol. III
1598 July	Eltham (royal residence)	Cole; Nichols, Vol. IV
1600 September	Hanworth (royal residence)	Cole; Nichols, Vol. IV
1601 February ??		SP 12/278 f. 37
1601 July	Eltham (royal residence)	Cole; Nichols, Vol. IV
1601 July	Hanworth (royal residence)	Cole; Nichols, Vol. IV
1602 May	St. James Park	Cole; Nichols, Vol. IV
1602 July	Harefield	Cole; Nichols, Vol. IV
1602 September	Chertsey/'in the forest'	Cole; Nichols, Vol. IV

Appendix 7: Table 2—Queen Elizabeth I's Hunting Staff

The following information was compiled using the AO 3 (Auditors of the Imprest and Successor Accounts). The Queen's hunting staff were mentioned by name in this particular record. These records were cross referenced with the E 101 records to confirm the names. However, the AO 3 records were more detailed than the E 101 records. Some names appear in the AO 3 but not in the E 101 records. The information is divided by year and includes the positions and all of the individuals that served in that position for the year.

D—Died during the year of which they were serving.

f—Individual noted to be “fewmishers”—having to inspect the animal feces.

CoL—Individuals who were listed specifically as “Children of the Leashe”

	<u>1560/1</u>
Falconers	John Garrett Rafe Appowell Edward Shepherd Peter Sherdley John Broode John Machel John Talbot Wylliam Bramyngberry Henry Berd Clement Harlestone Henry Horwoode John Wheler Willian Beaumont William Seton John Harrys Robert Craggye Thomas Farnall Christopher Wallysone Robert Hayes
Spannyel Keeper	Robert Craggye
Hunters	George Woodes James Maperley Henry Sell Humfrey Painsforde Safe Monedaye John Lyndes Thomas Doddesworth Walter Doddesworth Christopher Duce
Harryers	William Turner William Duce Thomas Anncell William Duce (f)

William Swayne (f)
 Thomas Gylsone
 Robert Wylchin

Leashe John Trewchilde
 Lawrence Waystaffe
 George Attcewyn
 John Wheeler
 John Streate

Crossbowe Gylee Churchyll

Toyles John Thomworth (Master)
 Thomas Hall
 William Stanlake

Falcouners 1561/2
 Sir Henry Carye (Master)
 George Throgmerton
 John Garrett
 Peter Sherdley
 John Broodes
 John Mychell
 Rawlfe Apowell
 Edward Shepherd
 Wylliam Bramyberry
 Clement Harleston
 John Talbott
 William Beaumont
 John Whelar
 Henry Berd
 Thomas Horwoode
 William Seaton
 John Harrye

**Spannyel
 Keeper** Robert Craggye

Hunters George Woodes
 James Maperley
 Henry Sell
 Homfrey Painsford
 John Lynde
 Thomas Doddesworth
 Walter Doddesworth
 Christopher Duce

Harryers William Turner
 Thomas Awmcell
 William Duck

William Duck (f)
 William Swayne (f)
 Thomas Gybson
 Robert Wylchen

Leashe John Trewchildes
 Lawraunce Wagstaffes
 George Aldewynne
 John Whelor
 John Streaton
 John Cox

Crossbowe N/A

Toyles N/A

Falcouners 1562/3
 Sir Henry Cary (Master)
 George Throgmortone
 Peter Sherdley
 John Brode
 Edward Sheppard
 William Bramyngberry
 Clement Harleston
 John Talbott
 William Beaumont
 John Wheler
 Henry Bearde
 Thomas Horwoode
 William Seatone
 John Harryes
 Thomas Farnall
 Christopher Wallysone
 Robert Hayes
 Henry Dobbys
 John Garrett (D)
 Raulphe Aphowell (D)

**Spannyel
 Keeper** Robert Craggye

Hunters George Woods
 James Mayleye
 Henry Sell
 Homphrey Painsforde
 Ralfe Moneday
 John Lynde
 Thomas Doddesworth
 Walter Doddesworth

Christopher Duce

Harryers	William Turner Thomas Anncell William Duce William Duce (f) William Swayne (f) Thomas Gybsone Robert Wylchen
Leashe	John Cope John Trewchild Lawraunce Wagstaffe George Awldwyn John Wheler John Streate
Crossbowe	Gylee Churchyll Robert Chyldren Thomas Swayne
Toyles	N/A
Falcouners	<u>1563/4</u> Sir Henry Cary (Master) George Throgmertone Peter Sherdley John Brode Sr John Brode Jr John Michell Edward Sheppard Henry Dobbys Wylliam Bramyngberry Clement Harleston John Talbott William Beaumonte John Wheler Henry Bearde Thomas Horwoode Wylliam Seaton John Harrys Christopher Wallysone Robert Hayes
Spannyel Keeper	Robert Craghie
Hunters	George Woodes Henry Harvye

Homfrey Paynesforth
 John Lynd
 Thomas Doddesworth
 Walter Doddesworth
 Christopher Duce

Harryers

William Turner ()
 Thomas Mannsell
 William Duce
 William Duce (f)
 Wylliam Swayne (f)
 Thomas Gybsone (f)
 Robert Wylchen (f)

Leashe

John Trewchild
 Lawraunce Wagstaffe
 John Wheler
 John Strete
 John Cox

Crossbowe

Robert Children
 Thomas Swayne

Toyles

John Thamworth (Master)
 Thomas Hall
 William Stanlocke

Falcouners

1564/5
 Sir Henry Cary (Master)
 George Throckmorton
 Peter Sherdley
 John Brode Sr
 John Muchell
 Edward Sheppard
 Henry Dobbyne
 John Brode Jr (D)
 Symond Bagget
 Wylliam Bramyng berry
 Cleament Harleston
 John Talbott
 Wylliam Beaumont
 John Wheeler
 Henry Bearde
 Thomas Horwood
 Wylliam Seaton
 John Harrys
 Thomas Farnall
 Robert Hayes

Spannyel Keeper	Robert Craggye
Hunters	Henry Harvy James Mayley Henry Sell Homfrey Painsford John Lynde Thomas Doddesworth Walter Doddesworth Christopher Duce
Harryers	Wylliam Turner Thomas Anncell Wylliam Duce William Duce (f) Wylliam Swayne (f) Thomas Gybsonn Robert Wylchen
Leashe	John Cox
Crossbowe	Robert Children Thomas Swayne
Toyles	N/A
Falcouners	1576/7 Sir Henrie Carewe (Master) George Throckemarton Peter Sherdley John Michell Henrie Dobbins Symonde Baggott George Garrett William Bramyngburie William Beaumont Gregorie Harbottell Lewis Griffith William Harpeham Walter Thomas
Spannyel Keeper	N/A
Hunters	Thomas Browne John Gambolde Thomas Monday Henrie Croxton

Harryers	William Turner Thomas Anncell William Duce William Duck (f) Thomas Gibson (f) Robert Wilkm William Stevenson
Leashe	Thomas Clarke John Cox (D) Edward Hollowes Lawraunce Wagstaff John Wheler John Streate Sr John Streate Jr
Crossbowe	Robert Children Thomas Swaine
Toyles	N/A
Falcouners	<u>1586/7</u> Sir Henry Carye (Master) George Throckmerton John Michell Henry Dobbins Simond Baggett George Garrett Thomas Cross Fraunces Brigham Gregorie Harbottle Lewys Griffith William Harpham Walter Thomas George Wilchin John Baxter John Harris (D)
Spannyel Keeper	John Wilchin
Hunters	Roberte Earl of Leicester (Master) Henry Harvie John Lyne Thomas Forrest John Duck Thomas Browne

	Richard Mercer William Saleals Dilley Richard Mondaie Robert Duck
Harryers	William Duck William Duck (f) Thomas Gibson William Stevenson
Leashe	Edmond Hampshere Edward Helwys John Streete (CoL) Abraham Avelin (CoL) Thomas Cow (CoL) John Lavedaie (CoL)
Crossbowe	Robert Children Thomas Swaine
Toyles	Henry Sackford (Master) Thomas Hall Giles Haynes
	<u>1588/9</u>
Falcouners	Sir Henry Carye (Master) George Throkmorton Henry Dobbins Simond Bagott George Garrett Fraunces Brigham John Mychell (D) Geogrye Harbtlle Lewis Griffith William Harpham Walter Thomas George Wilchin John Baxter William Craye William Seaton (D) Thomas Saull Christopher Staplehill (D)
Spannyel Keeper	John Wilchin
Hunters	Henry Harvie John Lyne Thomas Forrestt

	John Duce Thomas Browne William Saleals Dilleye Robert Duck Richard Mercer Richard Monday
Harryers	William Duce William Duce (f) Thomas Gibson (f)
Leashe	Edmond Hampsher Edward Helwys John Streate (CoL) Abraham Anelinge (CoL) Thomas Cowper (CoL) John Loueday (CoL)
Crossbowe	Robert Children Thomas Swayne
Toyles	Henry Sackford (Master) Thomas Hall Richard Nelson
Falcouners	<u>1590/1</u> Sir Henry Carye (Master) George Throkmorton Henrye Dobbins George Garrett Fraunces Brigham William Gregory Harbottle Lewys Griffith William Harpham George Wilchin John Baxter Thomas Ganll Richard Edmondes William Craye Richard Prince John Michael (D)
Spannyel Keeper	John Wilchin
Hunters	James Bond Henry Hawye (D) Thomas Browne

John Lynd
Thomas Forrest
John Duck
Richard Sales Dillye
Robert Duck
Richard Mondaye
Richard Mercer

Harryers

William Duck
William Duck (f)
Thomas Gibson (f)

Leashe

Edmond Hampsher
Edward Hewisse
John Street (CoL)
Abraham Avelin (CoL)
Thomas Cooper (CoL)
John Louedaye (CoL)

Crossbowe

N/A

Toyles

N/A

Appendix 8: Table 3—Queen Elizabeth I’s Hunting Staff Annual Finances

This table was compiled through transcribing the records in AO 3 (Auditors of the Imprest and Successor Accounts) that document the payments made to the hunting staff of Queen Elizabeth I. These figures were then cross referenced with E 101. Finally, the amounts paid to each individual were then added together to get the annual figures listed below.

	Spannyell													
	Falconers		Keeper		Hunters		Harryers		Leashe		Crossbowe		Toyles	
1560/1	352li 17s	--	16li 2s 8d	101li 1s	--	7li 17s 6d	10li	--	--	22li 13s 2d	107li 1s 6d			
1561/2	365li 12s 10d	47li 9s	--	97li 1s	--	12li 17s 6d	18li 6s 8d	--	--	N/A	N/A			
1562/3	385li 12s 11d	30li 6s 9d	83li 19s 4d	83li 19s 4d	7li 17s 6d	13li 6s 8d	13li 6s 8d	13li 6s 8d	40li 11s 1d	21li 19s 8d	N/A			
1563/4	403li 7s 1d	37li 8s 3d	67li 7s 10d	67li 7s 10d	N/A	N/A	3li 6s 8d	3li 6s 8d	21li 19s 8d	99li 15s 3d				
1564/5	395li 12s 10d	39li 3s	--	114li	--	N/A	14li	--	30li 3s 4d	N/A				
1576/7	421li 17s 6d	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	14li	--	23li 9s 10d	N/A				
1586/7	452li 8s	--	29li 4s	171li 2s	--	N/A	14li	--	25li 18s	354li 10s 8d				
1588/9	551li 12s 1d	29li 4s	--	133li 5s 4d	4d	3li 7s 6d	14li 3s 4d	--	9li 5s	87li 17s 4d				
1590/1	373li 6s 10d	29li 4s	--	175li 17s 7d	7d	3li 7s 6d	21li 11s	--	23li 11s	N/A				
1595/6	183li 19s 1d	14li 13s 4d	70li 11s 9d	70li 11s 9d	--	22li -- 6d	5li 7s 6d	--	7li 12s 9d	94li 18s 3d				
1597/8	352li 11s 8d	29li 4s	--	116li 17s 11d	11d	1li 2s 6d	27li 6s 8d	--	32li 5s	N/A				

Total Annual Finances:

*All hunting positions calculated together, with the exception of this positions where no information was available. The annual finances are a rough calculation for the year.

*N/A—Not Available

1560/1	617li 12s 10d
1561/2	541li 7s --
1562/3	561li 14s 3d
1563/4	643li 4s 8d
1564/5	582li 5s 10d
1576/7	459li 7s 4d
1586/7	1047li 2s 8d
1588/9	828li 14s 7d
1590/1	626li 17s 11d
1595/6	399li 3s 2d
1597/8	559li 7s 9d

Appendix 9: Table 4—Holy Days Occurring on Progress

The table below compiles the instances where the Queen was away on progress and a specific holy day was to be observed according to the *Book of Common Prayer*.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Holy Day</u>	<u>Location on Progress</u>
1559 April 25	St. Mark	Baynard's Castle/Earl of Pembroke
1559 July 25	St. James	Oxford/royal residence
1560 August 5	N/A	Croydon/Archbishop of Canterbury
1560 April 25	St. Mark	Deptford
1560 July 29	N/A	Lambeth/Archbishop of Canterbury
1560 August 7-8	N/A	Farnham/Bishop of Winchester
1560 August 13-16	N/A	Southampton
1560 August 16-23	N/A	Winchester
1560 August 24	St. Bartholomew	Basing/Marquis of Winchester
1561 July 25	St. James	New Hall in Boreham/Earl of Sussex
1561 August 24	St. Bartholomew	Lees/Lord Rich
1561 September 21	St. Matthew	Enfield/royal residence
1563 July 20	N/A	Lambeth/Archbishop of Canterbury
1563 July 25	St. James	Lambeth/Archbishop of Canterbury
1564 July 25	St. James	Theobalds/Sir William Cecil
1564 August 5	N/A	Cambridge
1564 August 18	N/A	Long Stanton/Bishop of Ely
1564 August 24	St. Bartholomew	Shardeloes-Amersham/William Totehill
1565 November 1	All Saints	Nonsuch/Earl of Arundel
1566 February 24	St. Matthias	Earl of Southampton
1566 July 25	St. James	Aperthorpe/Sir Walter Mildmay
1566 August 8	N/A	Coventry
1566 August 24	St. Bartholomew	Charlecote/Sir Thomas Lucy
1566 August 31	N/A	Oxford
1567 January 17	N/A	Croydon/Archbishop of Canterbury
1567 January 25	Conversion of St. Paul	Nonsuch/Earl of Arundel
1567 August 24	St. Bartholomew	Farnham/Bishop of Winchester
1568 July 25	St. James	Enfield/royal residence
1568 August 24	St. Bartholomew	Grafton Regis/royal residence or Charlton/Sir Robert Lane
1569 July 21	N/A	Lambeth/Archbishop of Canterbury
1569 August 8	N/A	Farnham/Bishop of Winchester
1569 August 24	St. Bartholomew	Kingsley/Odiham
1569 September 6	N/A	Southampton
1569 September 21	St. Matthew	Hampshire-Variou hosts
1570 July 25	St. James	Chenies/Earl of Bedford
1570 August 24	St. Bartholomew	Wing & Eythorpe/Sir William Dormer
1570 September 21	St. Matthew	Reading/royal residence
1571 September 21	St. Matthew	Theobalds/Sir William Cecil
1572 July 25	St. James T	heobalds/Sir William Cecil
1572 August 24	St. Bartholomew	Great Tew/Henry Rainsford
1572 September 21	St. Matthew	Reading/royal residence
1573 February 24	St. Matthias	Fold in South Mimms/Mr. Waller?
1573 July 17	N/A	Croydon/Archbishop of Canterbury
1573 July 25	St. James	Knole in Sevenoaks
1573 August 45	St. Bartholomew	Westenhanger/royal residence
1573 September 9	N/A	Canterbury/Archbishop of Canterbury
1573 September 21	St. Matthew	Rochester/The Crown
1573 March 3	N/A	Lambeth/Archbishop of Canterbury
1574 July 25	St. James	Woodstock/royal residence
1574 August 14	N/A	Bristol
1574 August 20	N/A	Bath
1574 August 24	St. Bartholomew	Lacock/Sir Henry Sherington
1574 September 6	N/A	Salisbury/Bishop of Salisbury

1574 September 9	N/A	Winchester
1574 September 14	N/A	Farnham/Bishop of Winchester
1574 September 21	St. Matthew	Farnham/Bishop of Winchester
1575 June 24	Nativity of St. John	Grafton/royal residence
1575 June 29	St. Peter	Grafton/royal residence
1575 July 25	St. James	Kenilworth/Robert Dudley
1575 August 13	N/A	Worcester/Bishop of Worcester
1575 August 24	St. Bartholomew	Sudeley Castle/Lord Chandos
1576 May 11 St.	Barnabas	Osterley/Sir Thomas Gresham
1576 August 24	St. Bartholomew	Hatfield House/royal residence
1576 September 13	N/A	Farnham/Bishop of Winchester
1576 September 21	St. Matthew	Odiham
1576 September 29	St. Michael and All Angels	Reading/royal residence
1576 October 9	N/A	Windsor
1577 June 24	Nativity of St. John	Southwark/George Earl of Cumberland
1577 July 25	St. James	Barn Elms/Sir Francis Walsingham
1578 May 11	St. Barnabas	Standsted Abbots/Edward Bashe
1578 July 25	St. James	Berden Priory/Margery Averie
1578 August 16	N/A	Norwich/Bishop of Norwich
1578 August 24	St. Bartholomew	Wood Rising/Sir Robert Southwell
1578 September 21	St. Matthew	Loughborough/John Stonard
1579 June 24	Nativity of St. John	Wansted/Robert Dudley
1579 September 21	St. Matthew	Brentwood/John Searle
1580 August 24	St. Bartholomew	Woking/royal residence
1582 February 12	N/A	Canterbury
1585 March 26-30	N/A	Lambeth/Croydon/A. of Canterbury
1585 April 3	N/A	Lambeth/Archbishop of Canterbury
1585 July 25	St. James	Nonsuch
1585 December 21	St. Thomas	Lambeth/Lord Burghley
1586 May 1	St. Philips/St. James	Croydon
1587 May 1	St. Philips/St. James	Nonsuch
1588 January 16	N/A	Lambeth/Archbishop of Canterbury
1588 April	N/A	Croydon/Archbishop of Canterbury
1591 February 11	N/A	Lambeth/Archbishop of Canterbury
1591 May 11	St. Barnabas	Theobalds/Sir William Cecil
1591 August 10	N/A	Farnham/Bishop of Winchester
1591 August 24	St. Bartholomew	Chichester or Stansted/Lord Lumley
1591 September 5	N/A	Southampton
1591 September 10	N/A	Winchester/Bishop of Winchester
1591 September 21	St. Matthew	Elvetham/Earl of Hertford
1591 September 23	N/A	Farnham/Bishop of Winchester
1592 April 17	N/A	Croydon/Archbishop of Canterbury
1592 August 24	St. Bartholomew	Shaw near Newbury/Thomas Dolman
1592 September 21	St. Matthew	Woodstock/royal residence
1593 May 2	N/A	Croydon/Archbishop of Canterbury
1593 May 11	St. Barnabas	Croydon/Archbishop of Canterbury
1593 May 25	N/A	Croydon/Archbishop of Canterbury
1594 June 24	Nativity of St. John	Enfield/royal residence/Robert Wroth
1595 February 18	N/A	Lambeth/Archbishop of Canterbury
1597 August 24	St. Bartholomew	Havering/royal residence
1600 August 24	St. Bartholomew	Molesey/Lady Dorothy Edmondes
1601 May 1	St. Philips/St. James	Highgate/Sir William Cornwallis
1601 September 21	St. Matthew	Crondall/Mr. Paulet
1601 September 22	N/A	Farnham/Bishop of Winchester
1602 April 19	N/A	Lambeth/Archbishop of Canterbury
1602 May 1	St. Philips/St. James	Symondscourt/Lewisham/Richard Buckley
1602 July 28	N/A	Lambeth/Archbishop of Canterbury

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