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0521819229 - Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms

Natalie Mears

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QUEENSHIP AND POLITICAL DISCOURSE IN THE ELIZABETHAN REALMS

This book re-evaluates the nature of Elizabethan politics and Elizabeth's queenship in late sixteenth-century England, Wales and Ireland. Natalie Mears shows that Elizabeth took an active role in policy-making and suggests that Elizabethan politics has to be perceived in terms of personal relations between the queen and her advisers rather than of the hegemony of the privy council. She challenges current perceptions of political debate at court as restricted and integrates recent research on court drama and religious ritual into the wider context of political debate. Finally, providing the first survey of the nature of political debate outside the court, Dr Mears challenges seminal work by Jürgen Habermas, as well as of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century historians, by showing that a 'public sphere' existed in late sixteenth-century England, Wales and Ireland. In doing so, she re-evaluates how sociologists and historians have, and should, conceptualise the 'public sphere'.

NATALIE MEARS is Lecturer in Early Modern History at the University of Durham. She has published in *Historical Journal* and *History* and a number of collections of essays.

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Frontmatter
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Frontmatter

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NATALIE MEARS

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Frontmatter
[More information](#)

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0521819229 - Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms

Natalie Mears

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Contents*

| | |
|--|----------------|
| <i>List of plates</i> | <i>page</i> vi |
| <i>Acknowledgements</i> | vii |
| <i>Conventions and notes on spelling and foliation</i> | x |
| <i>List of abbreviations</i> | xii |
| Introduction | I |
| 1 Elizabethan court politics and the public sphere | 12 |
| 2 Elizabeth I and the politics of intimacy | 33 |
| 3 Gender and consultation | 73 |
| 4 News and political debate at the Elizabethan court | 104 |
| 5 The circulation of news in the Elizabethan realms | 145 |
| 6 The Elizabethan public sphere | 183 |
| 7 Perceptions of Elizabeth and her queenship in public discourse | 217 |
| Conclusion | 257 |
| <i>Select bibliography</i> | 273 |
| <i>Index</i> | 305 |

Cambridge University Press

0521819229 - Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms

Natalie Mears

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Plates*

- 4.I. 'Hezekiah opening up the Temple', mural, Hill Hall,
Essex. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage.
NMR *page* 135
- 7.I. Mural thought to depict Princess Elizabeth, Ashridge
Manor, Hertfordshire. © Crown copyright. NMR 218

Cambridge University Press

0521819229 - Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms

Natalie Mears

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Acknowledgements

For a project that has spanned both a little over three years of a Ph.D. and a further four since, I have a worrying amount of debts to acknowledge, some of which I feel sure I will forget to honour. Despite being an avid and extremely nosy reader of other people's acknowledgements, I would like to break with tradition and begin with thanking those to whom I owe a personal, rather than academic or professional debt: my Mum and Dad. They haven't given me access to obscure archives or granted me permission to cite from manuscripts, but without their unstinting support, financially and emotionally, over the past several years you wouldn't be reading this today. To them, and my sister, Melanie, this book is dedicated.

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Cambridge University Press

0521819229 - *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms*

Natalie Mears

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

viii

Acknowledgements

Guy in a pub one day (allegedly): it was my introduction to John Guy, St Andrews and the start of my academic career.

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Cambridge University Press

0521819229 - *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms*

Natalie Mears

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Acknowledgements*

ix

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Cambridge University Press

0521819229 - Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms

Natalie Mears

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Conventions and notes on spelling and foliation

In an attempt to minimise confusion when referring to individuals whose names/titles changed over the course of the first thirty years of Elizabeth's reign, I have referred to those who were raised to the peerage by their title throughout the main text. So, Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley, is referred to as Burghley even prior to his elevation to the peerage in February 1571; Robert Dudley is referred to as the earl of Leicester etc. In the interests of uniformity – and, no doubt, habit, seeing my thesis was on Francis, duke of Anjou – I have also referred to both Henry (later Henry III of France) and his younger brother, Francis, as the duke of Anjou, aware that this may cause some confusion. Henry was duke of Anjou until his election as king of Poland in 1573 and, on the death of his brother, Charles IX, his accession as king of France in 1574. His younger brother, Francis, initially duke of Alençon, was made duke of Anjou in 1576 as part of a deal for him to withdraw his support from the Huguenots. In order to distinguish clearly which duke I am referring to, I have cited their first name as well as their title. In the footnotes, however, I have retained chronologically correct names so that my references match those on the documents and in catalogues. Also, I have chosen to cite the year of publication in all second and subsequent citations of contemporary news pamphlets. A number of them do have similar titles, especially when they are shortened, and I hope that this may make it a little clearer as to which one is being referred; the reader may also find it useful to be reminded of their date of publication.

All quotations are in the original spelling; 'u', 'v', 'i' and 'j' have been transcribed as individual writers or printers used them and contractions have been expanded silently. Words crossed out in editing are shown using <brackets> and contemporary additions are in *italics*. Conjectured reconstructions, where the manuscripts has been damaged or where the words are not fully legible, are shown in [square brackets].

Cambridge University Press

0521819229 - Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms

Natalie Mears

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Conventions*

xi

Manuscripts in both the National Archives and British Library have been refoiled a number of times, though not consistently: where some manuscripts have an abundance of folio numbers, other volumes have none at all. For SP12 and SP63 I have followed the bold printed numbers in the top right-hand corner. For other SP classes I have followed the small pencil numbers at the bottom centre or centre-right of the page. Citations of documents in unfoliated volumes (such as SP78/4 and SP83/13) have no folio reference except in two cases. First, where I have wished to specify the location of information in longer documents I have (mentally) foliated the documents on an individual basis, i.e. fo.1r, fo.1v etc. Second, where a copy-book of letters has been incorporated into a larger volume (e.g. SP83/9) I have used its foliation/pagination which is clearly marked in the top right (recto side) and left (verso) corners. In all cases, the item number of the document is also cited. For the Cotton manuscripts in the British Library I have followed the pencil numbers at the top and bottom right-hand of the page (recto). BN, Fonds français 15973 is, in Simon Adams's words, 'eccentrically foliated': there are two sets of folio numbers but readers are warned that the most consistent series (and the one that I have followed) is written on the *verso* side. References to other manuscripts should be fairly clear.

Abbreviations

| | |
|--------------------------|--|
| Additional <i>APC</i> | British Library, Additional Manuscripts <i>Acts of the Privy Council of England</i> , ed. John Roche Dasent <i>et al.</i> , new series (46 vols., London, 1890–1964) |
| ASSI 35 | National Archives, Assizes: Norfolk, Home and South-Eastern Circuits: Indictment files |
| BL | British Library, London |
| BN | Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris |
| C ₃ | National Archives, Court of Chancery: Six Clerks Office: Pleadings, Series II, Elizabeth I to the Interregnum |
| CRO 'Carnsew's diary' | Caernarfonshire Record Office, Caernarfon, Wales 'William Carnsew of Bokelly and his diary, 1576–7', ed. N. J. G. Pounds, <i>Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall</i> , new series, 8 (1978), pp. 14–60 |
| <i>Collected Works</i> | <i>Elizabeth I: collected works</i> , ed. Leah Marcus, Janel Mueller and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago and London, 2000) |
| Cotton | British Library, Cotton Manuscripts |
| CP | Hatfield House, Hertfordshire, Cecil Papers |
| <i>CSP Foreign</i> | <i>Calendar of State Papers, Foreign. Elizabeth I</i> , ed. J. Stevenson <i>et al.</i> (23 vols., London, 1863–1950) |
| <i>CSP Rome</i> | <i>State Papers, relating to English affairs, in the Vatican Archives and Library</i> , ed. J. M. Rigg (2 vols., London, 1916–26) |
| <i>CSP Spanish</i> | <i>Letters and State Papers relating to English affairs, preserved principally in the archives of Simancas</i> , ed. M. A. S. Hume (4 vols., London, 1892–99) |

List of abbreviations

xiii

| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| CSP Venice | <i>State Papers and manuscripts relating to English affairs, existing in the archives and collections of Venice, and in other libraries of Northern Italy</i> , ed. R. Brown <i>et al.</i> (37 vols., London, 1864–1947) |
| CUL | Cambridge University Library, Cambridge |
| DWL | Dr Williams' Library, London |
| E190 | National Archives, Exchequer, Port Books |
| E351 | National Archives, Exchequer, Pipe Office, Declared Accounts |
| Egerton | British Library, Egerton Manuscripts (references to the Egerton MSS at the Huntington Library are prefixed with 'Huntington') |
| Folger | Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC |
| Guildhall MS | Guildhall Manuscripts, Guildhall Library, London |
| Harleian | British Library, Harleian Manuscripts |
| Hasler | <i>The history of parliament. The House of Commons, 1558–1603</i> , ed. P. W. Hasler (3 vols., London, 1981) |
| HMC Finch | <i>Historical Manuscripts Commission. Report on the manuscripts of Allan George Finch, of Burley-on-the-Hill, Rutland</i> (4 vols., London, 1913–65) |
| HMC Gawdy | <i>Historical Manuscripts Commission. Report on the manuscripts of the family of Gawdy, formerly of Norfolk (1509–1675)</i> (London, 1885) |
| HMC Rutland | <i>Historical Manuscripts Commission. The manuscripts of his grace the duke of Rutland, GCB, preserved at Belvoir Castle</i> (4 vols., London, 1888–1905) |
| HMC Salisbury | <i>Historical Manuscripts Commission. Calendar of the manuscripts of the most honourable the marquis of Salisbury, K. G. etc. . .</i> (24 vols., London, 1883–1976) |
| Huntington | Huntington Library, San Marino, California |
| KB27 | National Archives, Court of King's Bench, Plea and Crown sides: Coram Rege Rolls |
| Lansdowne | British Library, Lansdowne Manuscripts |
| LPL | Lambeth Palace Library, London |
| <i>Machyn's diary</i> | <i>The diary of Henry Machyn, citizen and merchant of London, from AD 1550 to AD 1563</i> , ed. J. G. Nichols (Camden Society, original series, 42; London, 1848) |
| m. (pl. mm.) | membrane |

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| xiv | <i>List of abbreviations</i> |
| MS (pl. MSS) | Manuscript |
| NA | National Archives, London (formerly the Public Record Office) |
| NRO | Northamptonshire Record Office, Northamptonshire |
| PRO ₃₁ | National Archives, Collection of Transcripts: Paris Archives, Baschet's transcripts |
| Royal | British Library, Royal Manuscripts |
| <i>Sadler state papers</i> | <i>The state papers and letters of Sir Ralph Sadler</i> , ed. Arthur Collins (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1809) |
| SP ₁₂ | National Archives, State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth |
| SP ₁₅ | National Archives, State Papers Domestic, Edward VI to James I, Addenda |
| SP ₅₂ | National Archives, State Papers Scotland, Elizabeth |
| SP ₅₉ | National Archives, State Papers Scotland, Border Papers |
| SP ₆₃ | National Archives, State Papers Ireland, Elizabeth |
| SP ₇₀ | National Archives, State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth |
| SP ₇₈ | National Archives, State Papers France |
| SP ₈₃ | National Archives, State Papers Holland and Flanders |
| SP ₉₄ | National Archives, State Papers Spain |
| SP ₁₀₄ | National Archives, State Papers Entry Books |
| STAC ₄ | National Archives, Court of Star Chamber: Proceedings, Philip and Mary |
| STAC ₅ | National Archives, Court of Star Chamber: Proceedings, Elizabeth I |
| <i>STC</i> | <i>A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland and of English books printed abroad, 1475–1640</i> , compiled by A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, revised and enlarged by W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson and K. F. Pantzer (3 vols., London, 1986–91) |