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Elizabeth I and the 1559 Act of Uniformity: A Study of the Impact of Gender Roles and Religious Conflict

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Elizabeth I and the 1559 Act of Uniformity:
A Study of the Impact of Gender Roles and Religious Conflict

by

Shawna K. Resnick

A Dissertation Presented to the
College of Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences of Nova Southeastern University
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Nova Southeastern University
2017

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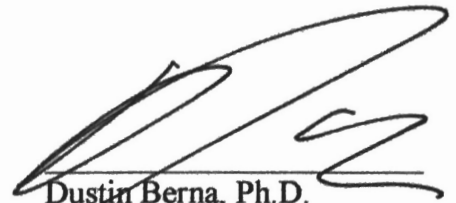
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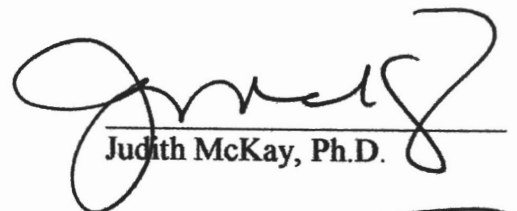
This dissertation was submitted by Shawna K. Resnick under the direction of the chair of the dissertation committee listed below. It was submitted to the College of Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences and approved in partial fulfillment for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Conflict Analysis and Resolution at Nova Southeastern University.

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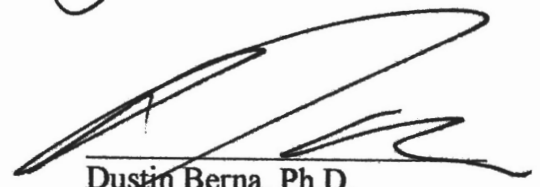
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Dedication

To Cade: Thank You for being my Support and for believing in me when I didn't have the courage to believe in myself. I love you.

My precious children, Aiden & Merissa; You are the best gift a Mother could have; everything I do is to make life better for you.

To Janice DeLozier; Thank You for being the best Gram I could ask for and for always pushing me to go after my dreams.

And to: Dr. Stephen W. Taylor; Thank You for planting the Spark, all those years ago. An insignificant student, a lover of history, to whom you said – Go do it.

“Though the sex to which I belong is considered weak you will nevertheless find me a rock that bends to no wind.” - Elizabeth I, Queen of England

“A small body of determined spirits fired by an unquenchable faith in their mission can alter the course of history.” - Mahatma Gandhi

“That men do not learn very much from the lessons of history is the most important of all the lessons history has to teach.” - Aldous Huxley

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	iv
Chapter One: Introduction	1
Introduction	1
Background to the Problem.....	2
Statement of the Problem	6
Significance of the Study	7
Primary Research Questions	7
Theoretical Framework	8
Chapter 2: Review of the Content Literature.....	9
Introduction	9
Traditional Gender Roles in 16 th Century Europe.....	11
History of the Protestant Reformation	27
History of the Reformation in England.....	39
Introduction	39
Henry VIII	41
Edward VI.....	53
Mary I	59
Life and Influences of Elizabeth I.....	64
Introduction	64
Early Childhood.....	64
Late Childhood	70
Early Adulthood	76
Elizabeth’s Ascension and Coronation (1558-1559).....	81

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework	88
Introduction	88
Elements of Early Nationalism	90
The Development of English Nationalism	93
Conclusion.....	98
Chapter 4: Methodology	99
Research Questions	99
Method of Analysis	102
Traditional Historical Analysis	105
Narrative Thematic Analysis: Tamboukou Model.....	108
Conclusion.....	111
Chapter 5: Themes	112
Theme 1: Mother – Daughter Roles	112
Introduction	112
Primary Sources.....	113
Secondary Sources.....	127
Theme 2: Brokenness	133
Introduction	133
Primary Sources.....	134
Secondary Sources.....	159
Chapter 6: Research Findings	169
Purpose for the Historical Archival Analysis.....	169
Summary of Findings for Research Question 1	169
Summary of Findings for Research Question 2	175
Summary of Findings for Research Question 3	181

Chapter 7: Contributions & Modern Applications.....	186
Contributions of Study Findings	186
How This Research Can Help	190
Future Research.....	194
References.....	195

Abstract

This study, which is entitled, “Elizabeth I and the 1559 Act of Uniformity: A Study of the Impact of Gender Roles and Religious Conflict” analyzes the impact of 16th century gender roles and religious conflict to explain the decision of Elizabeth I, Queen of England from 1558 – 1603, to champion the passage of the Act of Uniformity through Parliament in 1559. Through the analysis of primary sources, specifically Elizabeth’s letters from her childhood through the Act’s passing in 1559, an understanding of these influences on Elizabeth is developed which illuminates important turning points in her life and the subsequent development of her personal desire to mitigate religious conflict in England and to bring unity to her people. The analysis was conducted through the use of historical analysis of primary sources in combination with the use of Narrative Thematic Analysis in order to discover themes within the sources. The themes which emerged then offered insight into Elizabeth’s personal development and her decisions regarding the Act of Uniformity. The focus of this dissertation is guided by the context of 16th century gender roles and the 16th century Protestant Reformation which ultimately laid the foundation for Elizabeth’s birth and directly influenced her education as well as religious and personal development. The impact of gender roles and the expectations placed upon Elizabeth is intertwined with the subsequent religious conflict Elizabeth witnessed in England from her birth. The results focus on illustrating areas of conflict in the 16th century and how each area of conflict is relevant to comprehend if there is to be success in altering the path of both gender conflict and religious conflict in the modern era.

Chapter One: Introduction

Introduction

The field of conflict analysis and resolution is a unique, interdisciplinary field of study which allows for a vast amount of research capabilities. As an interdisciplinary study, it has the ability to examine current areas of global conflict through a lens of historical analysis. Examining history is critical to a modern understanding of conflict, because it is the study of history and people's choices that have shaped the world, including important global conflicts facing the current population. History can bring an important perspective to the examination of any conflict as it is through the use of archival documents, as well as primary and secondary sources, that the events of the past come alive and offer a foundation through which to examine and understand the present.

In an effort to explain how historical analysis fits into the context of conflict resolution, it must be expressed that the research within this dissertation and the work behind it were guided by the universal issue of religious conflict. Religious conflict has been a pervasive topic throughout the course of historical events, and it continues to be an important topic of debate and study. With this awareness, the study of historical events surrounding a specific religious conflict was chosen in an attempt to enlighten current debates regarding the resolution of religious conflict as a whole. For this reason, this dissertation focuses on the reign of Queen Elizabeth I of England, who ruled from 1558-1603 and who found a resolution to religious conflict in England during her reign. The purpose of the dissertation is to analyze the factors behind Elizabeth's religious policy and settlement in the first year of her reign in order to discover modern applications of religious policy aimed at mitigating conflict.

Background to the Problem

The conflict this study is focused on is a religious based conflict stemming from the English Reformation as an offshoot of the Protestant Reformation, which began in Europe in 1517 and spread to multiple countries, including England, in the following decades. The conflict was caused by a rupture in the Catholic Church over the issues of the abuse of power and corruption and the need for reform. Like the Reformation, the conflict created by this rupture in the church doctrine and hierarchy reached all corners of Europe. From the beginnings of the Protestant Reformation violence and war erupted throughout Europe over religion and would continue for the next one hundred and thirty years. Traditionally, state leaders decided which religion the government and its constituents would adhere to. In Europe, the Catholic Church with the Pope as its leader, was the de facto national religion throughout Europe and was the only religion followed by all of the major European governments including the Habsburgs of the Holy Roman Empire, as well as England and France. When the Protestant Reformation began, these governments held on to their national religion and connection with the Catholic Church and were willing to go to great lengths to maintain it, even to the point of fighting wars, both internally and internationally.

Between 1517 and 1648, there are numerous accounts of conflict, violence, and wars taking place in Europe, all in the name of religion. England itself was plagued by religious conflict from Henry VIII's break with the Catholic Church, throughout the reigns of both Edward VI and Mary I, and through the reigns of all the Stuart kings in the 17th century, following the reign of Elizabeth. The only calm in the storm of religious conflict in England from the 16th and 17th centuries occurs during the reign of Elizabeth.

The literature review goes into greater detail about the research regarding the history of the Protestant and English Reformations and the conflict surrounding it. Along with the religious factors, the literature review also includes a discussion of factors such as gender conflict and their influences on Elizabeth. Lastly, the literature review finishes with a look at the life of Elizabeth and an evaluation of how her life shaped her and influenced the development of the Act of Uniformity.

In order to look at the role of gender and gender conflict on the development of Elizabeth I and her decision to develop the Act of Uniformity, it is important to look at what current knowledge exists in terms of gender and social history. Merry Weisner-Hanks is the leading social historian in the field of gender roles, and has written extensively on 16th century society, including expectations of women and their limitations in different environments, including the political sphere (Wiesner-Hanks, 2008). Expectations for women were very clear: if women were left in a political situation where they were the head of a state, they were expected to marry in order to be guided by their husband's expertise and wisdom. Whether in the political or domestic sphere, women were expected to marry and to procreate. This expectation was considered to be the singular purpose of womanhood (Crawford, 2007). Religion was an especially important institution for exacerbating this female role, both prior to and after the split of the Catholic Church, religious leaders consistently and perpetually spoke of this role for women (MacCulloch D. , *The Reformation: A History*, 2003).

When Elizabeth I inherited the English throne from her sister Mary in 1558, the gender conflict quickly came to a point over the traditional expectations for the queen's marriage and procreation. Parliament, as well as Elizabeth's council of advisors,

immediately began scrutinizing potential suitors for the new queen; however Elizabeth showed no desire to marry. As she procrastinated in choosing a mate, England was thrown into a new political setting – the country would be governed by a queen without a king by her side. The situation escalated as Parliament and the people of England came to understand that no marriage also meant no heir to the throne. As Elizabeth was the last of Henry's surviving children, this would also mean the end of the Tudor dynasty in England (Palmer, Colton, & Kramer, 2007). For the first time in England's history, a singular female monarch would govern the affairs of the state, and would have to act in both the traditional female and male roles while governing.

Elizabeth makes her intentions towards marriage quite clear to both her Privy Council and to Parliament by informing England that she is married to her country and is already a mother to the people of England (Starkey D. , Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne, 2001). In this way, Elizabeth I develops a type of maternal instinct towards her country and its inhabitants. From here, there exists a gap in the literature regarding how this maternal instinct transformed the relationship Elizabeth had with her people and fostered unity among English citizens. There is no discussion in the literature of the connection between this gender conflict and its effect on Elizabeth beyond the implication that Elizabeth I refused to be forcefully directed by her council and instead made her own decisions. By the end of Elizabeth's reign in 1603, it is clear that England has remained a country devoted to their Virgin Queen, and yet there is no discussion of how these decisions created internal unity. It is evident that Elizabeth I was not beyond transforming traditional gender roles to suit her own purpose. Through the course of this research study, it will be determined whether or not this transformation of gender roles

influenced the passage of the Act of Uniformity, subsequently uniting the English people and ending religious conflict in the country.

The previously mentioned religious conflict in England ebbed for only a short time in its long history which was during the reign of Elizabeth I. Upon ascending to the throne in 1558, Elizabeth immediately began working on the passage of an act of Parliament which would settle the religious question once and for all. The Act of Uniformity is the result of the pursuit in question, resulting in the restoration of the 1552 Prayer Book, established under the reign of Edward VI, as the official prayer book of the Church of England (Doran, Elizabeth I and Religion, 1558-1603, 1994). Use of this prayer book decreed that all services would follow the requirements of the earlier 1549 Prayer Book as well as required that all services be delivered in English, rather than the Latin of the Catholic Church (Doran, Elizabeth I and Religion, 1558-1603, 1994). Further policies included the banning of the Catholic Mass and the requirement that parishioners attend church on Sundays. Lastly, it discussed punishments for those clergymen who did not follow the Common Prayer Book. This restoration of the 1552 Prayer Book is important when examining Elizabeth's motives and how her personal religious preferences guided her decision making.

Considering the strict order of previous acts established under monarchs such as her half-sister, Mary I, and her half-brother, Edward VI, who were both radical in their Catholic and evangelical Protestant leanings respectively, Elizabeth I's 1559 Act of Uniformity is considered to be quite moderate (MacCulloch D. , *The Reformation: A History*, 2003). There has been much discussion about the role that both Mary I and Edward VI played in Elizabeth's decision to develop the Act of Uniformity, but there has

been little discussion about what other factors may have influenced her as well. As will be shown in the literature review, Elizabeth was raised as and remained a devoted Protestant; nothing in the literature indicates a lessening of her religious fervor throughout the span of her adult life. If her religious convictions did not weaken, then the moderate settlement becomes even more mysterious. For a strong leader like Elizabeth I, who defied the expectations of marriage and her gender as it suited her, it does not correlate that she created a moderate settlement out of force. It can only be assumed that Elizabeth I preferred the moderate religious settlement even though she herself was extremely devout. The factors that drove the construction of this moderate religious settlement are what this research study aims to identify and explain.

Statement of the Problem

In researching Elizabeth's religious settlement, the current research literature is lacking specifically in the areas of an explanation of the “what” and the “how”. Specifically, what inspired Elizabeth to create a settlement which would curb religious conflict in England to the point that religion no longer was a primary concern of the queen during her reign? Further, as a female monarch, who chose to rule without a husband and king by her side in a time period where single female rulers were unheard of, how was Elizabeth able to acquire the political support she needed for an undertaking of this magnitude? There is a clear hole in the literature where these questions are concerned. Research has focused on what she did and what resulted from it, but it has not focused on how Elizabeth got to the point of constructing and passing this religious settlement in the first place.

Significance of the Study

Today's global trends see religious conflict continuing around the globe, as a primary source of violent conflict between groups, nations and/or states. With the purpose of the study focusing on how a historical monarch was able to resolve religious conflict of a great magnitude within a year of ascending to the throne, the significance will come from the revelation of how the resolution occurred. It is likely that the findings of the research regarding Elizabeth will reveal possible options for resolution in the world today in terms of modern policy applications.

Primary Research Questions

In order to ascertain how Elizabeth accomplished the significant religious settlement of 1559, there are three primary research questions accompanying this dissertation. The research questions are listed here, and described in greater detail in the following chapters. The first research question focuses on the role of gender: how did gender conflict and the role of women shape Elizabeth's decision to develop the Act of Uniformity? The second research question focuses on the role that religion played in Elizabeth's decision: how did existing religious conflict shape Elizabeth's decision to develop the Act of Uniformity? The third research question focuses on Elizabeth's ability to develop an early version of English nationalism and use that to help mitigate the existing conflict: how did Elizabeth use her role as a female monarch to foster English nationalism and help mitigate religious conflict? Together, these research questions serve as the basis of analysis of primary sources from the life of Elizabeth I.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this dissertation focuses on the aspect of nationalism. Nationalism plays an important role in the ability of Elizabeth to mitigate religious conflict as well as to bring a sense of unity to the English people during her reign. As nationalism is a historical concept that has undergone different evaluations and revisions, the theoretical framework will discuss the historical definition and debate surrounding the definition of nationalism, as well as describe the more modern view of nationalism, including critiques of both theories and an explanation of which theory will drive the basis of assumptions for this particular research study. The theoretical framework will be explored at length in a following section.

Chapter 2: Review of the Content Literature

Introduction

There is an extraordinary amount of literature on the topic of Elizabeth I, Queen of England from 1533-1603 in general, as well as a decent amount of literature focused on Elizabeth's religious settlement in England upon her accession to the throne with the Act of Uniformity. This literature review is selective in that it does not attempt to review all published literature regarding the topic of Elizabeth and her religious settlement, but rather focuses on specific biographical and historical works in an attempt to put together a comprehensive review of Elizabeth's life. Furthermore, the literature review focuses on historical factors and events that shaped the person and leadership of Elizabeth as they formed the setting for her birth, her life, and her reign.

The literature review will begin with a discussion of traditional gender roles in 16th century Europe. The first research question focuses on the role of women and gender conflict in shaping Elizabeth. The purpose of this section is to discuss the expectations of women at the time Elizabeth lived in order to understand the physical and religious limitations placed on her. This knowledge will also be crucial in order to fully understand the impact of many of her choices as queen of England. This aspect of the content review will also discuss the traditional idea of the inferiority of women in order to explain later in what ways Elizabeth was able to use these ideas to her advantage and overcome these assumptions in the transformation of her role as monarch. In examining the impact of gender roles and conflict on Elizabeth's establishment of the Act of Uniformity, a thorough discussion of the expectations on Elizabeth as a woman are important to note.

The second part of the literature review focuses on the historical aspects of the Protestant Reformation and its role in creating a setting not only for the birth of Elizabeth and her life but for the conflicts she would choose to resolve in her first major act as queen. Just sixteen short years before Elizabeth's birth, all of Europe was caught up in the division of Christianity into the sharp divisions of Catholicism and Protestantism. This split would cause more than a century of violence and warfare in Europe and would be the underlying event in Elizabeth's need to establish the Act of Uniformity in 1559 as a moderate religious settlement. This section of the literature review is meant to give background information regarding the second research question which focuses on religious factors, including religious conflict and its impact on Elizabeth's decision to develop the Act of Uniformity.

Along with the history of the Protestant Reformation, the research question focusing on religious conflict also has to consider the micro level conflict regarding religion taking place in England. While the Protestant Reformation is the macro lens of the religious conflict of the 16th century, the Reformation in England creates a unique, familial based religious conflict that is directly connected to Elizabeth's birth. The events in Elizabeth's life are primarily influenced by the events of the English Reformation, especially during her young years, and these events provide the basis of the religious conflict that she aimed to resolve with her religious settlement. This section of the literature review is subdivided into sections on her father Henry VIII, her half-brother Edward VI, her half-sister Mary Tudor, and even Elizabeth herself. These subsections highlight the actions and consequences of each of these individuals in furthering the English Reformation and its subsequent conflict in order to understand the familial aspect

of the conflict and its impact on Elizabeth. It is the purpose of this section of the literature review to explain the pivotal events of the English Reformation in order to fully grasp their impact on Elizabeth's life and her decisions regarding a religious settlement.

The final section of the literature review focuses on Elizabeth herself. This section is divided into subsections on her early childhood, her later childhood and adolescence, and her early adulthood in order to look at the events that impacted her in a chronological order. The research included in these subsections is not meant to be a comprehensive examination of all aspects of Elizabeth's life; the research included focuses on the discussion of events that impacted her religious decisions or were related to her gender, such as marriage, political roles and education. In tracing the factors behind Elizabeth's decision, these events are critical to analyze. The second part of the section on Elizabeth focuses on contemporary research and debates about the impact of various aspects of her religious settlement. This section is meant to extend the current body of historical knowledge as well as to note the areas of deficiency in the current literature, highlighting a need for this particular research study.

Traditional Gender Roles in 16th Century Europe

In an examination of the 16th century, traditional gender roles were a crucial element that would shape Elizabeth and influence her development as well as her reign as queen of England. During the 16th century, society would not have used the terminology *gender* nor *gender roles* as a category label for people; however, the concept of gender greatly shaped European society and defined appropriate actions in regards to religion, marriage, family and child-bearing, economic and political spheres, education, and even science and medicine (McKay, Hill, & et.al, 2014). Gender is not an easy concept to

define as there are biological, psychological, cultural, social, and political definitions of gender. The definition of gender offered by the American Psychological Association (APA) merges many aspects from other categories and will be used going forward. According to the APA, gender can be defined as “the attitudes, feelings, and behaviors that a given culture associates with a person’s biological sex” (American Psychological Association, 2011, p. 1). Gender is defined separately from a person’s biological sex, which is considered the essence of being a male or female in terms of reproductive organs. Gender also includes the behaviors, or gender roles, associated with either male or female; these are the behaviors that are expected and accepted. In order to gain a thorough understanding of the expectations and limitations Elizabeth faced, the subsequent discussion of traditional roles for women in 16th century Europe will include the following spheres: religion, marriage and family, economy, politics, education, as well as biological (science and medicine) ideas about women.

Science and medicine in the 16th century are considered to be largely underdeveloped compared to the science and medicine of today. By the mid-16th century, science was just beginning to form the foundation of the discipline we know today. Most scientific knowledge largely came from the observations and theories of philosophers; science was usually referred to using the term *natural philosophy* (Crawford, 2007). As the 16th century began, most ideas about science and medicine still came from the work of ancient philosophers such as Aristotle and Galen. In fact, their ideas had become more popular during the 14th and 15th centuries during a time referred to by historians as the Renaissance. The Renaissance emphasized a return to classical themes and philosophical ideas found in ancient Greece and ancient Rome; further, the Renaissance emphasized a

focus on the study of original texts rather than secondary interpretations of these works. The renewal of Aristotle's philosophical ideas during this timeframe is important to any discussion of gender as many of the ideas about a woman's body stemmed from the work of the esteemed Aristotle. Ideas about women and gender in the 16th century had their root in the medical and scientific ideas about women's physiology; the medical and scientific basis of the inferiority of women shaped ideas about women in subsequent spheres.

The inferiority of women was a concept that medical professionals and scientists supported through their works, with many of these ideas being based in Aristotle's philosophy. Aristotle found many similarities between the animal and human populations; one common idea was that of male dominance and female subordination (Crawford, 2007). Males were larger in the animal populations he studied and this led him to the conclusion of their dominance; a conclusion which he would generalize to the human world. From here Aristotle speculated that since males were biologically and physically superior, they must have the most important characteristics necessary for the reproduction and survival of the species. Aristotle believed that the human male was responsible for the presence of a soul in procreation as well as determining the sex of offspring, while women were responsible just for the protective environment of the child (Crawford, 2007). Aristotle's ideas were that men were entirely responsible for the act of procreation: conception depended entirely on the man's seed (MacCulloch D. , *The Reformation: A History*, 2003). Because of the importance of the male seed in procreation, acts that might stop this seed from accomplishing its mission could be considered acts of murder; this included masturbation, any form of birth control, as well

as homosexual relations (Wiesner-Hanks, 2008). For Aristotle, there was no denying that women were inferior and men were superior; women's inferiority was natural according to explanations in biological science.

Alongside Aristotle's ideas were the ideas of Galen, a physician and medical philosopher from the 2nd century. Galen used anatomical science about male and female reproduction to demonstrate the biological inferiority of women. Galen taught that organs of sexual reproduction were the same in men and women, just reversed from one another (Crawford, 2007). For example, ovaries and testicles were the same organ just arranged differently in a man and a woman. What made men superior to women was that men had the good fortune to have their sexual organs hang outside their body, while women's organs were internal (MacCulloch D. , *The Reformation: A History*, 2003). Galen's medical knowledge was still based on the idea of humors, specifically, hot and cold. Men, were the warmer sex; with this warmth they had the ability to create sperm as well push their reproductive organs outside of their body. Women, with a colder nature than men, did not have the ability to create sperm; this cold nature also explained the reason a woman's sexual organs were inverted in the body. Other historians have noted that female sexual organs were viewed as the "male turned out, or even simply, not pushed out" of their body (Wiesner-Hanks, 2008, p. 60). Since female sex organs were inside the body, it signified that a woman was not as capable as a man, which ultimately meant a woman was inferior to a man. As these ideas were extrapolated by a well-known philosopher, scientist, and physician, they became widely accepted and were not questioned for many centuries. To add to this, now the inferiority of women had medical

science to corroborate the theory. These scientific ideas were widely believed going into the 16th century and would pervade all areas of European society.

Although natural philosophy (science) and medicine offered a degree of authority on the subject of women and their place in society, the discipline of natural philosophy corroborated the ideas of the true authority in European society: the Roman Catholic Church. The Roman Catholic Church perpetuated gender roles through its interpretation and application of the Scriptures. The Roman Catholic Church based much of its scientific knowledge on the work of earlier philosophers such as Aristotle. The relationship between natural philosophy (science) and the Catholic Church of the 16th century served to offer a reciprocal legitimacy. The Catholic Church legitimized the philosophy of Aristotle, Galen and others, and in turn used their scientific philosophy to legitimize its own theological interpretations. In terms of gender roles, the Catholic Church accepted the philosophers' ideas about men and women and used them to perpetuate its own theological ideas.

Prior to the start of the Protestant Reformation in the early 16th century, there was only one recognized religious authority, in Europe which was the Catholic Church, with their spiritual leader on earth being found in the figurehead of the pope (Palmer, Colton, & Kramer, 2007). In the early modern period of European history, all of European society was overseen by the Church, as there had yet to be a separation of church and politics. To live in Europe was to be under the authority of the Catholic Church; the only exceptions were minority religious groups, such as Jews, a group which faced much persecution and discrimination for their deviation from the established religion. There were three major religions (Christianity, Judaism and Islam) pervasive in European

society as the 15th century turned into the 16th century, but as Christianity was dominant in Europe and used its religious doctrine to influence other areas of European society and politics, only Christian doctrine will be discussed here in terms of defining women and women's roles. Religious doctrine defined and established social norms in the early modern period.

The sacred text of Christianity is the Holy Bible, and it is the Scripture by which all Christian doctrine and morality is defined. There are a few notable examples where women's inferiority to men is highlighted in the Bible along with examples of a woman's proper role in the established Church. The first example that for many scholars establishes the patriarchal society as a proper society is the story of Adam and Eve in the book of Genesis, the first book of the Bible. In this story, Eve, who is considered the first woman, was created out of the side of Adam, who is considered to be the first man. For many religious leaders, the fact that Adam was created first signifies his dominance, and the fact that Eve was created from Adam signifies her dependence on him. The story also discusses how Eve, and not Adam, was tempted by the serpent in the Garden of Eden and later tempted Adam into sin, which led to their fall from God's favor and the loss of their privilege to remain in the Garden of Eden. Theologians view this story as evidence of women's weakness, their likelihood of succumbing to temptation and evil, and their need for a man as a strong leader to keep them on the right path towards favor with God (Wiesner-Hanks, 2008).

Besides the creation story in Genesis, there are other Biblical indicators that establish the basis for a patriarchal system. First of all, the entire nature of God in the Bible is based on the assumption that God is male. If God, who is all-powerful and all-

knowing, is male, then surely a woman cannot be greater than man; if women were the superior sex then God would be a woman. The Bible also illustrates examples of women being subservient to men; these examples include daughters' submission to their fathers, wives submission to their husbands, and a queen's submission to her king. It is illustrated time and time again in the Bible that a woman's place, no matter her role, is to be subservient to a man (Wiesner-Hanks, 2008). In addition, the Bible extols the highest praise on women who are good wives to their husbands and good mothers to their children. These Biblical notions helped the Catholic Church define proper religious and household roles for women under their jurisdiction, whether a lowly peasant wife to an esteemed queen.

The Catholic Church also defined appropriate spheres for women serving within its walls. Women were neither encouraged nor allowed to be in positions of spiritual leadership over the people. The highest position of power a woman could possibly obtain within the Church was that of an abbess over a convent (Wiesner-Hanks, 2008). As an abbess of a convent, a woman was in a position of spiritual superiority over other nuns; however, a priest was still required to be present in order to hear confessions and lead mass, as a woman was not allowed to perform these duties. Most commonly though, a woman who wanted to lead a life of religious devotion to God chose to do so through the calling of becoming a nun. Nuns, like monks, lived separate and sometimes isolated lives. As part of living this life of isolation, both nuns and monks were expected to be celibate. The Church put a huge emphasis on the celibacy and virginity of its devoted followers; especially for women. Prior to the Protestant Reformation of the 16th century which changed notions of celibacy and marriage, marriage was accepted by the Catholic

Church, but virginity was a state even greater than marriage. Only the most devoted to God could usually obtain this esteemed state. Obviously not every woman could be called to be a nun as other women had to help the population continue, but those who were nuns or lived a life separate and devoted to God were highly regarded. Nuns and abbesses also usually received a decent formal education; it was important for them to be able to read Scripture and impart knowledge to younger women as they entered the convent.

Although many women in religious positions received a type of formal education, it doesn't mean the Catholic Church supported the education of women; in fact, quite the opposite is true. The Church never held the idea that a woman should discover Scriptural knowledge for herself. A woman still required a man, usually in the role of a priest or bishop, to interpret Scripture for her. Even with the later encouragement by Protestant reformers that an individual should be able to read the Bible for themselves rather than rely on a religious leader, women were generally excluded from this ability. Established schools taught young children how to read – specifically the Bible – but the majority of these schools were meant for boys, usually from a middle or upper class family. Reading Scripture and other religious literature was preparation for young men; many were expected to find professions in medicine, law, government or even the clergy (Wiesner-Hanks, 2008). Education for young girls followed a very different path, one that helped distinguish the roles of women as separate from men. For if girls had the same opportunity to learn to read and write the same as boys, they might also learn to question the roles that society and men had created for them and set out to change it.

The belief in the inferiority of women affected women's access to education in the 15th and 16th centuries. As infants, boys and girls were treated similarly; it was not

until the age of five that boys and girls activities were regulated according to gender (Wiesner-Hanks, 2008). As a girl was most valuable in the role of an accomplished housewife and mother, the main schooling girls received were domestic skills; these skills included cooking, sewing, spinning, child rearing, and even caring for domesticated animals (Wiesner-Hanks, 2008, p. 57). For girls, it was highly unlikely that they would receive the same education a boy received – one which emphasized reading, writing, and arithmetic. The assumption regarding women was largely that they were of an inferior mental state and therefore could not comprehend the type of information boys were able to comprehend.

Education for females did not completely exclude basic reading and writing instruction, for these were skills deemed necessary for a proper religious education, but the majority of a woman's education did not focus on formal reading and writing such as boys received. Most knowledge about the Bible was passed down orally, rather than encouraging a woman to read it for herself (Wiesner-Hanks, 2008). Religious authorities believed that the goal of a woman's education was to create good Christian wives and mothers, capable of running a Christian household, therefore there was no need for women to receive formal schooling (Strauss, 1988). Girls should be able to read and recite the psalms, memorize and recite Scripture, and learn Christian virtues in order to fulfill their purpose as women, a purpose that centered on them being Christian wives and mothers.

Education for girls in upper-class, noble or royal families was a different experience than the educational experience discussed previously. Girls from noble or royal families received more formal education than other girls, although their education

was still gendered. With the rise of the humanist movement in the late 14th and 15th centuries, an upper-class female's education began to emphasize humanist qualities, such as the study of Latin and Greek languages, poetry and prose, and even history (McKay, Hill, & et.al, 2014). Female education focused more on reading than it did on writing. Books that were considered appropriate for a woman to read discussed the proper role of a woman which emphasized purity, obedience, silence and submission (Wiesner-Hanks, 2008). Humanist education was successful in England, where both of the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth Tudor received a well-rounded education, far beyond what was considered normal for royal houses. But even humanism could not change the educational status of women for two important reasons. First, the idea of civic duty that humanism emphasized discussed roles for rulers and citizens which were different from what were considered appropriate roles for women. Women were not supposed to be in the public eye making proclamations about policy. Secondly, as the influence of Protestantism grew, it reinforced roles for women that put a woman under the leadership of a man whose place was the head of the household (Wiesner-Hanks, 2008). The result of this is that during the 16th century, the educational gap between men and women grew; this gap includes the basic literacy rate, in which a much smaller number of women versus men were considered literate, as well as the prevalence of higher education, as many women ended their education at a much younger age relative to men and continued their focus on the development of training to be good housewives and mothers.

The job market for women in the 16th century was defined much differently than it is today; in the 16th century, most of the jobs open to women were in the domestic spheres. It has already been noted that women would not receive a formal education in

professional capacities, such as medicine, law, or even as clergy members, so it is no surprise that these professions were outside the scope of work allowed to women. Europe in the 16th century had not yet entered its industrial phase, so for most people work still revolved around farming and agriculture. Here it is important to note that tasks during this time are divided into two main categories: domestic tasks and production tasks (Wiesner-Hanks, 2008). What determined the label of the task was usually the person performing it; if a woman performed a task it was labeled domestic, whereas if a man performed the same task, it would be labeled productive. When there was pay involved, this also meant that men received higher pay than women as production was regarded as more important and therefore deserving of more pay. Economic life was highly gender specific.

In terms of actual duties, much of a woman's job centered on the care and management of a household. The most common job for a young woman working outside the home was that of a domestic servant. Servitude was seen as a natural role for a woman to take, so only women could fill the role of domestic servitude (McKay, Hill, & et.al, 2014). As a domestic servant working outside the home, a young lady was considered to be under the care and authority of the man of the house that employed her. She was subject to his rules and his discipline. It was not uncommon for women in these jobs to be abused in some way, either physically or even sexually. A young woman who tried to fend off sexual advances or to protect herself against physical discipline by her master and employer could be dismissed from service.

Other domestic tasks for women dealt with cloth production or tailoring. It was not uncommon for a woman to sew clothes for people who did not live in her home in

order to earn a meager living. Women often made lace, knitted, or made silk thread; once power looms made their way onto the market in the late 18th century, these professions became harder to make a living off of as a woman would have to sell what she could knit by hand as opposed to the products of the looms run by men, which produced goods much faster (Wiesner-Hanks, 2008). Inside the home, women were also responsible for cooking, cleaning and caring for the children. In the countryside, domestic work such as sewing and household duties were just part of the daily duties required of a woman.

Women were often required to care for the domestic animals such as chickens, cows, and goats. Part of this care included making products such as milk and cheese from what the animals produced, or collecting eggs to either sell or consume. Again, even though these were tasks that created production for the household and the farm, they were considered domestic jobs as they were completed by women. Although a woman's work at home or on the farm was just as vital to the family's livelihood as the man's work outside the home, it was largely considered to be inferior work and therefore was appropriate for a woman to engage in.

One of the common ties in discussing gender roles for women in the 16th century is that of a woman's role as a wife and mother. Society in the 16th century operated as a patriarchal system, defined by one historian as "the organization of society for the benefit of males at the expense of females" (MacCulloch D. , *The Reformation: A History*, 2003, p. 611). Women were defined by their relationship to a man: they were either the daughter of a father, a wife to their husband, or a mother to their husband's children (Wiesner-Hanks, 2008). Marriage, although not explicitly extolled by the Catholic Church, was considered an important social calling as the main purpose for marriage was

procreation (Crawford, 2007). Women who were unwilling or unable to fulfill this purpose were looked down upon. A woman's marital status provided further labels; a woman was either a virgin, which was expected prior to marriage, a wife who was meant to be submissive to her husband, or a widow who now had to live without the better half of her identity.

So much of a woman's life was determined by marriage and how this defined her. One important distinction in society for a woman was the label of single versus married. Since a woman's identity was dependent on a man, whom she is regarded as scientifically inferior to, it is not surprising then that marriage and the selection of a spouse was the single most important change of a woman's life. Marriage was considered to be the marker of adulthood for both men and women (Coontz, 2005). For most women, their choice of a spouse would determine both their future economic and social status (Wiesner-Hanks, 2008). Women were expected to come into the relationship with a dowry significant enough that the union be as beneficial to the man as it was to the woman. A woman who chose not to marry or who for some reason could not find a man willing to marry her, was usually labeled as unnatural and looked down upon; because many of these women had to have jobs to support themselves, usually spinning, the term "old spinster" developed and became a common name for unmarried women who were outside the prime of their life.

Most places in Europe had laws regarding marriage, and these laws typically put women into a relationship that forced their dependence on the male. As the legal property of her husband, it was the husband's right to discipline the wife if necessary for he would be legally obligated to make restitution for her misdeeds. Women also lost the legal

ability to handle her own affairs once she entered into a marriage contract; any property she owned prior to the marriage was now considered her husband's property and became his to control (Coontz, 2005). Marriage laws made it extremely difficult for women to obtain a divorce from her husband; for the most part, the only way a woman could hope to be rid of an unpleasant spouse was to wait for his death (Wiesner-Hanks, 2008).

Once married and considered the legal property of her husband, a woman's identity was no longer tied to her family of birth; she would now be identified and associated with her husband's family. Any children they had were his property as well. In the rare cases a divorce could be obtained by a wife, she would be risking access to her children as they most likely would be kept with their father. The dependence on the husband was made even greater in northwestern Europe (England, France, Belgium and the Netherlands) due to the prevalence of nuclear families. Much of Europe followed the idea of the extended family, meaning multiple generations would live under one roof together. In the nuclear family structure, it was usually just the husband, wife, and any children they had together living under the same roof. This meant that the woman was solely responsible for the care of the house and the children, unless the family was wealthy enough to afford domestic servants (Wiesner-Hanks, 2008). As such, a woman would have very little leisure time as most of her day was spent tied to the household, either with chores or taking care of her children.

These categories of spheres were used in the 16th century to define what was acceptable and unacceptable for a woman to do. These roles applied to women in all categories and Elizabeth I would be no exception. One additional category that would be used to shape Elizabeth were ideas about women in positions of power. The first aspect

worth noting is that the prevailing idea was that women should not be in positions of power. They did not sit in the seat of judges or lawmakers, and they certainly were not found in early modern works about political theory (Wiesner-Hanks, 2008). The most common position of power for a woman was that of a queen or royal mistress; women in these positions had the power to influence political and historical events through their influence over a king or other high-ranking official in a position of power. Though queens who ruled in their own right were not uncommon by the 15th century, there were still some prevailing attitudes about how these women were to act in these positions and the legitimacy of their rule.

As the 15th and 16th centuries saw more women rule as monarchs in their own right – including Isabella of Castille who was the mother of Katherine of Aragon, the Tudor sisters in England, Katherine de Medici in France, and Mary Stuart in Scotland who was cousin to Elizabeth Tudor – the debate about female rulers grew and political treatises were published discussing the issue. Those that were against the idea of female rulers used either religious doctrine, science, or philosophy to justify their beliefs. The prevailing political theory of the time centered on the idea “that the state was like a household, and just as in a household the husband/father has authority and power over all others, so in the state a male monarch should always rule” (Wiesner-Hanks, 2008, p. 292). The idea of female inferiority would not go away just because a female became a ruler. Therefore, having a woman ruler would inherently mean the weakening of a state under her leadership since she could not possibly be as good of a leader as a male.

Religious leaders joined the debate regarding female rulers, and these were usually in favor of male monarchs as well. The reign of Mary Tudor, a Catholic monarch

who will be discussed in detail in a subsequent section for her contribution to the English Reformation, offered ample opportunity for Protestant religious leaders to oppose the idea of female rule. These leaders cited the Scripture's emphasis on women's submission to men especially that all women were meant to be under male authority (Wiesner-Hanks, 2008). Many religious leaders even went so far as to compare Mary Tudor with the Biblical figure of Jezebel, a woman who becomes ruler, seduces the king, and brings ruin to the entire kingdom through her actions. The implication was that Mary Tudor could do nothing but bring ruin to the kingdom of England through her actions. For religious leaders, the condition of being a female was one that could never be overcome, and so it was better if males governed kingdoms as nature and God intended.

If a woman was in a position of power, she was expected to defer to the authority of her husband, even if he would be king only by marriage and not through a direct claim to the throne. Since female rulers were not deemed acceptable in the 16th century, it was largely expected that any woman who held a position of power be married in order that her husband might guide and direct the affairs of the kingdom. This of course meant that the possibility of a royal marriage became a very important issue. For example, in Tudor England, the marriage of Mary Tudor to Philip II of Spain became a contentious issue because it would put Philip in a position to influence and possibly even directly control the affairs of England, even when his decisions might not benefit England (MacCulloch D. , *The Reformation: A History*, 2003). Rulers, like marriages, were expected to be under the jurisdiction of male authority; it was not expected that a woman could rule in her own right.

Europe in the 16th century offered very specific parameters for the little princess Elizabeth, born in 1533. As a young female, Elizabeth would be regarded as inferior to the males she would be acquainted with. In her upbringing, Elizabeth's education would follow the traditional domestic education required for girls, as well as a religious education. As a princess, her education would also come to include more advanced reading and writing than most females received, yet not the same level of education her half-brother, Edward, would receive. Elizabeth would also be expected to marry, and much of her upbringing would be under the care of other women who would be able to teach her how to fulfill her womanly duties appropriately when she married and birthed children. Elizabeth would be taught by example that a woman's place was behind a man, submitting to his authority; this role she would act out by showing submission to her father all the years until his death in 1547. Lastly, marriage was most likely the biggest expectation her father and his advisors envisioned for her. Though it was known she could possibly take the throne as she was King Henry's heir, it was assumed she would follow her womanly duties and marry, making her future husband the potential future king of England. If Elizabeth was to become queen, it was also expected that she would become a mother and therefore provide England with an heir. These are the expectations which Elizabeth faced upon her birth. As will be shown in a subsequent section, Elizabeth would come to defy all expectations about herself, female rulers and even women in general.

History of the Protestant Reformation

Elizabeth's legacy as Queen of England partly centers on her ability to assuage religious conflict in England while the rest of Europe remained embroiled in military

conflict. Religious conflict in Europe had been a normal state of affairs for centuries, but the event known as the Protestant Reformation brought about renewed problems.

Luther's actions are generally considered to have "precipitated the biggest split in the western church" since the time of Constantine in the 4th century BCE (Harman, 2008, p. 177). The Catholic Church was well established in its central position in controlling the political and social life of Europe, a position that had been firmly acquired during the period known as the Middle Ages in the 11th to 14th centuries. The Catholic Church would quickly find out how even a small fissure could create a large fracture in the foundation of the structure of Europe. This fissure would come from the beliefs and questions of Martin Luther (Palmer, Colton, & Kramer, 2007).

The Catholic Church drew many critics and discontents during its tenure of power over the people; abuses and corruption were well noted and obvious to a population which had its everyday life activities regulated by the Church (Palmer, Colton, & Kramer, 2007). Martin Luther himself did not set out to undermine the authority of the church but simply purposed to highlight the abuses and corruption of the Church in order to reform it. As Harman notes, Luther would begin with discussions about theology rather than direct attacks. These discussions included that of religious authority, salvation, and concern over the use of indulgences (Harman, 2008). The concern over indulgences is what initially sparked the largest debate between Luther and the Church.

Indulgences were "documents provided by the church that absolved the sins of either the purchaser or a departed loved one" (Campbell, 2012, p. 306). An indulgence was a way for the purchaser to reduce the time in purgatory for themselves or for a relative, even if the loved one was already deceased. The more indulgences the sinner

purchased, the greater the time reduction in purgatory (McKay, Hill, & et.al, 2014). Other historians postulate that indulgences were meant to be much more than just documents of absolution; they were intended to be an important way that the Catholic Church increased its membership and influence in the Middle Ages as it was attempting to exert control over the population (Cassone & Marchese, 1999). What the Catholic Church did not foresee was the fact that indulgences would open the door for other instances of moral abuses, such as Church officials holding more than one office at a time while receiving the income from both (pluralism), or the ability of a church member to appoint fellow family members and friends into positions of power (simony). These examples of clerical immorality and abuse of privilege are at the heart of the criticisms that fueled the Protestant Reformation. Certainly, as has been noted, the “indulgence controversy was at the origin of the Reformation” (Cassone & Marchese, 1999, p. 432).

Though the indulgences appear to be the spark that set off the Reformation, it would not be accurate to state that Luther’s focus was on correcting abuses within the Church. Luther’s focus was theological questioning. As McKay notes, Luther spent much time absorbing Christian scripture and began to feel as though there was much that did not match between Scripture and Catholic Church doctrine (McKay, Hill, & et.al, 2014). Luther came to a realization regarding salvation which gave him new comprehension of Church doctrine. His new understanding on salvation was that “salvation and justification come through faith . . . [rather than] the result of human effort” (McKay, Hill, & et.al, 2014, p. 393). Luther has been described as spiritually restless, full of introspection and anxiety over his own salvation. In reading through the New Testament book of Romans, he came across the idea of salvation which contradicted Catholic doctrine. Not only did

Luther come to believe that works were not part of the salvation process at all, he claimed that good works were evidence of a person having received God's grace and desiring to live their life for God (Palmer, Colton, & Kramer, 2007). When these new beliefs about salvation entered European society along with the increased presence of indulgences, conflict between Luther and the Catholic Church began in earnest.

In 1517, Martin Luther encountered Johann Tetzel, who was selling indulgences in what has been described as an "advertising blitz" for the Catholic Church (McKay, Hill, & et.al, 2014, p. 394). The Catholic Church was attempting to raise extra funds for the construction of St. Peter's Basilica in Rome, and used Johann Tetzel as its fundraiser (Palmer, Colton, & Kramer, 2007). Luther, coming out of a time of intense introspection and revelation, became quite angered by Tetzel's presence in Wittenberg, Germany, and felt it was the prime example of how the Church was moving in the wrong direction. As a reaction against Tetzel's position, Luther wrote a letter to Archbishop Albert regarding indulgences and included his *Ninety-Five Theses on the Power of Indulgences*, arguing that the selling of indulgences removed all genuineness from the sacrament of penance and went against the idea of repentance in the Christian Bible (McKay, Hill, & et.al, 2014). The *Ninety-Five Theses* were originally written in 1517, and were translated into both Latin and German for rapid transmission throughout Christian Europe. The printing press, still a rather new invention in the early 16th century, became an important medium for Luther to spread his ideas.

Reformation historian Diarmaid MacCulloch, offers an insightful argument into the role that printing played for the Protestant Reformation. Prior to the invention of movable-type printing in the 15th century, hours were spent copying words, pages, and

books by hand. It is no surprise that Europe received this new invention with enthusiasm. It would quickly become clear that the spread of Protestant ideas would depend on the mass use of printing, for “a religion of the Book needs books” (MacCulloch D. , *The Reformation: A History*, 2003, p. 72). The prevalence of the printed Bible greatly increased, and many of these new Bibles were printed in the German language. This is significant for two reasons. First, Luther and other reformers called for the people to read the Bible for themselves and interpret its meaning rather than depend on the spoken words of Church authorities. Without access to the printed word, this admonition would have been more difficult to fulfill. Secondly, the mass printing of the Bible in German allowed for a wider audience. Prior to the availability of mass printing, Scripture, like other books, had to be copied by hand and was usually copied and translated in Latin, the language of the upper and educated classes. With the Bible being translated into German, much of the poor and less educated population could now also have access to its words (MacCulloch D. , *The Reformation: A History*, 2003). The printing press would be the important difference between Martin Luther and the earlier reformers whose work he continued.

As Luther’s ideas spread and caught on, the concern of the Roman Catholic Church regarding Luther continued to grow. Between the years 1518 and 1521, Luther would take actions that resulted in a formal break with the Catholic Church. In early 1518, Pope Leo X was not interested in what appeared to be another instance of monks arguing over theology and asked that the matter be sorted out in April without the interference of the Roman Catholic Church (MacCulloch D. , *The Reformation: A History*, 2003). Through the course of 1518 and 1519, Luther continually defended his

Theses and even drew support from Frederick III, elector of Saxony and a potential candidate for the position of Holy Roman Emperor. In June of 1519, Luther reached a point of no return when he stated that he “did not believe the Pope to be infallible” (Merriman, 2010, p. 94). It was at this point that the Catholic Church felt threatened by the words and ideas of this charismatic German monk. When Luther published three treatises in the year 1520, he further demonstrated that the breach with the Church was irreparable. His first treatise, *Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*, continued his anti-papal sentiment and even implied that the Pope was a threat to the stability of the government of the Holy Roman Empire (MacCulloch D. , *The Reformation: A History*, 2003). In his second treatise, *Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, he spoke against the seven sacraments, affirming only two, which would call into question the traditions of the Catholic Church. His third treatise, *The Freedom of a Christian*, spelled out the ideas of salvation he had found in the New Testament, including the idea of liberty which ultimately undermined the authority of the Church on spiritual and social matters, through the way it was interpreted by the people (MacCulloch D. , *The Reformation: A History*, 2003). As a result of these three treatises, in June 1520, Luther was excommunicated from the Catholic Church and was formally accused of committing 41 acts of heresy (Merriman, 2010). Luther was given a second chance when he was summoned to the city of Worms by newly elected Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V. At the Diet, or imperial assembly, at Worms in 1521, Luther was asked to publicly recant his beliefs and the words he had written. When he refused to do so, Charles V agreed with the Pope and signed the Edict of Worms authorizing Luther’s excommunication and banned him from the Empire. Further, this Edict declared him a

heretic, and he was forbidden from preaching his ideas (Merriman, 2010). Charles V hoped this would put an end to the anti-Catholic messages, but instead, Protestantism spread through the Holy Roman Empire and Europe as different sects and groups took hold of and expanded upon Luther's ideas.

A discussion of subsequent reformers is not necessary for the historical background of the Reformation with the exception of the tenets of Calvinism (known as the Swiss Reformation) as they helped form Protestant beliefs about marriage and gender roles, and the English Reformation, which is the defining historical event surrounding the birth and reign of Elizabeth I.

Calvinism was born out of the ideas of two reformers: Huldrych Zwingli and Jean (John) Calvin. Zwingli, unlike Luther, was not a monk but rather was an educated parish priest who had a short-lived public career in Zurich, Switzerland. Although Zwingli's personal memoirs show that he was not influenced by Luther, historians such as Cameron, cited in MacCulloch, generally agree that for Zwingli to discover the message of salvation by faith "simultaneously yet independently" of Luther is entirely too coincidental to be taken at face value (MacCulloch D. , *The Reformation: A History*, 2003, p. 138). In terms of theological beliefs, Zwingli agreed with Luther on many things; however, key differences occurred in regards to Biblical authority and the Eucharist. Luther's discussion of the Bible as authority centered on the idea of spiritual authority versus political authority. Zwingli saw no difference in the two concepts. To Zwingli, the Bible was "Divine Law; the Law represented the will of God;" if a political authority did not corroborate the Bible, the political authority was out of bounds and the words of the Bible took priority (MacCulloch D. , *The Reformation: A History*, 2003, p.

139). Because of this proclamation by Zwingli first, and later Jean Calvin, the Swiss reformers found less acceptance among government officials and political rulers than Luther did.

The second major division between Luther and Zwingli occurred over communion, an important ceremony in Christianity. Luther had maintained a stance of agreement with the Catholic Church that during communion the bread and wine were miraculously transformed into the literal blood and body of Christ. Zwingli, who saw communion as ceremonial, believed that the bread and the wine were nothing more than a symbol of the presence of Christ (Merriman, 2010). Zwingli believed communion was really nothing more than the community of the people coming together to show their love for Christ (MacCulloch D. , *The Reformation: A History*, 2003). Between the complete break with the Church in regards to communion and the defiance of political authorities with a priority on the Bible, Zwingli was quickly labeled more radical than Luther. Nonetheless, Zwingli's ideas set the stage for a lasting influence of Calvinism in Europe. His ideas would be furthered by Jean Calvin, and Calvinist sects were soon established in Scotland (Presbyterians), France (Huguenots), and England (Puritans) (McKay, Hill, & et.al, 2014).

Jean Calvin is considered to be part of the secondary wave of Church reformers. Like Luther, Calvin did not set out to start a revolution, but desired to see Church corruption and abuses ended for the good of the Church community. Calvin believed that the overall "sense of religious community . . . was dissolving" (Merriman, 2010, p. 108). Calvin agreed with Luther and Zwingli over the issue of salvation, claiming that salvation based on works led to confusion for sinners as there was no way to know how many good

works were required before salvation could be achieved. Where Calvin went further than Luther with this message was his emphasis on the sinner's obedience to the will of God. In order to reassure believers in their faith and salvation, Calvin developed the concept of predestination, the idea that God knew prior to every person's birth whether they had been predestined for eternal salvation or eternal damnation (Solt, 1958). His argument was that since God is all-knowing and all-powerful, God would have preordained people for one or the other prior to their birth (Campbell, 2012). Critics questioned then why believers should be concerned about their behavior; in response Calvin clarified that good works were evidence of having been predestined as they stemmed from a heart that was thankful to God for his love and mercy (Merriman, 2010). Due to this strict belief in good works as evidence for salvation, many Calvinists led strict lives focused on maintaining purity. This emphasis would transcend from purely spiritual matters into every aspect of a believers life, including marriage, work, and family, therefore setting the stage for many of the social ideas that have become associated with Protestantism.

In terms of social changes, the Protestant Reformation both reaffirmed traditional gender roles and emphasized a new importance on marriage that broke from traditional Catholic teachings. Marriage would become increasingly associated with the Church. Through its use of the printing press, the Protestant Reformation spread ideas nonreligious ideas such as education, individual study, literacy, and increased access to published works which brought about social changes for women.

Access to education had enormous effects in creating what became the historical gender role for women: inferior in all capacities and legally dependent on men, with their place being inside the home. Without education, women would continually be relegated

to an inferior status. In order to be in a position of power, a formal education was a near requirement. Though most women would not have been able to move into positions of power, the lack of formal schooling meant that most were forced to follow along with the stereotypes and roles established for them; it would become an endless cycle. Though for the most part women were kept from a classical education, which was seen as the key to power, there were exceptions to this rule, including Mary and Elizabeth Tudor, the two daughters of Henry VIII (MacCulloch D. , *The Reformation: A History*, 2003, p. 612). About a century before the Protestant Reformation challenged ideas about marriage in Europe, humanist scholars from the Renaissance era began to question the lack of formal education for women. Though this number was small, there was a general consensus that “exceptional women . . . be given access to all-round education,” which would include a study of languages, Scripture, and poetry and prose along with basic mathematical principles (MacCulloch D. , *The Reformation: A History*, 2003, p. 612). This would be significant to the reign of Elizabeth I; as an exceptional woman of noble birth, she would receive a formal education which would allow her to rule and make decisions of her own mental facilities.

Though debates regarding the abilities and appropriate spheres for women began prior to the Protestant Reformation, the ideas set forth by both Protestant and Catholic churches would solidify a new understanding regarding gender and marriage. Whether Protestant or Catholic, the Church continued to play a significant role in politics and society through the 17th century. Prior to the Protestant Reformation, the Catholic Church heavily emphasized virginity in women; after all, Mary the mother of Jesus, was heralded as a virgin and praised as such in Catholicism. Jerome, the biblical Latin commentator of

the Catholic Church, whose compilation of the Latin vulgate was considered the genuine Bible by the Catholic Church, openly promoted the virginal status of women; to be a virgin in the Catholic Church was considered a greater accomplishment than getting married (MacCulloch D. , *The Reformation: A History*, 2003). As another historian has argued:

“Western Catholic opinion displayed an ambivalent attitude toward sexuality. Sex was seen as polluting and defiling, with virginity regarded as the most desirable state; members of the clergy and religious orders were expected . . . to remain chaste. Their chastity and celibacy made them different from, and superior to, lay Christians who married. In general, early modern Catholic doctrine held that sexual relations were acceptable as long as they were within marriage, not done on Sundays or other church holidays, [and] done in a way that would allow for procreation” (Wiesner-Hanks, 2008, p. 61).

Though the Catholic Church was not opposed to the idea of marital sex, especially when used for the purpose of procreation, virginity was a more highly admired virtue. Monks and nuns in their service to the Church were required to be celibate beings; this state of celibacy was supposed to bring them closer to God and improve their spirituality within the Church.

The Protestant reformers, specifically Luther and the Calvin, re-affirmed the role of marriage in society over the virtue of virginity and celibacy; this re-affirmation and emphasis on marriage would change the expectations for women in the European population. In terms of social changes, one of the defining features of the Protestant Reformation was the refutation of the importance of celibacy and its advocacy of the state

of marriage as the best state for any god-fearing individual (Wiesner-Hanks, 2008). McKay explains how the Protestant Reformers not only advocated marriage as the preferred state, but further claimed that the vows of celibacy taken by priests, monks, and nuns, went against both “human nature and God’s commandments” to the faithful (McKay, Hill, & et.al, 2014, p. 402). Luther and Calvin both married and used their marriages to set an example for their followers of the spiritual nature of marriage. Marriage was seen as the true state that would be advantageous to one’s spiritual walk, and because of this, marriage was the ideal for true believers to attain.

Though the Protestant reformers championed the state of marriage and its social importance, there was neither an expectation nor a change in the subservient status of the wife in the marriage. The liberty so championed by Luther in his treatises of 1520 did not extend to include liberty for a wife from her husband’s directions or authority in the house. Popular ideas about the role of a wife had at the core a motive to construct a Christian society that was structured and ordered according to Scripture (Hunt, Martin, & et.al, 2010). Reformers’ marriages were meant to be illustrations of their convictions that marriage was a far preferable state to celibacy. Reformers’ wives were meant to be examples of what a spiritual woman’s role was as a wife to her husband, in a marriage under the authority of God (McKay, Hill, & et.al, 2014). It was also in this spiritual state of marriage that sexual intercourse was now deemed appropriate and holy (Crawford, 2007). Wives were expected to be perfect models of how a wife obeys her husband, manages the household, and still fulfills the requirements of Christian charity. Marriage manuals published in the 16th century explain how a wife was supposed to be obedient, silent in public situations, happy yet pious, and careful and thrifty with the household’s

resources (Wiesner-Hanks, 2008). Protestant women were held to extremely high expectations regarding both their spiritual duties and their duties as wives and mothers. Modesty and piety were demanded, but so too were economic virtues. In some ways, the definition of a wife's role became stricter and was defined more harshly than it had been under the single authority of the Roman Catholic Church.

As marriage became the championed state of women, it is worth discussing the general views of women that were unfortunate enough to be single – whether by choice or circumstance. Since marriage was considered to a greater degree the “natural vocation for women,” women who did not fall into this category became more suspicious to society (Wiesner-Hanks, 2008, p. 82). If the state of marriage was a natural state, then by similar logic, to be single and unmarried was considered unnatural, which usually placed women in this category under more scrutiny. The notion that a woman would choose to live this way was unthinkable by many religious and even political authorities of the day (Shepherd, 1972). As will be seen in the life of Elizabeth, much of her early training emphasizes marriage and the proper role of women; once she is destined to become queen, her choice to rule as a woman, unmarried, without the guidance of a husband and king by her side, is simply unheard of. Much of the conflict she faces over her choice to rule as the Virgin Queen circles back to the prevailing assumptions about single women perpetrated by the work of the Protestant Reformation.

History of the Reformation in England

Introduction

The work of Martin Luther in pioneering the German Reformation as well as that of Huldrych Zwingli and Jean Calvin and the Swiss Reformation, illustrates the dominant

goals and motives of most church reformers of the 16th century. These three men were driven not by a desire to break with the Roman Catholic Church, but rather desired to reform the Church in order to make it stronger and genuine in its spirituality. However, while the motives of these men were pure in intent, even if they resulted in unpredictable changes, the motives of other reformers – most notably Henry VIII of England – were far less pure. The actions of Henry VIII would begin two centuries worth of uncertainty regarding religion in England. These actions are important to assess and comprehend, as they are directly tied to the birth of Elizabeth and have direct consequences for her life and reign as queen. It is also important to note that the English Reformation, though started by the actions of Henry VIII, would be continued by his son and successor Edward VI, thwarted by his daughter Mary I, and further continued and solidified by his daughter Elizabeth I during their times of rule on the throne of England.

In looking at the actions of the four primary individuals responsible for setting the course of the Reformation, it must be remembered that the English Reformation was born out of the royal Tudor family drama. Because of this, elements of Tudor family history must be included and evaluated in order to fully comprehend the intricacies of the competing motives between Henry VIII and his three successors, three children born of three different wives. The motives, desires, and actions of Henry VIII prior to his break with the Church as well as after were the catalysts for religious change in England. This was followed by the work of Edward, his son by his third wife, who attempted to make the country of England purified in Protestantism. Mary, Henry's daughter by his first wife, the Spanish Catholic princess Katherine of Aragon, in an effort to restore the greatness of her mother to English memory, worked tirelessly to destroy elements of

Protestantism and revert England to Catholicism. Lastly, Henry's daughter Elizabeth by his second wife, Anne Boleyn, will become the moderate religious leader that returns England to a place of stability in religion as well as a place of international power and prestige. The English Reformation is a crucial piece into the puzzle that is Elizabeth, and understanding it is crucial to any examination of the factors and influences on Elizabeth and her tenure as queen of England.

Henry VIII

Henry Tudor, known as King Henry VIII, became king in the year 1509 when his father, Henry VII, died. Prior to Henry VIII's death, the Pope, the Spanish monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella, as well as Henry VII himself had been working on marriage negotiations between the Spanish and English royal houses. Katherine, youngest of Ferdinand and Isabella's five children, was married to Henry VII's oldest son Arthur. The marriage between Katherine and Arthur was short-lived; after being married in late 1501, Arthur fell seriously ill in April 1502 and quickly passed away (Starkey D. , *Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII*, 2003). The marriage was highly advantageous to both royal houses but did not survive long enough to maintain the much coveted Anglo-Spanish royal alliance. More negotiations quickly took place in order to re-secure the alliance with a new marriage between Katherine and the royal house of Tudor. After the death of his father Henry VII, the newly established King of England became the desired choice.

The marriage was not as simple as a matter of acceptable choice between the two houses. There was a major element that had to be overcome in order for the new marriage to occur. As families that followed the Catholic Church and its doctrines, Henry was not allowed to simply marry Katherine due to canon (church) law. Katherine was the widow

of Henry's brother and marriage to her was forbidden under canon law (McKay, Hill, & et.al, 2014). As the Pope had been involved in the second marriage negotiations for Katherine, he was well aware of the concerns about both canon law and natural law (Starkey D. , *Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII*, 2003). Along with the question of canon law arose the question of Katherine's status; there had been conflicting reports regarding consummation of the marriage, as Arthur left his new bride almost immediately and then died so suddenly. Katherine's father Ferdinand, publicly claimed his daughter remained a virgin despite the marriage in the hopes of persuading the pope to allow the new marriage to take place. Pope Julius II acquiesced to the request of the two houses and did grant the papal dispensation allowing for the marriage between Henry and Katherine. However, due to the untimely death of Isabella, Katherine's mother on which the unity of Spain depended, the marriage did not take place immediately. It would not be until the death of Henry VII and the transformation of Prince Henry to Henry VIII King of England that the marriage would occur.

The marriage of Henry and Katherine is one of the first glimpses seen into Henry's personal nature. The odds were stacked against the marriage taking place. Besides the questions of natural and canon law – which, even though permission for the marriage was granted by the pope, did not end concerns of impropriety – there was also the question of the wishes and desires of Henry VII prior to his death (Starkey D. , *Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII*, 2003). Henry VII had not been silent in his concerns about the second marriage, and these concerns only grew once Isabella died. The unity of Spain was dependent on the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella and the regions of Castile and Aragon they brought together. Once Isabella died, there was much uncertainty

whether the political unity of Spain could be maintained. Renowned Tudor historian David Starkey discusses it is unlikely that Henry VII overcame his reservations regarding the marriage on his deathbed, meaning that Henry VIII would have agreed to the marriage after his father's death and against his expressed wishes (Starkey D. , *Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII*, 2003). With these obstacles to the marriage, the question then becomes why did it take place? This is where a clue to Henry's nature occurs. He married Katherine simply because he wanted to, and he was willing to find a way to make it happen. His personal letters and accounts of the time demonstrate his infatuation with Katherine and his desire for her despite being younger than her. He considered the match to be a promising arrangement and it fulfilled his desires, so he did what was necessary to attain her as his wife. On June 11 1509, Henry and Katherine were married, and on June 24th their coronation as King and Queen of England took place (Starkey D. , *Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII*, 2003). Henry had now begun a dangerous precedent of getting his way despite the costs; this would be repeated many times throughout his tenure as king.

It was not long into Henry's reign as king that across the English Channel Martin Luther sparked the events of the German Reformation. Though England is geographically isolated from the rest of Europe, the country became embroiled in the religious debate between the Catholic Church and Luther. Though 1517 is the year in which the break with the Church began, it was not until the publication of his aforementioned three treatises in 1520 that the majority of the population began to take notice and the break with the Church became irreconcilable. 1520 is also significant for it is the year that Henry VIII left England and traveled to meet Francis I and newly crowned Holy Roman

Emperor, Charles V (Smith, 1910). It was during this meeting that Henry became aware of how quickly Luther's ideas were spreading and his potential to cause upheaval within a kingdom. Henry's initial reaction towards Luther and his teachings was that they were blasphemous and went against God (MacCulloch D. , Putting the English Reformation on the Map: The Prothero Lecture, 2005). Upon hearing random scatterings of Luther's teachings back in England, Henry wrote a treatise against Luther's ideas titled *Defense of the Seven Sacraments*. This pamphlet further solidified Henry's relationship with the Pope and the Catholic Church, and Henry was given the title "Defender of the Faith" by the Pope in 1521 (Palmer, Colton, & Kramer, 2007). Throughout Europe, Henry VIII was quite vocal in refuting Luther's ideas and beliefs that went against the Catholic Church. Between the years 1520 and 1527 Henry was one of the most vehement supporters of the Pope; however, after 1527 Henry's support of the Catholic Church would diminish as Henry faced his own personal problems and his concerns over succession grew (Hunt, Martin, & et.al, 2010). These political concerns would motivate Henry to break with the Church, even though there was no desire for theological reform such as possessed.

From the start of their marriage, Katherine was aware that she had a vital role to fill: provider of a male heir to the throne of England. The Tudors' claim to the throne had been the result of the conclusion of the Wars of the Roses, which were nothing more than civil wars between noble families. Henry VIII was cognizant of the fact that the lack of a male heir could question the legitimacy of the Tudor line and plunge the country into civil warfare yet again. Katherine was "dedicated to a service greater than herself" and prayed continuously that she might bear heirs for the throne of England (Starkey D. , Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII, 2003, p. 111). Within the first year, it seemed likely

that her prayers were granted as the royal couple announced the Queen's pregnancy less than six months into the marriage. Unfortunately for the couple, their joy soon turned to sadness as Katherine miscarried at the end of January. What made matters worse is that Katherine remained bloated and the physician remained convinced she was still pregnant. It wasn't until after her original delivery date that full knowledge of the miscarriage and false pregnancy became fully known to Henry and his hopes of multiple heirs would never be fully realized.

The troubles with pregnancy and childbirth had just begun for Katherine and Henry. The following January, the Queen gave birth to a baby boy, and the kingdom greatly celebrated the birth of Prince Henry (Starkey D. , *Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII*, 2003). The celebration was short-lived however; in less than two weeks' time the baby prince died unexpectedly. This would be the end of the desire Henry had for his Queen, although it did not signal an end to the marriage at this point. In February 1516 Katherine successfully delivered a baby girl, who was named Mary. This would be Katherine's only surviving heir; as Katherine aged she was not physically able to produce healthier children and after a few years, she was unable to conceive more children. Henry had been disappointed in his wife from an early point in their marriage. After further complications in pregnancies and a characterization of his wife as old and barren, Henry turned to other sources for physical and emotional companionship. One companion in particular would be mother to his daughter Elizabeth and the catalyst for Henry's break with the Church; her name is Anne Boleyn.

Henry's relationship with Anne and the renewed hopes of a male heir the relationship offered would drive Henry back to his younger self – he would find a way to

get what he wanted. Henry initially attempted to use the Catholic Church as his means for ridding himself of Katherine. Though he had to acquire a special papal dispensation to marry Katherine, he would now approach the Pope to ask for an annulment on the grounds that the marriage was improper in the sight of God and therefore was never righteous under God (Merriman, 2010). Henry seemed to forget that the Church went to great lengths to allow the marriage of his brother's widow (Campbell, 2012). At this point, all that appears to be fueling Henry's actions is his renewed hope for a male heir. Anne Boleyn, who had initially caught Henry's eye as one of the Queen's ladies in waiting, offered everything to Henry that Katherine could not. Anne was young, vibrant, energetic, beautiful, and, most importantly, fertile (Starkey D. , *Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII*, 2003). It quickly became clear that Henry wanted Anne; Katherine was largely ignored while Henry seduced the young lady. All Henry had to do was figure out how to make a marriage between himself and Anne valid, so that any children she bore would have a legitimate claim to the throne.

Short of Katherine dying, there were only two options Henry had to free himself from the marriage. The first option was an annulment, which Henry pushed hard for. The second option was a divorce; the issue with the divorce was that it was really not allowed under Catholic Church doctrine. To so blatantly divorce a wife which the pope himself had so carefully crafted the marriage of would be considered a huge overstepping of authority. Henry decided the annulment would be easier to obtain due to the issue of the marriage violating canon law. In his argument for the annulment, Henry cited God's displeasure at the marriage as the reason that God had so far denied him a son (McKay, Hill, & et.al, 2014). Pope Clement VII however was in a difficult situation himself in

terms of canceling the papal dispensation issued by Pope Julius II and annulling the marriage. The current Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, was the nephew of Katherine of Aragon. The Hapsburgs had quickly become one of the most influential and powerful families in European politics; angering the Habsburg family could spell political disaster for years to come. Annulling the marriage would effectively label Katherine an adulterer and their daughter Mary a bastard, which would also destroy any claim she would potentially have to the throne of England. Due to the need of Pope Clement to maintain good relations with the Habsburgs, the pope denied Henry's request for an annulment (Hunt, Martin, & et.al, 2010). This denial of his wishes, combined with the possibility that the now pregnant Anne could have his long-desired male heir, brought Henry to his breaking point.

It is important to note at this point Henry had no issues with the theology of the Catholic Church, other than his inability to divorce Katherine. But in the years since Luther had begun his work, the ideas of the Protestant Reformation had spread throughout Europe, most notably to Switzerland, Scandinavia, and the German states. To a lesser degree, Protestant ideas had spread to Scotland, and even to England (McKay, Hill, & et.al, 2014). After Henry was unable to acquire legal permission from the pope to divorce Katherine, he appointed two Protestants to high positions within his royal service: Thomas Cromwell as chancellor and Thomas Cranmer as Archbishop of Canterbury (Hunt, Martin, & et.al, 2010, p. 443). Henry hoped that by appointing Protestants to positions of power and influence he would find a Parliament more willing to change and acquiesce to his demands than the Catholic Church had been.

Over the next two years, Parliament passed a series of acts that formed the official basis of the break with Rome and the establishment of a new religion in England. The first of significance was the Act of Annates in 1532 (Davies, 1996). This Act attacked the Catholic Church through its revenues and officially cut England's financial payments to Rome (Elton, 1951). Once the financial ties were cut, the English Parliament enacted political reforms in support of Henry by declaring the marriage between Katherine and Henry to be invalid and improper; besides legalizing the sought after divorce, this also effectively de-legitimized Mary from being next in line to the throne by making her a bastard, thereby making Anne's child first in line after Henry (Hunt, Martin, & et.al, 2010). In 1533, the Protestant Parliament passed the Act in Restraint of Appeals which denied the pope's authority in all matters (Merriman, 2010). This Act had two important consequences. First, by denying the pope's authority, it effectively canceled the marriage between Katherine and Henry by stripping the pope of his authority in England to offer the papal dispensation for the original marriage and requiring his approval for either an annulment or a divorce. Secondly, in denying the pope's authority, it also stripped him of his religious authority, which broke England away from the established Catholic Church and paved the way for a new leader of the Church in England.

The two most important acts, importance being defined as those with the biggest and most serious consequences, were both passed in 1534; these were the Act of Succession and the Act of Supremacy. The Act of Succession formally legalized the marriage between Henry and Anne Boleyn and officially put any children Anne might bear first in line to the throne after Henry (Campbell, 2012). Princess Elizabeth, born in 1533 upon the Act's passing, would be first in line for the throne until Anne could bear

Henry a son (Levine, 1962). Levine offers important insight into Henry's decision to use Parliament in determining succession. Once the pope's authority was declared null in England, Henry would want to use the "strongest sanction possible in dealing with the succession . . . [and] parliament, like religion, was a matter which had customarily been regarded as ordained by God" (Levine, 1962, p. 122). With the pope's authority now non-existent, Parliament was the next closest body of authority. The Act of Succession also required all subjects of the king to swear an oath of loyalty to the monarch (Merriman, 2010). Anyone who refused to take this oath would be charged with treason and executed. In 1534, Parliament also passed the Act of Supremacy which established the king of England as the supreme head of the Church of England, also known as the Anglican Church (Merriman, 2010) (Hunt, Martin, & et.al, 2010). As Henry had denounced the pope's authority and proclaimed his incompetence in religious matters, England would need a new figure head of the Church. By taking that power upon himself, as granted to him by the Act of Supremacy, Henry guaranteed that religion would not step into his personal and political affairs while he remained on the throne. It would be an important step towards establishing the role of English monarchs in determining religious policy through the 17th century.

With the birth of Princess Elizabeth in September 1533, Henry once again found himself disappointed in the ability of his Queen to produce for him a male heir. The country had long been awaiting the birth of a Prince or Princess, as the only one to date, Mary, was now 17 years old (Starkey D. , *Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII*, 2003). Henry and Anne's relationship would not be the same; Henry, once disappointed, quickly lost some of his desire for Anne. Nevertheless, the couple continued to attempt the

conception of further children and a possible male heir. In 1534 Anne was pregnant but unfortunately miscarried. In 1535, Anne was pregnant again, and it seemed as if the relationship between Anne and Henry would be restored to its original passionate state with the birth of a new child. However, January 1536 would set in motion a course of events that would reverse the promising changes. In late January, on the day of Katherine of Aragon's funeral, Anne miscarried yet again (Starkey D. , *Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII*, 2003). The irony of his new Queen miscarrying on the day the country laid his first queen to rest was not lost on Henry. He began to feel as though "the old pattern had reasserted itself" between the old queen and the new (Starkey D. , *Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII*, 2003, p. 553).

The previous year, Henry had become infatuated with yet another woman, Jane Seymour. It seems to have rapidly developed during January 1536, as Henry celebrated having rid himself of the bonds of his first wife, and his second wife was dealing with her pregnancy. By the end of January, with two miscarriages and rumors that Anne was not capable of giving Henry a son, Henry's disillusionment with Anne grew and he began to consider how to switch out Anne for his new love, Jane (Starkey D. , *Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII*, 2003). Anne, keenly aware of the difficulty Henry faced in getting rid of Katherine and yet being able to do so, became increasingly worried that her position as queen was threatened. From January to May 1536, events transpired that gave Henry the excuse he was looking for. Anne, being a conspiratorial figure, was determined to find a way to convince Henry to stay with her. In conspiring these events, rumors and accusations of adultery with other men, including her own brother, surfaced, and Anne was placed on trial. Though she attempted to mount a firm defense, she was found guilty

of adultery and treason and sentenced to die. On May 19th 1536, Anne was executed by beheading.

The relationship and marriage of Henry and Jane Seymour occurred much faster than Henry's had with either Katherine or Anne. Between January and February, the relationship between Henry and Jane developed. On May 20th, just one day after the beheading of Anne Boleyn, the two were wed (Starkey D. , *Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII*, 2003). On June 4th, Jane was officially presented as Queen to the people of England. For the rest of 1536, Jane played her part as queen and stepmother to Mary appropriately. Early 1537, Queen Jane became pregnant, and by May of that year, the entire realm was made aware and became hopeful again that the king would finally have the prince he so longed for. Early in the morning of October 12th, Jane gave birth to a healthy baby boy; Henry finally had the prince he so desired. The baby prince was christened with the name Edward. However, the celebrations of the kingdom would be short-lived as Jane fell ill shortly after the baby's birth. By the 24th of October, the queen had died; Henry was thankful that prior to her death Jane had fulfilled her royal duties and provided a male heir to the throne (Starkey D. , *Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII*, 2003).

Henry VIII would go on to have three more wives, but as their presence has very little effect on the history of the English Reformation, they will not be discussed here. What is curious is that following the death of Jane in 1537 and before Henry's own death 10 years later, Henry attempts various theological and political changes. Prior to Edward's birth and Jane's death, Parliament had passed a Second Succession Act which bastardized both Princesses Mary and Elizabeth and established Jane and Henry's future

child as first in line to the throne. This was not a surprise, but it did have ramifications for a young Elizabeth, which will be discussed in a separate section. In terms of theological changes, Henry tries to reassert elements of Catholic doctrine and authority. As historians have noted, Henry VIII never completely converted to the doctrines of the Protestant Reformation (Campbell, 2012). Whether he personally believed Protestant doctrine is another question. His motives for beginning the English Reformation were purely political; they were merely a means for Henry to attain what he so desperately wanted. Henry was known for being extremely selfish and for finding ways get what he wanted; the English Reformation and the changing religious authority in England was just a means to an end for him.

In 1539 Henry returned the kingdom to a state of religious confusion with his passage of the Six Articles which were meant to reaffirm certain aspects of Catholic Church teachings. Protestants, who had gained firm control over the monarchy and Parliament since 1532, were rather unhappy with the Six Articles (Campbell, 2012). Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Cranmer, previously appointed by King Henry VIII due to their Protestant beliefs, were most unhappy about the Six Articles as they wanted Protestantism to be the permanent religion. To this end, Thomas Cromwell arranged a marriage between Henry and Anne of Cleves, who was the daughter of a Protestant duke. When Cromwell's arrangement failed, he lost the king's faith and was beheaded in 1540 (Campbell, 2012). With Cromwell dead, Thomas Cranmer had a renewed ambition in restoring a pure Protestantism. Cranmer moved slowly and cautiously in pushing Protestantism forward in England as he had to be careful not to meet the same fate of Cromwell. Once Henry died in 1547, Prince Edward was crowned King of England, and

Cranmer found a monarch more willing to reassert Protestant doctrine. Where Henry used Protestantism to his personal gain and was never fully converted to the religious doctrine, Edward was more genuine in his evangelical sympathies and would firmly establish an evangelical Protestantism as the religious authority.

Edward VI

Evangelical Protestantism was established in Edward's life from a young age and almost certainly guaranteed his adherence to the theology upon his ascension. The tutors Henry VIII hired for his son were of an evangelical mindset, making them more radical in their theology than Henry himself was (MacCulloch D. , *The Reformation: A History*, 2003). As the individuals closest to Edward and those that held the most influence over his acquisition of knowledge, including religion, their influence is seen throughout Edward's short reign. Edward VI only ruled England for six years, from 1547-1553, and yet this time period is seen as the most radically evangelical and purely Protestant era within the long Tudor drama of the 16th century. Edward's extension of his father's break from Rome is important in what it created and what it destroyed, its effects on the population, and its effects on the Tudor siblings which influenced his half-sister Elizabeth when she came to the throne in 1558.

It was previously discussed that Henry was more traditional in his theological beliefs and that he converted to Protestantism as a political maneuver rather than from a theological change of heart. Yet this does not mean that others within England did not stray from Henry to follow Protestant teachings for their own religious convictions. Two such men were Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, who Henry appointed in order to get Parliament to adopt Protestant ideas such as divorce, and Edward Seymour, Edward VI's

uncle who would later be named Lord Protector after Henry VIII's death in 1547 (MacCulloch D. , *The Boy King: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation*, 1999). These two men would guide Edward in his theology and direct the political changes associated with them. With their influence, the Edwardian Reformation would become the most evangelical and radical of the religious changes in England.

The Edwardian Reformation, as it has been termed, is considered to be revolutionary itself for the ways in which it assaulted the past, specifically, the ideas of Henry, a man so loved and yet so feared that very few dared to oppose him for fear of death (MacCulloch D. , *The Boy King: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation*, 1999). The Edwardian Reformation was revolutionary in that it attempted to create a legitimate evangelical church rather than a church designed just to further the political interests of the crown. The agenda of the two men behind Edward – Archbishop Cranmer and Lord Protector Seymour – was twofold. They simultaneously wanted to “join the religious revolution in the rest of Europe . . . and destroy the old world of devotion to the English Church,” which was the church established by Henry in his break with Rome (MacCulloch D. , *The Boy King: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation*, 1999, p. 8). Under Henry, the English Church, with its political motives, was rather isolated from the rest of Europe. Under the reign of Edward, the attempt would be made to align the Edwardian revolution with the revolution spreading through the rest of Europe. But first, Edward had to win the appeal and support of his own people.

The evangelical revolution led by Edward VI represented only a minority of the population of England, and there were clear opponents of the religious changes. Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, was a known Catholic with ties to Mary Tudor through

Katherine and was not a supporter of Edward. Edward and his advisors had to be careful not to anger the Holy Roman Emperor and drag England into war. Other opponents of the new regime included high-ranking bishops who maintained their power in England under Henry when he did not change much of the theology from the Roman Catholic Church to the Church of England. These bishops saw Edward's theological changes as a threat to their own power and the symbol of destruction of traditional religion (MacCulloch D. , *The Boy King: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation*, 1999). Similarly, many nobles and gentry did not support the king's ideas for change due to the instability the changes might bring to both their political and economic positions. Most of the support Edward and his councilors had at the start came from people in the country that had no influence on politics. But Edward and his councilors would be able to draw more support from the population through the ability to phrase religious changes as appealing to the population.

There were two theological changes that began almost immediately upon Henry's death and Edward's ascension. The first of these was the official acceptance of Luther's doctrine, the justification by faith alone (MacCulloch D. , *The Reformation: A History*, 2003). Henry had not accepted this key tenet of Protestant theology, as he preferred the idea of good works over faith and the role of the church in communicating between God and man as it furthered his own importance (Merriman, 2010). The Edwardian regime immediately stated its belief in and acceptance of the Lutheran doctrine. A second theological change focused on the ceremony of the Eucharist. Upon Edward's ascension, the religious reformers Luther, Zwingli, and later Calvin, had been in debate about the role of Christ in the ceremony. Edward and his regime abandoned belief in the real

presence of Christ in the ceremony and saw it as symbolic only, which went against Luther's teachings, but as the reformation on the continent was still trying to sort this issue out however, Edward refrained from making an official doctrinal proclamation about the issue (MacCulloch D. , *The Boy King: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation*, 1999). Edward and Archbishop Cranmer were cognizant that inserting England into a set side on this issue would injure the overall goal of giving the Edwardian Reformation the international standing it desired.

The other theological changes are considered to be minor in comparison with the two previously discussed, yet it is these minor theological changes that had the greatest effect on the population in terms of appeal and changes in day to day life. One of the biggest reliefs offered to the English population was Edwards's abolition of the heresy laws, specifically Henry's Act of the Six Articles (MacCulloch D. , *The Boy King: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation*, 1999). No longer would the people fear being charged and convicted of heresy if they disagreed with a part of official doctrine, specifically the Catholic elements Henry had decreed in his Six Articles (Campbell, 2012). In 1549 Edward legalized clerical marriage, another break from the Catholic Church that his father did not support. This legalization, by allowing Church clergy to participate in marital intercourse, removed the power of the Church to regulate what went on in the daily lives of its clergy from bishops to parish priests. This emphasized the human qualities of the Edwardian Reformation which ultimately was its greatest appeal to the people. Edward, in contrast to his father, was young and idealistic. The people saw in him a symbol of "hope and change" and would rally behind him in many areas because of this; even when part of his reform movement became more radical, he continued to

exude the symbol of hope for the people (MacCulloch D. , *The Boy King: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation*, 1999, p. 18).

As the king was himself a symbol of youth for his reformation movement, Edward was able to spark a bit of youth and liveliness into his evangelicalism. The mood of the kingdom towards Edward and his policies has been described as “intense excitement” by one historian (MacCulloch D. , *The Boy King: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation*, 1999, p. 126). Much of the excitement came from an abolition of the dreaded heresy laws, yet there was more that drove the people in their excitement, and much of it stemmed from Edward’s recognition that people have human instincts and drives that could not be legislated away by religion. Edward abolished the requirement for celibacy for the clergy and even encouraged marriage for both clergy and laity. In addition to this, Edward allowed divorce to be a possibility under certain conditions such as fornication. Until the year 1551 of his reign, the censorship laws were not upheld and the people no longer feared arrest for having a written work the government may not agree with. During this time theological discussions grew around the kingdom, and individual thought and discussion were encouraged, which added to the general excitement. But this idea of free expression and Christian liberty would be short lived once Edward’s advisors began to see it as dangerous; there would be a destructive side to the Edwardian revolution as well which would ultimately undermine the feelings of hope the English people originally felt (MacCulloch D. , *The Boy King: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation*, 1999).

Edward’s reign was not all about transformation as it seemed to the people, for in the span of his six short years as king, Edward and his councilors also embarked on a

radical journey in bringing about the evangelical reformation to England. In this respect, Edward was “exhorted to see God truly worshipped and idolatry destroyed” which emulated Calvinist ideology (MacCulloch D. , *The Boy King: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation*, 1999, p. 62). Edward and his followers embarked on a type of iconoclastic crusade, removing anything from English churches that people might worship instead of worshipping God. All sorts of ornaments, bells, even the images in stained glass windows were removed if people were seen to be overly devoted to these images rather than channeling devotion towards God (MacCulloch D. , *The Boy King: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation*, 1999). This was especially the case near the end of Edward’s reign; when he was on his deathbed in 1553, those in his closest circle were still carrying out the most radical and destructive side of the revolution.

The Edwardian Reformation had two distinct sides and these sides worked against each other’s goals for nearly the entirety of Edward’s reign. On one side was a constructive evangelicalism, which built up the population and offered hope and enthusiasm. The population experienced more liberty than they had under Henry VIII and were happy with the riddance of the heresy laws and censorship. But on the other side of the Edwardian revolution was a destructive force, an element that sought to rid the country of all it did not like or believe belonged in the evangelical religion. This detrimental side was most evident towards the end of Edward’s short reign. The true and lasting characteristic is that the Edwardian revolution remained at war with itself during the entirety of Edward’s time on the throne (MacCulloch D. , *The Boy King: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation*, 1999). Some of those working under Edward were more traditional and conservative and tried to maintain the status quo, while others were

reformers desiring change, and even in their midst were some radicals who desired change only as they saw fit. By the end of Edward's reign and the transition into the reign of Mary Tudor who would rule 1553-1558, the English population once again fell into confusion.

Elizabeth I witnessed the end of the life and reign of her father, and also lived through the reigns of both of her siblings, Edward and Mary. What she witnessed and experienced regarding religion through the English Reformation would influence her policy regarding religion. The reign of Edward showed Elizabeth a radical side to Protestantism and the effects on the population – mainly confusion, discord, and division over religion. This may have significantly influenced Elizabeth in her creation of the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity in 1559.

Mary I

Mary I was the only Tudor that did not follow along with the English Reformation. As monarch, Mary did everything in her power to stop the tide of evangelical Protestantism her brother had decreed and to mend the break with the Catholic Church her father had created. Mary was born and raised a Catholic and so this restoration of Catholicism was as much about Mary's personal legitimacy as it was religion. Mary's attempt at restoring Catholicism was in many ways as radical as the Edwardian Reformation had been (Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor*, 2009). Mary desired not just to restore Catholicism during her reign, but, knowing her half-sister and heir to the throne Elizabeth was Protestant, to keep England Catholic permanently by producing an heir and keeping the Protestant Elizabeth away from the throne (MacCulloch D. , *The Reformation: A History*, 2003). In Mary's eyes, Elizabeth

should have never been a contender for the throne and Mary's policies focused on keeping her half-sister off the throne. Though Mary's policies are considered to be a break in the tenure of the English Reformation, the policies are important to understand as they will have direct influence on Elizabeth's religious policies.

Modern historical scholarship of the Marian regime has connected Mary to the wider Counter-Reformation, the movement led by the Catholic Church and its devoted followers, which attempted to rid Europe of Protestant influence. Mary and the forceful way in which England was restored to Catholicism, albeit only temporary, have been deemed one of the more successful movements of the Counter-Reformation (Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor*, 2009). Some of Mary's more important policy changes were the "restoration of monasticism . . . [and] reconstruction of the universities . . . as powerhouses of Catholicism" and the recognition of the pope as the spiritual authority (Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor*, 2009, p. 8). With the recognition of the pope as the spiritual authority in England, Mary effectively undid Henry's most important reform in his break with Catholicism. England was the first country to return to the authority and obedience of Rome after breaking away in favor of Protestantism. From the moment Mary took office, she set England's foot back in line with Rome. As a result of this, the Pope and Catholic Europe now wholly supported England and desired to use Mary as an example throughout Europe.

Even though Mary has been criticized by some scholars as not being complete enough in her policy changes and instead allowing for some compromise, most Marian scholars agree that Mary's biggest failure was her dealings with the people of England. One of the first situations in which Mary appeared to be out of step with her people was

in regards to her marriage to Philip II of Spain, the Catholic Hapsburg monarch who was well-known for his militant Catholicism (Merriman, 2010) Together, Mary and Philip represented a firm block of Catholicism with designs to lead the Counter-Reformation throughout Europe (MacCulloch D. , *The Reformation: A History*, 2003). Tensions between Spain and England had been high since Henry forced an annulment to the Spanish princess, Katherine of Aragon. With this new marriage arrangement between the houses of Habsburg and Tudor, a general fear spread across the nation about the fate of England: the English people did not want to be governed by Spain (MacCulloch D. , *The Reformation: A History*, 2003). In order to placate fears about Spanish takeover of England should Mary face an untimely death, it was agreed that Philip would not take possession of the English throne upon her death, unless the marriage produced an heir. Regardless of this policy, the majority of the English population did not like the marriage arrangement, and partly for this reason, many English never fully trusted the policies and motives of the Marian regime (Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor*, 2009). This would be reflected in other areas with negative consequences for Mary's reputation and her religious desires.

The policy that was considered the greatest disaster of Mary's reign and what she is most famous for is her decision to burn over 280 Protestants at the stake for the charge of heresy. Eamon Duffy, foremost scholar of Mary Tudor, says that the "atrocious campaign of burnings was not merely an outrage against human decency but a devastating political blunder, which alienated moderate opinion and helped to inoculate the English nation forever against Roman Catholicism" (Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor*, 2009, p. 1). Other historians corroborate this and describe

how in Mary's desire to undo the damage left by her father, she actually followed in his footsteps as the burnings at the stake were for many people reminiscent of Henry's use of the Tower of London to quell political dissidents (Merriman, 2010). The burnings, which began in 1555 under the restoration of old heresy laws by Parliament, were not an unusual action for the charge of heresy (MacCulloch D. , *The Reformation: A History*, 2003). However, the policy did cause a great amount of fear in the English people turning them even further away from Catholicism. The English people for the most part felt no love for Mary, and the Protestant burnings eradicated what warm feelings might have still remained.

In 1558, Mary Tudor died, and although she had desired to produce an heir to the throne, keeping England on a Catholic religious track and removing Elizabeth from the line of succession, Mary failed to achieve this goal, dying heirless instead. Elizabeth Tudor, daughter to Henry VIII and his second wife Anne Boleyn, and half-sister to both Edward and Mary, would come to the throne of England (Nov 17 1558: *The Accession of Elizabeth I*, 2008). Upon ascension to the throne, two of the early Acts Parliament passed on behalf of Elizabeth were the Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy in 1559 (Palmer, Colton, & Kramer, 2007). With the Act of Supremacy, Elizabeth was decreed to be the governor of the Church of England, which effectively denied the authority of the Catholic pope, undoing Mary's earlier restoration of papal authority. With the Act of Uniformity, Elizabeth decreed Protestantism to be the official religion of England. Her settlement regarding religion is considered to be a religious compromise; although radicals on both sides of the religious debate were unhappy, Elizabeth did succeed in ending religious conflict in England with the passage of this act. Further discussion and analysis of the Act

of Uniformity, including full policy stipulations, are included in the subsequent section on Elizabeth.

In the midst of transition from one queen to the next, the country was in a state of confusion and turmoil regarding religion. Elizabeth had witnessed the use of ultimatums and torturous decisions under the reigns of both her father and sister. English citizens questioned whether she would follow the same tactics. Elizabeth had seen both her brother and sister take extreme stances in religious policy, one in evangelical Protestantism and one in restored Catholicism. Upon her ascension to the throne, it was unknown what religious policy Elizabeth would put into place as the new queen. Elizabeth had also witnessed under the reign of all three of her preceding family members a country divided in confusion and conflict about religion, losing the good feelings they had for their ruling monarch. No one in England knew for sure what kind of queen Elizabeth would become, but what the existing literature reveals is that the policies and mistakes of her family's past would influence her decisions as queen. The literature describes how Elizabeth chose not to take a radical road regarding religion, rejecting both radical Protestantism and Catholicism. The literature also shows how Elizabeth was continuously concerned about her public reputation and how the English people regarded her, this no doubt stemmed from the loss of public goodwill each family member experienced during their respective reigns. But there was more to Elizabeth's decision to pass the 1559 Acts of Uniformity than just desiring not to repeat the mistakes of the past. Other factors came into play that help complete the big puzzle of Elizabeth's decisions. A discussion of these factors will be found in the subsequent section, beginning with an analysis of Elizabeth's early childhood.

Life and Influences of Elizabeth I

Introduction

This section of the literature review is not meant to be a comprehensive biographical telling of Elizabeth from birth to death. Rather, it is meant to discuss certain influences in Elizabeth's life from childhood to her 1558 ascension as Queen of England and her 1559 passing of the Act of Uniformity, which decreed Protestantism the official religion of England and allowed for both Catholics and Protestants to live in harmony in England. This section will be divided into the following sub-sections, each one discussing a particular influence on Elizabeth: early childhood, late childhood, early adulthood, and her ascension and coronation of 1558-1559. These sections will be presented chronologically and will offer an analysis of the events that impacted Elizabeth's thoughts, beliefs, and actions in the order in which they occurred.

Early Childhood

In order to gain a true understanding of Elizabeth and the role of the Reformation in influencing her reign, a look into her childhood situation is key. Elizabeth's birth was a complicated matter in the history of England considering the events that brought about her conception. As a result of these circumstances, prior to Elizabeth's birth negative preconceptions had already been formed about the infant Anne Bolen was carrying (Starkey D. , *Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne*, 2001). The Catholic Church and those who aligned with the Church – such as the Habsburgs of the Holy Roman Empire – were already united against Elizabeth and all that she might represent; the list of those against her would include the disgraced former Queen, Katherine of Aragon, as well as Henry and Katherine's daughter, Mary Tudor. Mary was quickly displaced as Henry's

successor, having been declared illegitimate by Henry's divorce to her mother; this displacement would have implications in their relationship that would nearly be fatal to Elizabeth during Mary's rule as queen (Starkey D. , *Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne*, 2001).

When Elizabeth was born, Henry and the whole of England were quite disappointed in the birth of another infant princess. Henry himself, who had placed all of his hope in the baby's birth, was disappointed that the baby was a girl (Starkey D. , *Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII*, 2003). Another historian writes that her birth was a "deep disappointment" as Henry's real passion was not for a child but for a "son who could secure the Tudor line" (Levin, 2013, p. 5). Prior to the baby's birth, the kingdom all greatly anticipated the birth of a male child; even the doctors proclaimed the welcome birth of the new prince (Taylor-Smith, 1984). The greater implication that came out of Elizabeth's birth was that Henry would not have divorced Katherine, risked his eternal soul and break relations with the Catholic Church for another daughter; after all, he already had a female successor to the throne (Starkey D. , *Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne*, 2001). This disappointment in her gender would be recognized by Elizabeth in her early years; her desire to prove her worthiness to her father and the search for his approval would be continuing themes throughout her childhood (Taylor-Smith, 1984).

From Elizabeth's birth on Sept 7, 1533, to 1536, Elizabeth was hailed as Princess to the throne of England; yet even this timeframe was full of tension and conflict stemming from both her mother and her half-sister Mary. During the first three years of Elizabeth's life, Anne and Henry continued their attempt to conceive a son for the kingdom. Anne was plagued by similar issues that Katherine had been, including the

miscarriage of a male child on the day of Katherine's funeral on January 29th, 1536 (Starkey D. , *Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII*, 2003). In just a short timeframe, Anne would be executed for adulterous treason; in the span of three years Anne had fallen from beloved queen to an adulterous, barren nobody. This had an effect on Elizabeth as her mother's standing affected her own. When Anne was beloved by the people Elizabeth was treated as a most precious princess; when Anne lost favor with the king and the kingdom, Elizabeth was no longer England's precious princess (Starkey D. , *Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne*, 2001).

One researcher offers perspective from developmental psychology theory to explain how events in Elizabeth's early childhood would have affected her later decisions. According to developmental psychology, the years of childhood development is compiled of various stages; each stage of development being built upon earlier foundations, so if during one stage a child does not meet the developmental guidelines, it can cause problems in their adult relationships as these certain skills were not learned at an earlier time (Taylor-Smith, 1984). For the first two years of a child's life, the key developmental aspect is the formation of trust – a child needs to learn that the food and nurturing he/she requires will be readily available when it is needed. During these early years of her life, Henry and Anne did not live at the same residence as Princess Elizabeth. Instead, she was attended to by a Lady Margaret Bryan who was responsible for meeting her needs (Taylor-Smith, 1984). The idea of psychological attachment theory postulates that infants become attached to those who are comfortable and familiar to them (Myers & Fineburg, 2014). Parents are usually the object of an infant's attachment, however, if the parents are not present in meeting the everyday needs of an infant, the attachment may be

formed with the caregiver instead. What this likely means in terms of psychological development, is that although Elizabeth learned the developmental skill of basis trust, it is likely that she did not form an attachment to her mother in the typical sense. This appears to be what has happened in regards to Elizabeth as an infant and would become evident after Anne's death when Elizabeth was just three years old (Taylor-Smith, 1984).

However, Anne's death would be a significant turning point in analyzing Elizabeth's future development. Elizabeth is reported to have no visible reaction to the death of her mother, as presented by the biographer David Starkey (Starkey D. , Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne, 2001). If the young princess had not formed this necessary attachment, it would not be a surprise that there was little emotional reaction from the three year old princess. Following the death of her mother, Elizabeth was raised by various stepmothers – Henry would have a total of six wives – and she spent much of her childhood trying to emulate her father in many ways and to remain close to him (Starkey D. , Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne, 2001). After Anne's death, Elizabeth became privy to the numerous rumors and gossip surrounding her mother's short reign as queen, including the discussion of Anne being physically weak in rejecting inappropriate sexual advances. The research on Elizabeth's later years shows that she was well aware of potential comparisons of herself to her mother in terms of weakness and sexual misconduct (Starkey D. , Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne, 2001). At no point does Elizabeth attempt to defend her mother's actions; instead she appears to reject all likeness with Anne choosing instead to emulate her father. From a psychological standpoint, this was an important turning point which guided Elizabeth towards her later

decision to reject marriage and motherhood, choosing instead to serve in the role as mother to the people of England (Taylor-Smith, 1984).

Anne's execution happened when Elizabeth was just three years old. Yet the age is important as it represents another childhood developmental marker as established by the developmental psychological theorist Erik Erickson (Myers & Fineburg, 2014). Erickson states that the age of three years old is the beginning of the initiative-versus-guilt phase; as explained by Myers, this is the stage at which preschoolers begin develop their own initiative towards independence, oftentimes trying to accomplish tasks without the guidance of their parental caregiver (Myers & Fineburg, 2014). At this stage, the parent plays a critical role in the establishment of independence for the preschool age child; parents must allow the young child to exert some independence or control in certain situations. The absence of parents at this time can be devastating to the mental development of a child (Myers & Fineburg, 2014). For Elizabeth, not only did she lack the parental guidance she needed, she also had to deal with the shift in her physical environment brought about by execution of her mother, changing her mother's status and subsequently her own. While Elizabeth was too young to understand the changes taking place around her, she would not have been too young to understand the different physical environment, the absence of her mother, and the change in the way she was treated as she falls from cherished princess to the king's bastard daughter (Taylor-Smith, 1984).

During her first three years the nature of Elizabeth and Mary's relationship was established. With the annulment of her mother and father's marriage, Mary falls from the status of princess to that of a bastard daughter. As Anne held Henry's heart after Katherine was pushed aside, Henry focused on his new family and Mary was no longer

the beloved princess to her father (Starkey D. , Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne, 2001). Mary, as a seventeen year old princess, was faced with a sudden and harsh change of position; the cause of all her anguish as Mary saw it, was the newborn baby Elizabeth. Elizabeth's mother took Katherine's place as queen, and Mary considers the new baby, now the cherished princess, to have taken her place as well. During the first three years of Elizabeth's life, Mary is forced to be in her presence on a daily basis. Starkey notes that Mary even refused to "acknowledge Elizabeth as princess" (Starkey D. , Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne, 2001, p. 18).

It is during these three years as Princess that Elizabeth came to be permanently linked with the new Protestant religion even though the religion's effect on her would not be felt for a few years yet. Before Anne was beheaded and while Queen of England, Anne embraced Protestantism and desired that her daughter do the same as she grew up (Starkey D. , Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne, 2001). The Boleyn family, including Anne, was in a political position that required them to embrace Protestantism, whether or not they genuinely agreed with its principles, for it was Protestantism that allowed Anne and Henry to be wed in the first place. Without the change in the Church authority, Anne would be nothing more than a whore and her beloved Princess Elizabeth would be declared an illegitimate bastard. Elizabeth learned this lesson about her mother's family at an early age and subsequently never questioned her religious choices. Protestantism would come to have a great effect on Elizabeth and be intertwined with her life's story.

Late Childhood

After the death of her mother in 1536 until the death of her father in 1547, Elizabeth was raised primarily by Henry's other wives and became a member of their households. Though for the most part she experienced a good upbringing, the concept of family could at times be confusing for her, especially with the rather frequent change of the position of Henry's queen. The first of her stepmothers was Jane Seymour, third wife to Henry and soon to be mother of Edward, who would be Henry's only male heir and first in line to the throne of England. Though the influence of Jane in Elizabeth's life was brief, it had the effect of mitigating the troubled relationship between the sisters Mary and Elizabeth (Starkey D. , *Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne*, 2001). There is some speculation as to what warmed the heart of the older sister towards the younger, perhaps that Mary felt compassion and empathy for the three-year old who went from beloved princess to a young girl without a mother, but the definite reason for the change in relationship is not known. Whatever the reason, for the brief period that the sisters lived under the care of their stepmother Jane, they found a way to act as sisters rather than enemies. Once Edward was born, even though Jane Seymour had passed away, Elizabeth is described as being a good older sister and caring for him (Starkey D. , *Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne*, 2001). Elizabeth's relationship with the next two of Henry's wives was non-existent; she would not have a motherly figure in her life again until the marriage of her father to Katherine Parr, the last of Henry's six wives and a tremendous influence on Elizabeth's teenage years.

Prior to Henry's marriage to his sixth and final wife, Katherine Parr, Elizabeth's future and her relationship with her father were both on unsure ground. Since the

beheading of her mother in 1536, Elizabeth had been relegated to the same fate as her sister, that of illegitimate bastard with no claim to the throne. In this state, there was less than frequent communication between her and Henry. In 1542, the formal reconciliation between Elizabeth and Henry took place, and it would be a time in which she would cement her father's favor toward her. The main difference in Elizabeth's reconciliation with her father and Mary's a few years earlier was the way in which Elizabeth aptly recognized the fact that a true reconciliation would stem from her ability to dismiss any feelings she had about her mother and accept the fate her father had decided for her mother, which Mary had not done (Starkey D. , *Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne*, 2001). Instead of treating her father as an inhumane king who abused his authority for his own personal gain, Elizabeth set aside any positive feelings she had for Anne in order to prove to her father that she was more his daughter than her mother's. Elizabeth did not want to give her father the impression that she would be like her mother. The reconciliation was formalized in 1544 when both Elizabeth and Mary were restored to the succession after Edward. Elizabeth was just 11 years old.

It is at the point of reconciliation that historians question surmise that Elizabeth made an unconscious decision that masculine qualities were what she should enshroud herself in as the feminine qualities were likely to get her in trouble (Starkey D. , *Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne*, 2001). There is further evidence that Elizabeth saw herself as Henry's daughter, and it comes in the form of a letter she wrote as part of a Christmas gift to her father in the year 1544. In the letter she describes him as "matchless and a most benevolent father," alluding of course to his generosity in not only accepting Elizabeth as his daughter but also allowing her to re-secure her place in the Tudor

succession (Starkey D. , Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne, 2001, p. 53). Elizabeth adds in the letter that she will be both an “imitator of his virtues [and] an inheritor of them” (Starkey D. , Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne, 2001, p. 53). Elizabeth regarded her father not just as someone to admire, but also someone whose reign she could emulate, and she would do this during her reign by showing the same ruthlessness against her enemies that her father had in his reign. Lastly, in this letter she compares the reign of a king (in this case her father) to that of a “god on earth” (Starkey D. , Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne, 2001, p. 53). Not only is Elizabeth expressing her support for Henry as king, she is also referring to his position as Supreme authority over the Church of England – a subtle note illustrating her acceptance of his religious and political policy changes, ones which she would continue during her own reign. Based on the contents of this letter from daughter to father, it is clear that Elizabeth did not let any negative feelings she may have once had disrupt the chance to live near her father in his last years and absorb his essence.

In 1547 Henry VIII passed away. After his death Elizabeth would technically be considered an orphan but she was taken in under the wing of her stepmother, Katherine Parr. Katherine would be instrumental to Elizabeth’s development as she encouraged Elizabeth to continue her education and fostered her Protestant religious sensibilities. Katherine Parr was the single greatest motherly figure Elizabeth had at any point in her life. The timing was incredibly important, for following Henry’s death Edward became king and led his evangelical revolution. Without Elizabeth following Edward’s religion, things could have been much more difficult for her than they were following Henry’s

death. As it was, Elizabeth would not know security of person for herself again until she would become queen.

The time under the care of her stepmother became an important turning point for Elizabeth. While living with Katherine, Elizabeth continued her religious tutelage and examined her personal religious beliefs. Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury and one of Henry's guides in the changing of England from Catholic to Anglican, was the chief architect of Katherine Parr's religious understanding and therefore indirectly influenced Elizabeth as well. His influence was seen early on in a letter Elizabeth wrote to her father explaining her understanding of the doctrine of justification by faith. Where Henry's motivation for religion was purely political as a means to achieve his goals, Elizabeth's appears to be much more genuine. In terms of religion it should not come as a surprise that Elizabeth chose Protestantism over Catholicism; after all, Protestantism was the only religious choice that offered Elizabeth legitimacy rather than the title of bastard. Even with this seeming lack of choice for Elizabeth, she appears to have dedicated herself to it wholeheartedly. By the time of Henry's death and Elizabeth's move to Katherine's residence, Elizabeth is described as being the tutor in all things religion while Katherine is the pupil this time (Starkey D. , *Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne*, 2001). However, similarity of religion would not be enough to maintain the relationship between the two women as other forces would separate them.

Elizabeth's stepfather, Thomas Seymour, who married Katherine Parr following the death of Henry VIII, would be a force in Elizabeth's life, introducing her to the world of men and sexuality and influencing many of her later ideas and decisions about men and marriage. Thomas Seymour was the uncle of King Edward VI, and as such he

enjoyed a decent position and status under the kingship of his nephew (Starkey D. , Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne, 2001). Thomas Seymour was by all accounts an intelligent and handsome man, but more than this he was ambitious – he has been described as a man who’s “heart ruled his head and [whose] ambition ruled his heart” (Starkey D. , Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne, 2001, p. 66). Between his ambition, intellectual background, and physical appearance, Elizabeth, as a young girl of 14, easily fell for him and with this put herself in an escalating situation that resulted in a tarnish on her virtue and innocence. Seymour, with his overly ambitious nature, would take notice of young Elizabeth’s crush and take advantage of his position to begin an odd sort of physical relationship with her.

Seymour’s marriage to Henry’s widow Katherine was born out of Seymour’s desire to increase his political status as much as possible. Unrealistically he hoped to marry one of Henry’s daughters, but when this notion quickly proved impossible as neither daughter would marry without the consent of the royal council, Seymour moved to the person he considered to be the next best choice – Katherine Parr. However, the marriage was purely for selfish reasons and as Seymour had no intention of putting his ambitions aside he would use his position as Elizabeth’s stepfather to move closer and closer to the throne. With the marriage, Seymour also became legal guardian to the young princess. He used this position to make advances towards her of a sexual nature; some Elizabethan historians also hypothesize that Elizabeth may have been sexually abused by Seymour (Starkey D. , Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne, 2001). Sources in early Elizabethan history recount instances of Seymour entering Elizabeth’s room in the early morning as he possessed the key; at times he was seen entering her room without any

clothes on from the waist down, playfully touching and slapping her on the bottom, as well as kissing her and ripping her bedclothes off (Starkey D. , *Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne*, 2001, p. 69). Sources all indicate that Katherine was aware of what she considered playful activity, and even participated in it a time or two, which only served to further strain the relationship between Elizabeth and her beloved stepmother. Katherine quickly changed her mind about the playful activity and began to see Elizabeth, who was younger, fertile, and beautiful, as a threat to her own status. As Katherine grew increasingly knowledgeable of Elizabeth and Seymour's relationship, she began to resent Elizabeth. Things would escalate to a dangerous point in 1548 and Elizabeth would be sent out of her stepparents' house.

The lessons that Elizabeth learned from her brief stay with Katherine and Thomas seemed to follow her throughout the rest of her life. Katherine, upon kicking Elizabeth out of her house, encouraged her to be mindful of her personal reputation and reminded her how events could quickly tarnish her reputation beyond repair. This would be a line that Elizabeth would almost cross a few times as an adult, usually for the purpose of manipulation towards the accomplishment of her own political goals. One of the other lessons Elizabeth seemed to learn was about her own sexuality and how to use it for her own benefit. Elizabeth realized early on that women are not allowed the same sexual licenses that men are. She had witnessed this with the beheading of her own mother, Anne Boleyn, under charges of adulterous treason, as well as the execution of Henry's fifth wife, Katherine Howard. Yet Elizabeth also learned from her brief stay with Seymour that men's desires could be used to her own advantage. As Queen, Elizabeth would at times play with the affections of men for her own personal gain, coming quite

close to the line of impropriety and yet never fully crossing it, at least not with any real measure of proof. Elizabeth would learn that her reputation as the Virgin Queen was far more precious than her personal or sexual fulfillment as any impropriety outside of marriage would ruin her. She realized there was more advantage to be had by using men to accomplish her own goals rather than agreeing to a marriage proposal which could be only used once (Bucholz & Key, *Early Modern England 1485-1714*, 2009).

Early Adulthood

The situation that occurred with Elizabeth, Katherine, and Thomas Seymour seems to have marked a change in Elizabeth's disposition. Some have remarked that it appears to be the transition point for her changing from a young girl into a young adult (Levin, 2013). From this point on, Elizabeth would be much more careful in her dealings with others and would show greater concern regarding her personal reputation. She would also begin to focus on the diplomatic aspect of her position as evidenced with her dealings with her half-sister, Mary Tudor who would become queen of England in 1553 following the death of their brother Edward. Her relationship with her older half-sister Mary seems to have had a great influence on Elizabeth and her future decisions as queen. Mary had not been quiet in her religious sentiments, as once Edward became King and began his radical Protestant evangelicalism, Mary openly protested against the Protestant sentiment of the Edwardian reign (Starkey D. , *Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne*, 2001). This would be just the beginning of religious tension between Mary and Edward, a tension that would be repeated during Mary's reign between the two sisters. During Edward's reign, Mary felt insecure and threatened in her position because of religion; in Mary's reign, it was Elizabeth's turn to feel this threat and insecurity.

The year 1553 was tumultuous for Elizabeth as well as England as a whole. This was the year of Edward's death and the transition of the crown and throne to Mary. The transition was not a simple one for England; Edward had firmly established Protestantism as the law of the land, and without an heir, a very vocally Catholic Mary was set to ascend the throne. Elizabeth witnessed the turmoil the country experienced during the time of monarchical transition for it was a time of great unease. Unsurprisingly, English citizens were largely concerned about Mary re-establishing the old Catholic heresy laws, which would put many prominent Protestants in danger of being burned at the stake (Starkey D. , *Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne*, 2001). Some wished that England's Protestant ties would not be removed and worked in rebellion against Mary in order that she not be able to take the throne (Weir, 1998). Because of the fact that the relationship between the two sisters had always been an uneasy one, Mary had only to hear the suggestion that Elizabeth was behind the coup in order to believe it. The suggestion offered a viable excuse for Mary to lock her younger sister in the Tower. However, based on Edward's will, both Elizabeth and Mary had been excluded from the throne and many of Edward's supporters rallied around another, the Lady Jane Grey.

Luckily for Mary, the attempted coup to keep her off the throne and establish Jane Grey as queen was not successful and Mary would be crowned in 1553. However, this would not be the end of Mary's troubles. The following year saw another rebellion rise against Mary, this time in response to her decision to marry Philip II, the militantly Spanish Catholic king whom the people feared would bring a forceful Spanish culture to England undermining its national purity (Palmer, Colton, & Kramer, 2007). Elizabeth was once again considered the ringleader of the rebellion and her relations with Mary

would deteriorate from bad to worse. While dealing with the conflict with her sister about her supposed role in the rebellion, Elizabeth learned valuable lessons. The concern over Mary's marriage was in actuality concern about having a Catholic Spanish king of England. As queen, married to a king, Mary would be in a role to be subservient to her husband as traditional gender roles called for. Therefore, even though Mary would be the true monarch of England through her birthright, Philip would have virtual control due to his status as a man. The people of England wanted an English monarch, something they could not have if their female monarch married an outsider. Elizabeth, as witness to this discord, would be heavily influenced by this situation.

Elizabeth, both as a young adult and as queen once she took the throne, would always be careful in her marriage arrangements. She used the idea of marriage with foreign powers as a way to make advancements diplomatically; in these arrangements she was quite skilled at giving enough encouragement to suit her needs without making a formal commitment that would tie her down. After all, as a woman, Elizabeth realized that a marriage agreement could only be carried out once, and once it had been used, some of her diplomatic opportunity would be gone. Along with this, Elizabeth knew that if she did marry, she would not be the true power behind the throne, as gender norms and politics dictated. Elizabeth's decision not to marry did not come entirely from her witness of Mary's struggles, but it was at this point she recognized that opposition to a queen's marriage choice could result in extreme violence and political discord.

The transition of the throne from Edward to Mary was an important turning point for Elizabeth in another way for it was the transition from radical evangelical Protestantism to radical Catholicism – even militant Catholicism once Mary married

Philip II. It is at this point in her life that Elizabeth appeared to make her personal decisions regarding religion. Catholicism, the religion of her sister and genuinely her father until it suited his political needs to change it, was not an option for her. Because of the role of the Catholic Church in marriages and divorce, Elizabeth could never be considered legitimate since the Catholic Church did not recognize the dissolution of the marriage between Henry and Katherine which meant that Henry and Anne's marriage was never legally valid under Church law. As Protestantism was the only way for Elizabeth to be considered a legitimate heir, it seemed to be the obvious choice. However, the transition of power from Edward to Mary revealed problems within Protestantism for Elizabeth as well.

The aforementioned attempted coup to keep Mary off the throne in favor of Lady Jane Grey was largely due in part to Edward's will and his decision to keep his sisters out of the named succession, a decision that was made entirely due to religion. Edward, being a radical evangelical, was highly opposed to the idea of Mary taking the throne with her radical Catholicism. So he devised a plan which would keep Mary off the throne, and subsequently Elizabeth as well. Historians speculate that Edward may not have been against putting Elizabeth on the throne, but knowing she would never openly agree to usurp her sister, he has to leave her out of the succession as well. There was also the possibility that Elizabeth would follow her father, meaning that religion would only be a secondary priority and not a primary one. In his will, Edward stated that only the male heirs of his aunt may be eligible to the throne. Edward firmly believed that males should be the earthly political leaders, an idea based in Protestant theology. As one historian writes, "like the good, advanced Protestant he was, he disapproved on theological

grounds of the exercise of public, political authority by women.” (Starkey pg. 111).

Protestant theology, as discussed earlier, used Scripture to keep females in a subservient status to men which included places of public authority.

Elizabeth’s reaction to this news was a mixture of anger and heartbreak. She considered her relationship with Edward to be solid and one of genuine love; to be turned against due to her gender was a tremendous blow. The devised exclusion of women from the succession would not work out in Edward’s favor as all available successors to the throne of England were in fact female. Further, although it was considered a failure, it still led to the attempted coup in favor of Lady Jane Grey over Mary Tudor, which brought additional political conflict to the realm that had already suffered so much. Edward’s decision to sacrifice the political stability of his country and his willingness to lead it to civil war with his decisions left a negative impression in Elizabeth’s mind about the role of religion in English society. At this point Elizabeth was at a crossroads. She certainly could not accept Catholicism as her religion, but neither was she comfortable with the type of radical Protestantism that openly denounced female rulers and led Edward to near civil war over the succession.

Mary’s reign, once she was firmly established as queen in 1553, taught Elizabeth about female rulers and helped her decide what she did and did not want to be. Mary’s short reign provided a chance for Elizabeth to decide what the role of a queen should be, what role religion should and should not play, and how typical ideas about gender fit into the overall place of a queen. First, in terms of religion, Mary continued the radicalism that England had experienced under Edward, but this time it put Catholics in positive favor with the government and left Protestants fearful and even directly persecuted.

Instead of being the healer of English society, Mary further increased the turmoil of England through her focus on her womanly duties such as marriage and reproducing an heir for the kingdom. Her marriage to Philip II of Spain was hated by the people of England and they resented his meddling into English affairs. In addition, once they were married, Mary became consumed by the notion of providing an heir, much like her father had been. The difference was that the role of a mother in reproduction was much more involved than the role of a father in the 16th century, and Mary's focus on it took much of her time away from matters of state, leaving these matters instead to other men at court, such as Philip. Mary was not successful in producing an heir, but the repeated attempts and failures kept her distracted. Mary succumbed to common ideas about gender roles, seriously weakening both her reign and her country. Elizabeth would have seen all of this firsthand and made the decision to be a true queen for England, focusing on matters of state rather than the womanly matters of reproduction and motherhood.

Elizabeth's Ascension and Coronation (1558-1559)

The years 1558 and 1559 were the first years of the reign of Elizabeth and are important to examine in terms of her actions regarding the 1559 Act of Uniformity. The Act of Uniformity, in conjunction with the 1559 Act of Supremacy, was the first major piece of legislation passed by Elizabeth's Parliament which demonstrates the conviction Elizabeth felt towards its implementation. The research included in this section will examine the circumstances of her decision during this crucial year of her reign.

One element that Elizabethan scholars agree on is that the passage of the Act of Uniformity of 1559 was the first task Elizabeth set her mind to accomplish upon her coronation. The Act of Uniformity was clearly quite important to her but beyond this

aspect the agreement ends (Doran, *Elizabeth I's Religion: The Evidence of Her Letters*, 2000). The general disagreements include the discussion of the extent to which Elizabeth adhered to Protestantism personally, whether the Act of Uniformity was a strict document or whether it lent itself to compromise and moderation, and lastly, how satisfied Elizabeth was with the final document that was passed by Parliament in 1559 (Manning, 1971). In evaluating the various arguments and evidence about these debates, clues come forth which provide evidence towards the research questions posed above.

Susan Doran, one of the leading experts on the Elizabethan religious settlement, offers an important analysis of the settlement and presents some of the inconsistencies and areas of mystery surrounding it (Doran, *Elizabeth I and Religion, 1558-1603*, 1994). In discussing Elizabeth's religious views, Doran presents the modern historical view that Elizabeth was a "committed and conventionally pious Protestant" throughout the span of her young life; influences on her include her humanist education as well as her evangelical stepmother, Katherine Parr, discussed previously (Doran, *Elizabeth I and Religion, 1558-1603*, 1994, p. 6). As a committed Protestant, the Act of Uniformity would have been an important aspect of defining religious policy according to Elizabeth's own desires. As expected, Elizabeth made it immediately clear upon coronation that she "intended to introduce a Protestant Church settlement"; before the settlement was even established, Elizabeth invited Protestant church leaders to come out of exile and preach again in public environments (Doran, *Elizabeth I and Religion, 1558-1603*, 1994, p. 7). All evidence from the first days of being proclaimed queen and her coronation demonstrate her personal commitment to Protestantism and her desire to return the

country of England as such (Doran, Elizabeth I and Religion, 1558-1603, 1994) (Rowse, 2003).

Once this important fact is established, the debate turns to one about the level of Protestantism Elizabeth desired. For example, the level of Protestantism carried out by her father, Henry VIII, and her brother, Edward VI, were very different forms indeed. Henry VIII established the Anglican Church with the 1534 Act of Supremacy making the monarch the head of the Church of England; beyond this, the Anglican Church continued to closely resemble Catholicism in terms of structure, theology, and doctrine. By contrast, Edward VI, upon Henry's death, established a radical, evangelical form of Protestantism that did not resemble the Anglican Church in any way. This includes the fact that during the reign of Edward VI, Catholics were forced underground or faced persecution. Due to this range of extremes in Protestant theology and practice, it remained to be seen the direction that Elizabeth would take (Doran, Elizabeth I and Religion, 1558-1603, 1994). Unfortunately, due to the compromise involved in the passage of the 1559 Act of Uniformity which declared Protestantism the official state religion yet allowed her Catholic and Calvinist subjects to live in peace with one another by keeping some of the traditional Catholic ceremonies within the Protestant Church, the ability to determine Elizabeth's level of Protestant dedication remains difficult (Hanover Historical Texts Project, 2001). Research on these debates does offer some glimpses into the religious influence behind her passage of the Act however, offering some base for examining the religious influences on her passage of the Act.

Doran includes a discussion of the necessity of a moderate settlement from the position of Elizabeth's political standing, both domestically and internationally (Doran,

Elizabeth I and Religion, 1558-1603, 1994). Elizabeth would have been clearly aware that upon her ascension to the throne, the Pope and Catholic rulers such as Philip II of Spain, considered Elizabeth to be a bastard born out of wedlock (Doran, Elizabeth I and Religion, 1558-1603, 1994). As such, Elizabeth would have been keen to avoid “a papal crusade against her and Spanish diplomatic support for Mary Stuart” which at least partially influenced Elizabeth’s decision to “retain some Catholic ceremonial and traditions within her Church” (Doran, Elizabeth I and Religion, 1558-1603, 1994, p. 8). However, if this is indeed the case, this would be one of the few times that Elizabeth compromised on important personal desires out of political necessity, as during the remainder of her reign, Elizabeth refused to compromise in her convictions, such as marriage, out of political necessity (MacCulloch D. , The Reformation: A History, 2003). In fact other evidence contradicts the idea that Elizabeth compromised out of political necessity and instead kept the Catholic elements that she herself agreed with, such as the abolition of a married clergy, a Protestant idea that Elizabeth was against as seen in her outspoken beliefs condemning the danger of the practice (Doran, Elizabeth I and Religion, 1558-1603, 1994). This evidence can be seen as well in other research articles which illustrate the point for a different purpose.

In examining the influences in Elizabeth’s decision to develop the Act of Uniformity, there is no current research that stresses her early religious influence, gender conflict, or the role of women. However, there is other research which offers important clues into Elizabeth’s decision. One such piece of research is that of Roger Bowers of Cambridge University, who focused on one element of the Act of Uniformity to discuss Elizabeth’s conviction behind the document (Bowers, 2000). Bowers looked at the

specific version of the Prayer Book chosen by Elizabeth in exploring her convictions towards Protestantism. The Prayer Book was important as it was the official Book containing the official theology, doctrine, and practices of Protestantism. The official Prayer Book could be amended whenever necessary as the monarch updated official doctrines or practices. Bowers indicates through his research that Elizabeth in fact preferred the 1549 edition of the Prayer Book over the 1552 edition, the book used earlier in Edward's reign as opposed to the edition published just prior to his death in 1553 and the transfer of monarchial power to Mary I (Bowers, 2000).

The importance in Elizabeth's preference for the 1549 Prayer Book lies in the distinction between the 1549 and 1552 editions. The wording of both doctrines and practices in the 1549 Prayer Book are considered to be less radical than the wording of the later edition. In addition to this, as Bowers mentions, the 1549 edition "did not . . . satisfy the more radical theologians and some of the educated laity" (Bowers, 2000, p. 318). The change from the 1549 to the 1552 edition adopted near the end of Edward's reign shows the continuing bent towards radicalism that Edward progressed towards. The criticisms of the 1549 edition by the more radical theologians included the fact that "a good proportion of the visually ceremonial ingredients of the old liturgy were retained," meaning that the 1549 edition was a bit closer to a blend of Protestantism and the Catholic elements of the Anglican Church; it was considered to be more of a moderate Prayer Book, one that was meant not to offend as many different believers as possible (Bowers, 2000, p. 318). Elizabeth was not as radical as Edward VI in her version of Protestantism as she continued to follow what has been described as "plainly

conservative and traditionalist instincts” (Bowers, 2000, p. 319). This knowledge serves to further perpetuate the debate about the extent of Elizabeth’s religious convictions.

There are some that might argue that Elizabeth preferred the 1549 edition of the Prayer Book in order to follow a more moderate path and bring about political stability for England who had been so divided by religious conflict, but according to Bowers, the opposite is in fact true. As Elizabeth came to the throne, it was evident that her expectation for a restoration of the Protestant religion was to be “based on the Book of Common Prayer not of 1552 but of 1549,” and the initial preparations were based on this (Bowers, 2000, p. 319). The historical argument that her selection of this book would pacify the conflict is erroneous, as new conflicts arose immediately following her selection; her choice angered both the “Marian Catholics . . . and the Protestants” (Bowers, 2000, p. 321). Hostilities flared on both sides, and any hope Elizabeth held of a settlement being based solely on her “very real preferences and predilections” was nearly crushed (Bowers, 2000, p. 320). In fact, it is recorded that much to her behest, Elizabeth realized that the only option she had to gain support to move forward with her religious settlement was that the settlement “could be founded only on the basis of the restoration of the 1552 Prayer Book” (Bowers, 2000, p. 321).

The significance of Bowers’ work is in what it illustrates regarding Elizabeth’s personal preferences and intentions. Her personal desire was for the 1549 Prayer Book, an edition which held to some of the ceremonial traditions prior to the radical evangelicalism of Edward VI. Elizabeth was clearly not radical in her Protestant beliefs and wanted to hold to those elements of Catholicism that appealed to her. This all illustrates that her attempt at settlement was initially based on her personal preferences

and religious beliefs. The Act of Uniformity that was passed in 1559 would be a creation based partially on Elizabeth's desires and partially on compromise in terms of what would pacify the greatest number of people. However, this earlier research does not include a discussion of the specific factors that guided Elizabeth in her desires. The level of influence of both gender conflict and religious conflict on the religious settlement is still unknown at this point. These factors would offer an important point of view in understanding this monumental settlement.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

Introduction

The third research question guiding this research study focuses on Elizabeth's role in the genesis and development of English nationalism. The theoretical framework will therefore focus on explaining the concept of nationalism, including both the traditional theory of nationalism and the development of the current modernist version of nationalism. In addition, this framework will explain why the earlier, traditional model of nationalism is the appropriate explanation to be used in this research study.

Nationalism is a topic that has been widely written about by numerous historians and social scientists. Definitions of the concept are as varied as the scientists which study it. In general, the term nationalism describes “a loyalty to one's nation, pride in its history and culture, a belief that the nation's interests are of primary importance, and a patriotic desire to achieve or maintain its independence” (Dorling Kindersley Limited, 2007, p. 636). An important requirement in the concept of nationalism is that of the “nation.” The concept of a nation goes beyond the common usage referring to a state or a territory; instead it is a “group of people united by ethnicity, culture, language, and/or religion” whereas the concept of a state refers to “a geographical territory with its own independent government” (Dorling Kindersley Limited, 2007, p. 636). The creation and development of the nation is critical to the eventual development of feelings of nationalism.

There are two primary schools of nationalist theory: the traditionalist school and the modernist school. In brief, the difference between the two schools is one of time and historical development. The recent view of nationalism follows the assumption that “the nation emerged in Europe during the nineteenth century with the French and Industrial

revolutions” (Gat, 2013, p. 1). To these modernists, a crucial element in the development of nationalism is “the advent of print technology, wide-scale capitalist economies and, later, industrialization, urbanization, mass education, and mass political participation that such social integration and mobilization became possible, with active solicitation by the state” (Gat, 2013, p. 2). Print technology fuels literacy and communication, which in turn drives mass political participation which modernists claim is crucial to nationalism’s development. The modernist view of nationalism is primarily found in the work of Ernest Gellner and Benedict Anderson. They argue that nationalism is “a state of mind, a sense of shared communal identity” (Gat, 2013, p. 7). Benedict Anderson even goes so far as to describe nationalism as nothing more than a social construct, an “imagined community” created by the people who perceive themselves as belonging to that group (Anderson, 2003). Anderson and Gellner’s work is what is more commonly followed by social scientists studying modern phenomenon.

Traditionalists on the other hand, follow the view that nationhood predates the modern period and that modern nationalism heralds from this original creation of the concept of a nation. These theorists argue that the modern historical construct comes from a genuine sentiment in the early period of state development. The theory states nationalism did not just suddenly appear as a powerful political force but rather that the early nationalist sentiment seen in the development of the first states laid the foundation for the modern construct described by Gellner and Anderson. Subscribers to this view of nationalism contend that the nation, the overall shared identity of the people, had to develop first. This early modernist view of nationalism is based largely on the early work of Hans Kohn and Eric Hobsbawn.

An important element of note in discussing these two schools of thought is these schools are not in opposition to one another; rather these theorists are emphasizing different sides of the same coin. This paper does not seek to argue that Gellner and Anderson are incorrect in their analysis, but rather this paper aligns with the theories of Hobsbawm and Kohn in their discussion of the important role early national sentiment played in the development of modern nationalism.

Elements of Early Nationalism

Nationalism, whether an “artificial historical construct” or not, was built on earlier notions of national feelings “of love for one’s place, language, customs . . . and one’s people” (Gat, 2013, p. 8). This is the primary argument of early modernist Hans Kohn. Eric Hobsbawm further argues that the sudden emergence of the “powerful force” of nationalism which emerges in the 19th century could only do so because it was built upon the earlier “proto-national” sentiments of “a shared religion, language, and ethnicity” (Hobsbawm, 1990). The proto-national sentiments that Hobsbawm refers to are the early feelings of collective belonging that existed within a state prior to the political maneuverings of national sentiment as a political force. Hobsbawm further explains that these proto-national feelings were necessary for the formation of all “serious state-aspiring national movements” (Gat, 2013, p. 8). In the expertise of both Kohn and Hobsbawm, the modern movement of nationalism is simply a reconstructed extension of the early national feelings of collective belonging people felt when they had religion, language, customs, and ethnicity in common.

Ethnicity is an important point to examine in the formation of national sentiment and the development of modern nationalism as nationalism and ethnicity are closely

related. Azar Gat, who expands on the early theorists, elaborates on the importance of ethnicity and its connection to nationalism. Gat defines ethnicity as “a population of shared kinship (real or perceived) and culture” (Gat, 2013, p. 3). Gat argues that ethnicity was one of the important bonds which brought people of early historical states together promoting the idea of a community. Ethnicity is first seen as a unifying force of people in the Hundred Year’s War fought between the modern-day nations of France and England in the 14th and 15th centuries (Palmer, Colton, & Kramer, 2007). Prior to this war, neither France nor England was a unified territory. Rather, they were both made up of a collection of regions, each ruled by their own noble lords. These lords had the true political power in the country; further, the lords maintained their own personal armies – these were made up of warriors known as knights. Both France and England had kings, but they held no political power. When the war began in 1337, over territory and rival claims to the French throne, the nobles had to work together against a common enemy. This is the first time ethnicity is used for unity in modern Europe. The differences and conflict between the nobles had to be put aside to avoid certain disaster. The only common ground to be had on both sides was that of ethnicity. Both the kings of France and England rallied the citizens of their respective countries. The terms Englishmen and Frenchmen began to be used as collective terms; Englishmen came together to defeat the French and Frenchmen came together to defeat the English (Palmer, Colton, & Kramer, 2007). The early nation was built on the unifying element of ethnicity.

Besides ethnicity, language and religion became the next steps in the development of early nationalism. The invention of the movable-type printing press in the mid-15th century radically influenced the spread of literacy through the use of vernacular

languages in a print culture (Merriman, 2010). Prior to the printing press, books, sermons and other print materials were distributed in Latin – the language of the Catholic Church (Sullivan, 1996). The majority of the population could not read or write in Latin, which contributed to the illiteracy of the lower classes. With the advent of the printing press, many works began to be published in the vernacular languages. This contributed to the increase of literacy among the commoners as well as an increase in the use of local, ethnic dialects rather than Latin. As the vernacular languages developed, it brought further unity among the people as the language was one that also kept them separated from people of other nations (Merriman, 2010). In this way, language helped to establish the nation; a group of people with shared ethnic heritage was now also able to communicate with one another. Language is a necessary element for other aspects of nationalism – especially the notion of a shared cultural heritage and history. Language would be the element which allowed for the passage of this history from one person to the next, and one generation to the next.

Azar Gat in his influential work discusses the influence of religion in permeating the most “remote of rural communities” to bring these people to the national community in a way that even language could not (Gat, 2013, p. 11). Where a national language was unifying for the majority of people within a nation, there were groups of people in remote locations which primarily spoke their regional dialect. For these people, religion became the unifying force tying them to the idea of a nation in a way that neither ethnicity nor language could do. Gat goes on to argue that in areas consisting of many multi-ethnic identities, “official . . . national churches of the universal faith were very much the norm. . . [and] rather than conflicting with the national idea. . . religion was one of its strongest

pillars” (Gat, 2013, p. 11). What this demonstrates is that religion had the ability to transcend the multiple ethnicities that might exist in a region and unified these people around their universal faith. In the time of early England, like much of Europe at the time, Catholicism was the universal faith and served as the unifying force for many people.

Modern nationalist theorists, such as Benedict Anderson, share with the traditionalists the important role of religion in the evolution of national sentiment and nationalism. Anderson discusses that language and religion were both vehicles of national identity and goes so far as to argue that these identities were the foundation of early “imagined communities” (Anderson, 2003) (Gat, 2013). Anderson argues that the early imagined communities were religiously based and developed alongside the identity based on ethnicity and language. Anderson sees the national identity being based on ethnicity, language, and religion, which all developed simultaneously and yet separately. Anderson argues that literacy and the spread of the print vernacular trailed that of other forms of national identity. According to his theory, the spread of vernacular languages was enhanced by the common element of religion, not the other way around (Anderson, 2003). Although he differs in order and importance of elements, it is still important to note the similarities and consistencies of the different theorists through their respective lenses.

The Development of English Nationalism

In looking at the development of nationalism in Europe, the traditional theorist Hans Kohn has conducted a case study on England which is particularly relevant in tying the theory of nationalism together with the literature on Elizabeth. The basis of English

nationalism, according to Kohn, begins with the end of the Hundred Years' War in 1453 and the subsequent establishment of the Tudor dynasty to the English throne. The Tudors, who came to power at the end of a series of civil wars and power struggles, are primarily responsible for the development of the English nation, and as such, laid the foundation of English nationalism (Kohn, 1940). Kohn notes that the development of the English nation under the Tudor dynasty included a religious undertone, which will become an overtone in the 17th century Puritan Revolution. Religion was one important way in which the Tudors unified the warring factions of England under a single, common identity.

Kohn begins with the changing character of the political structure in England following the conclusion of the Hundred Years' War and how this new political structure helped birth English nationalism. During the Hundred Years' War and before the unification of the English state under the Tudor dynasty, England was a loose confederation of regional territories governed by local lords under a political structure known as feudalism. Feudalism as a political structure "checked the growth of nationalism" as it fostered regional competition and conflicts for power between local nobles (Kohn, 1940, p. 70). With the end of feudalism in England, Parliament gained strength and a permanent, dominant position in English society. This is a critical development to the genesis of nationalism. Feudalism hindered nationalism in that it promoted loyalty to a noble or a lord rather than to the nation. The lord provided all military protection, as well as kept up the villages and parish churches. In feudalism, other than the lord, there was no one to unify the people in a region. With the end of feudalism, those people who would live under the protection of the lord now would lose their regionally based loyalty, leaving the ability for a national character and loyalty to

develop. The development of Parliament would only enhance this national loyalty as people began on a small scale to be involved in the political process, which further enhanced their feelings of belonging and pride to the nation (Kohn, 1940).

In considering the development of English nationalism, following the end of feudalism and the development of Parliament at the conclusion of the Hundred Years' War, Kohn then turns to the role of the Tudor dynasty and their role in encouraging English nationalism. Henry VIII, Elizabeth's father who ruled from 1509-1547, was the key person in the Tudor dynasty in terms of the destruction of feudalism and the promotion of the middle class. His purpose was not to develop English nationalism, but rather was to increase the power of the English crown during his conflict over power and religion with the Catholic Church. As Henry VIII was in conflict with the Church, including the clergy and nobility who resented Henry usurping power over them, Henry needed to find some popular support, and developed the importance of the middle class in Parliament in order to do so. The result of Henry's strengthening of the middle class was not just the increased power of the English state and its crown. This also resulted in a solid place for the middle class and Parliament in English politics, which again reasserted that loyalty to the English nation, including its monarch. During the reign of Elizabeth, according to Kohn, she was able to capitalize on this loyalty to the monarch and the state. He states that "in the Elizabethan period the growth of power and of wealth, the beginning of colonial expansion, the increased literary activity, produced a feeling of intense patriotic pride" (Kohn, 1940, p. 71). By the end of the reign of Elizabeth, with her defeat of Spain and the mighty Spanish Armada in 1588 and the success of English

colonial expansion in the New World, the pride of the English towards their monarch and the state was at its highest level yet.

The reign of Elizabeth I is also important due to the great “cultural strides” England made during her tenure as queen (Kohn, 1940, p. 71). Prior to her reign, the great cultural center of Europe was clearly Italy, which had accomplished much in art and literature during the Renaissance. The 16th century, described by Kohn as the “Tudor Renaissance,” sees the development of literature, and subsequently, the English language (Kohn, 1940, p. 74). The importance of language to the development of nationalism has already been discussed, but it is important to note that the 16th century is when the English language truly comes into its own, and with it, further solidifies the national feelings already set in place by the Tudors. The works of William Shakespeare did much to bring attention to the use of the English language. Further, the “new attitude towards science inaugurated by Francis Bacon” gave the English a sense of pride in their scientific and literary developments (Kohn, 1940, p. 74). By the end of Elizabeth’s reign, this feature of English nationalism was fully in place.

Hans Kohn does not argue that English nationalism was fully complete by the end of the Tudor dynasty with Elizabeth’s death in 1603, yet he does emphasize that the development of English nationalism would have been much slower without the important role played by Henry VIII and especially Elizabeth I. It will take subsequent centuries for English nationalism to develop into the modern concept of nationalism. Nationalism in the time of Elizabeth I refers to the sense of national pride, the feeling of being English, the commonality of heritage, language, and religion that had formed a solid foundation by the end of her reign.

Anne McLaren adds a further aspect to the development of nationalism during the reign of Elizabeth; the development of nationalism from the commonality of religion. McLaren begins by discussing the strong anti-Catholicism that was prevalent during the 17th century during the tenure of the Stuart dynasty, who ruled following the death of Elizabeth in 1603 with no heir (McLaren, 2002). McLaren's contention is that this strong anti-Catholic sentiment actually developed during Elizabeth's reign, and furthermore, that this anti-Catholic feeling was a key unifier of the English people and their development of nationalist feelings.

The rise of anti-Catholicism in England is integrated with the debate about gender in England; specifically that of female rulers. Anti-Catholicism began in earnest near the end of the reign of Mary I, as she continued her persecutions against those Edward VI had instilled in power – devout Protestants (Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor*, 2009). With Mary's death and the ascension of Elizabeth to the throne, the country and its citizens were able to relax as Elizabeth would demonstrate her moderate religious policies in 1559 with her Act of Uniformity. This would turn the people against Catholicism to an even stronger extent. During Elizabeth's reign, her cousin Mary Queen of Scots (mother to James Stuart who would succeed Elizabeth upon her death) also had a legitimate claim to the throne through her bloodline. With Elizabeth's refusal to marry, English citizens were faced with the possibility of a monarch after Elizabeth who was both a female and a Catholic (McLaren, 2002). In order to prevent this, many began to try to nullify Mary of Scots claim to the throne. At this point, the only true difference between the two monarchs was religious preference. Hence, English constituents unified

around the religion of Protestantism, supporting Elizabeth as the legitimate monarch and Queen (McLaren, 2002).

Conclusion

The idea of nationalism has developed and changed with historical advancements and adjusted theory. Although the development of national sentiment during the reign of the Tudors, specifically Elizabeth I, may not meet modern criteria for nationalism as discussed by Ernest Gellner and Benedict Anderson, it cannot be denied that there was a unique English character that developed during the reign of the Tudors. It was this time period that the English identity truly developed. The end of feudalism, the rise of Parliament and the beginnings of political participation created more loyalty to the state rather than regional leaders. Further, the development of the English language and culture during the Elizabethan age created unity through language, a key element of nationalism. Lastly, the embracing of Protestantism versus Catholicism during Elizabeth's reign helped to solidify the nature and character of a country and its citizens. Prior to the reign of the Tudors, English citizens lacked unity and commonality. By the end of Elizabeth's reign, the concept of the English people had been firmly constructed.

Chapter 4: Methodology

The purpose of this section is twofold: it is meant to introduce the blended methodology used in this study, and to explain why this is the preferred method of research for this particular type of research study. In the explanation of the particular research method, this chapter will also introduce an in-depth analysis of the Tamboukou model of narrative thematic analysis, which will be combined with the use of traditional historical document analysis in order to give a well-rounded edge to this study. Within this section the research questions guiding this study will also be fully discussed.

Research Questions

Research Question 1. How did gender conflict and the role of women shape Elizabeth's decision to develop the 1559 Act of Uniformity?

As explained in the literature review, Elizabeth became Queen Elizabeth I upon the death of her half-sister, Mary Tudor, in 1558 and was officially crowned on January 15, 1559 (Starkey D. , *Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne*, 2001). The issue of religious uniformity was addressed upon her first official meeting with Parliament on January 25th, when Sir Bacon, the Lord Keeper, read the opening speech as was customary for a man of his position, and proclaimed to Parliament members that their primary task was to consider the “well-making of laws for the according and uniting of the people of this realm into a uniform order of religion” (Starkey D. , *Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne*, 2001, p. 276). This demonstrates how important the Act of Uniformity was to Elizabeth upon ascending to the throne.

As a female monarch however, the difficulty of her position was compounded by religion, specifically the choosing of Protestantism. As highlighted in the earlier section

on gender roles of the 16th century, Protestantism spoke out against the idea of a female ruler quite vocally, as illustrated in the case of John Knox, a reformed preacher who vilified female rulers, calling them unfit and working contrary to the designs of God in his 1558 pamphlet, *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (Bucholz & Key, *Early Modern England, 1485-1714*, 2009). Given this time period in which female rulers were not trusted, and in which the Protestant religion that Elizabeth heralded even worked against her, gender roles and gender conflict are an important aspect to research. This question is intended to examine the way in which gender impacted her decision to pass the Act of Uniformity.

Research Question 2. How did existing religious conflict shape Elizabeth's decision to develop the 1559 Act of Uniformity?

The importance of the Act of Uniformity to Elizabeth has already been established. Religious conflict was prevalent to a great degree in England prior to Elizabeth's reign, as well as in many other countries in Europe during the 16th and 17th centuries. The idea of a monarch establishing their preferred religion as that of the people through any means necessary, including force, was a common theme. Elizabeth appears to have been the exception to this rule with her passage of the Act of Uniformity. The Act itself establishes one uniform religion in England, that of Anglicanism or the Church of England. However, this Act will be analyzed and deconstructed as part of the research design in an attempt to answer the research questions for this paper. If religious conflict is the norm, how did that conflict shape Elizabeth's passage of the Act of Uniformity? Within this research question is a further research implication of why Elizabeth challenged the status quo of other rulers, both within and outside England.

The Act of Uniformity was incredibly important in terms of religious policy in England. Both of the monarchs prior to Elizabeth had established contentious religious policy in England. Edward VI was well-known for his radical evangelical form of Protestantism, a policy that severely ostracized both Catholics and religious moderates (MacCulloch D. , *The Boy King: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation*, 1999). Edward VI, who did not believe that his father, King Henry VIII, had gone far enough in his reform of the Church, took further measures to make the English Reformation more religious in nature and less political as his father had done. Likewise, Elizabeth's half-sister, Mary Tudor, who ruled as queen between the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth, also had a contentious religious policy. Mary was well known for her anti-Protestantism policy, a policy that caused the death of some 300 Protestants as well as persecution and ostracism on a grand scale (Duffy, *Fires of Faith; Catholic England under Mary Tudor*, 2009). Elizabeth could have followed the precedent set by her half-siblings in terms of religious policy and chosen a course that matched her religious preferences. Perhaps she did exactly this; perhaps the Act of Uniformity fell perfectly within what she desired for England, even if it was not what others desired. Perhaps her personal religious preference played little role and her decision to pass the Act of Uniformity was based on other factors, such as creating religious peace in England. This research question is designed to get at the heart of the reasons behind the passage of this Act, including the extent that religious factors played a role.

Research Question 3. How did Elizabeth use her role as a female monarch to foster English nationalism and help mitigate religious conflict?

As Queen of England, Elizabeth was able to unite her people into a community of English citizens. Under the reigns of the previous monarchs Edward VI and Mary I, English citizens were divided into many categories, with the two primary categories being Catholic and Protestant. There was very little English national identity within the country and absolutely no sense of community as the Catholic and Protestant camps took turns persecuting and fighting each other. England was indeed a nation of religious conflict (Bucholz & Key, *Early Modern England, 1485-1714*, 2009). With Elizabeth's passage of the Act of Uniformity, she was able to mitigate religious conflict to a great extent, which seemed to bring the English people together. This research question is designed to explore the way in which she fostered this early nationalism in England. Did her position as a female monarch, ruling as a Virgin Queen who publicly claimed to be married to her country, help develop this nationalism? Some historians have written much on Elizabeth's public proclamation of her Virgin Queen status (Ronald, 2012). It is the researcher's estimation that this aspect of Elizabeth's rule holds the key to analyzing the development of nationalism in England and its role in mitigating religious conflict during her reign.

Method of Analysis

Documents and sources considered for analysis were acquired through the use of the official archives of the British government at the site <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/>. This website offers valuable access to *The Journals of all the Parliaments During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*. Additionally, the book *Elizabeth I: Collected Works* is a print collection of documents Elizabeth wrote which offers an extensive gathering of speeches, letters, and poems created throughout her life. The primary

sources considered for analysis pertained primarily to Elizabeth's early life until the passage of the Act of Uniformity in May 1559. As part of the analysis, supplementary sources are also included about the life and reign of Elizabeth I. These sources include *Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne* by David Starkey, a work considered to be the authoritative source about the events leading to Elizabeth's ascension to the throne; *The Heretic Queen* by Susan Doran, a work considered to be the authoritative source on religious policy during the reign of Elizabeth; and *The Heart and Stomach of a King* by Carole Levin, which is an important source for its analysis of factors influencing Elizabeth's reign.

The secondary sources available for analysis are numerous. Not all of the documents are able to be considered and a vetting process was used in order to find the most relevant material. As the first two primary sources focused on religious and gender influences on Elizabeth's decision to pass the Act of Uniformity, secondary sources that focused on either the gender or religious topics were chosen first for analysis. The three secondary sources mentioned above were all chosen for thematic and historical analysis based on one of these factors. The David Starkey book was chosen as it is the most in-depth in content about Elizabeth's early life, which includes discussions of how both gender and religion shaped her. The Susan Doran book was chosen as it discusses multiple religious policy choices by Elizabeth during her reign, which includes the 1559 Act of Uniformity, as well as others, revealing an important pattern in religiosity for the queen. The third book by Carole Levine was chosen as it also describes gender and religious influences on Elizabeth, many during her reign, which offer further corroboration and illumination of themes. Together, the three secondary sources blend

together information which is critical for the thematic analysis and give important aspects of inference from the historical analysis method.

The analysis of these primary and secondary sources includes a mix of analytical methods. A traditional historical analysis is used as is common in social sciences for historical and archival documents; this historical analysis will follow the structure provided by John Lewis Gaddis in *Landscapes of History: How Historians Map the Past* (Gaddis, 2002). In addition, analysis of the primary and secondary sources mentioned above will include use of the Tamboukou Model of Thematic Narrative Analysis, as outlined in Katherine Kohler Riessman's text, *Narrative Methods for the Human Sciences* (Riessman, 2008). This mix of analytical methods will be used in order to develop a comprehensive understanding of the issues being researched. Riessman shares in her work that "thematic analysis is the usual approach to letters, diaries, biographies – documents historians and biographers draw on" (Riessman, 2008, p. 63). In analysis of documents, there are two aspects to consider. The first aspect is the content as it is presented in the text; this is the narrative of the story, event, or person being studied (Riessman, 2008). To understand the narrative, the researcher will employ the methods of the Tamboukou Model. The other aspect is the content that is not presented, but that the researcher or historian has to infer from the documents. This inference can be developed from extensive research and knowledge of the time period, event, or person being researched (Gaddis, 2002). This method of analysis, which is more traditional for historical research, focuses on the aspect that is not immediately presented within the archival documents (Gaddis, 2002). It is the desire and goal of the researcher to combine

these two analytical models in order to develop a comprehensive understanding of the research questions in place.

This mixed methodology closely follows the work of Dr. Incorvia, Ph.D. who utilized it in her 2014 dissertation: *Role Theory as an informative lens for understanding the familial and political power struggles of Henry VIII and Mary I of England* (Incorvia, 2014). Dr. Incorvia used the methodology as a means of forming a holistic analysis of both primary and secondary sources and merging themes found in sources from different centuries. In terms of the methodology, a research question was asked and then applied to the sources for analysis. This methodological approach “allows for making inferences by objectively identifying characteristics of themes of textual contents” (Incorvia, 2014, p. 73). By using the two different analysis models simultaneously, inference of material forms an interplay with specific themes and thus creates a unique type of narrative about the events.

Traditional Historical Analysis

The methodology of a historian is a combination of multiple steps that considers patterns and continuities, competing perspectives, the consideration of cause(s) and effect(s), and comparisons at various scales. John Lewis Gaddis is a historian who offers insight into the processes used by historians when crafting arguments about the past. Many of his ideas are formulated into a process as described and explained by the History Department at the University of California – Los Angeles (UCLA). The first job of a historian, according to Gaddis, is “the recognition of patterns, on the realization that something is [similar to] something else” (Gaddis, 2002, p. 2). Patterns are frequently referred to as continuities or similarities over time. Because the historian has no ability to

go back in time and experience the history firsthand, the historian must use primary sources to “represent reality,” and in this representation a major element is the search “for larger patterns” (Gaddis, 2002, p. 7). Patterns or continuities become so important because it is the primary way in which historians use the past to reveal thoughts and connections about the future. It is the job of the historian to find these patterns in the past; “because these patterns show up so frequently in the past, we can reasonably expect them to continue to do so in the future” (Gaddis, 2002, p. 30). The other major job of a historian in crafting an argument about the past is to look for and consider contingencies, which are defined as “phenomena that do not form patterns. These may include the actions individuals take for reasons known only to themselves” (Gaddis, 2002, p. 30). Part of the historical analysis for this methodology will be the consideration of both continuities and contingencies in the primary sources relevant to the time period of Elizabeth’s early reign and surrounding the passage of the Act of Uniformity. These will be expanded upon with the secondary sources previously mentioned, again in search of continuities and contingencies.

The National Center for History in the Schools, established by UCLA’s Department of History, has formulated eight different steps required for historical analysis and interpretation (UCLA-NCHS, n.d.). According to UCLA, the danger that presents itself for historians is the consideration of only a single source of information on which conclusions are based; to overcome this, a historian must consider all relevant sources, both primary and secondary, as the works written by other experts are considered valuable in the formation of theory and drawing conclusions. UCLA also includes a discussion of the power of the historical narrative “[to see] how change occurs

in society, of how human intentions matter, and how ends are influenced by the means of carrying them out” (UCLA-NCHS, n.d.). The steps of historical analysis as described by UCLA are as follows: 1) the comparison and contrast of differing sets of ideas, values, personalities, behaviors, and institutions by identifying likenesses and differences; 2) the consideration of multiple perspectives of various peoples in the past by demonstrating their differing motives, beliefs, interest, hopes, and fears; 3) the analysis of cause and effect relationships with the consideration of multiple causation which can include the importance of the individual to the event, the influence of ideas, and the possibility and role of chance in influencing the situation; 4) the drawing of comparisons across eras and regions in order to define enduring issues and developments that transcend boundaries; 5) the distinguishing between unsupported expressions of opinion and informed hypotheses grounded in historical evidence; 6) the comparison of competing historical narrative; 7) the evaluation of major debates among historians regarding the competing and alternative historical narratives about the past; and 8) hypothesize the influence of the past, including both the limitations and opportunities made possible by past decisions (UCLA-NCHS, n.d.).

In order to accomplish these objectives, the researcher will consider all relevant primary sources from the time period regarding Elizabeth, including her personal letters as well as public documents, created during the time period 1544 (the date of her first letter) to 1559. Additionally, secondary sources such as modern day biographies which use primary and secondary source documents will also be evaluated for their illumination of themes and theories regarding Elizabeth and her early life and its influence on her reign. Throughout the analysis, sources will be evaluated both for their included content

as well as their excluded content, which is the content that was omitted from the creation of the source. As mentioned earlier, both forms of content are equally important in source and content analysis.

Narrative Thematic Analysis: Tamboukou Model

The methodological research will include the Tamboukou Model of Narrative Thematic Analysis as outlined in Katherine Kohler Riessman's text *Narrative Methods for the Human Sciences*. As mentioned, thematic analysis is the "usual approach to letters, diaries, auto/biographies," which are the traditional sources used by historians (Riessman, 2008, p. 63). Personal stories are considered valuable to the historian because they provide "theoretical abstractions" for the researcher based on the way the individual writes or records stories about his/her life (Riessman, 2008, p. 63). Letters can also provide ample primary source data, and Tamboukou describes her process of "interrogating the pages" to understand the concept being studied as well as discovering the spaces and realities of the individual being studied (Riessman, 2008, p. 63). Space is an important concept to historical analysis. Gaddis describes that historians have the ability to be "liberated from time and space" in their crafting of an argument, and the historian has "the freedom to give greater attention to some things than to others and thus to depart from strict chronology; the license to connect things disconnected in space" (Gaddis, 2002, p. 20). Using the two different forms of analysis, the goal of the researcher is to use the Tamboukou Model to illuminate the space surrounding Elizabeth, how she defined and described that space for herself, and then to use the concepts of Gaddis to use Elizabeth's space, combined with historical context, to bring about understanding of the research questions.

With these ideas in mind, the following describes the method through which Tamboukou conducted her research. First, she began with contextual knowledge about her topic, including “auto/ biographies . . . letters, and other archival materials” (Riessman, 2008, p. 63). She began her reading at the “surface level,” which meant she focused on “nominal analysis . . . noting minor processes that surround the emergence of an event,” and during this surface analysis “Tamboukou circles and highlights words and phrases that strike her” (Riessman, 2008, p. 64). In looking for discussion of spaces in the documents and letters, she noted that “particular verbs appeared and reappeared” (Riessman, 2008, p. 64). From this surface analysis, Tamboukou then reread the documents a second time, this time with her concept of space being a starting theme. She scoured the text looking “for additional statements that relate in a general way to the larger concept” (Riessman, 2008, p. 64). This is where Tamboukou noted that themes began to appear; with the themes in mind, Tamboukou reread the text looking for evidence to support her themes. With the collection of evidence towards her emerging themes, the “thematic analysis gained more specificity” (Riessman, 2008, p. 64). Riessman further notes that from this point, Tamboukou included outside research about her specific themes, which would reinforce the ideas and themes that had originally emerged (Riessman, 2008).

In using the Tamboukou Model as an important part of the methodological research, this research study will model and follow Tamboukou’s thematic analysis. To summarize the model according to Riessman and Tamboukou, the use of thematic analysis is “careful and methodical,” it begins with an examination of contexts, which include the “subject’s life and times” as well as the “theoretical work” relevant to the

issue (Riessman, 2008, p. 66). From here, the “examination” of writings “begins at the surface level” along with the “classifying [of] statements into thematic groups [which is] theory-saturated from the beginning” (Riessman, 2008, p. 66). Riessman emphasizes that a crucial element of this model is how the researcher consistently goes back and forth “between primary data and the scholarship of others” which allows the researcher to check what is emerging from the original writings (Riessman, 2008, p. 66). Another important factor in carrying out thematic analysis is that although “a theme may emerge from reading a primary source . . . it needs to be supported with other historical materials;” this is where the alternative historical texts mentioned earlier will come into play and provide corroboration (Riessman, 2008, p. 66). The key to the use of the Tamboukou Model is the interplay of themes within the primary source data, and its explanation and corroboration through the use of other historical sources about the topics.

For this research study, primary sources written by Elizabeth between the dates 1544 and 1559 were analyzed at various levels to arrive at particular themes. The analysis began at the surface level for the purpose of noting specific individuals Elizabeth wrote to and the predominant topics she addressed in her writing. Following this surface analysis, the primary sources were reread and common verbs, nouns, and adjectives were circled as the beginning aspect of the themes took shape. At this point documents were grouped together based on their commonalities of word frequency and analyzed within their group. Using this method of analysis, areas of importance emerged which brought the analysis to the point of sub-themes.

Numerous sub-themes emerged from the analysis of the primary source documents. Each sub-theme was reviewed and listed with its corresponding primary

source documents. Once this task was accomplished, an overlap of the documents in each of the sub-themes was noted. At this point, the analysis showed itself to be circuitous in treating each sub-theme as separate elements. For this reason, the decision was made to use the common element in the overlapping sub-themes and focus on that element as the basis from the overarching themes emerged from. The two themes discussed in chapter 5 are the result of this analysis and bridging of sub-themes.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the four primary research questions guiding this research study, including the purposes, theories, and thoughts directing each one. The data for the four research questions will then be collected using the two different methodological research methods previously described. Both the use of traditional historical analysis and the Tamboukou Model of Thematic Narrative Analysis were explained in reference to primary sources and archival documents along with secondary sources and existing historical literature. The following chapters will include a discussion of the data that was collected and how it was analyzed for themes and concepts, with a discussion of the findings following.

Chapter 5: Themes

Theme 1: Mother – Daughter Roles

Introduction

Elizabeth's private feelings are difficult to determine in regards to many of her personal relationships and decisions, as much of Elizabeth's personal writings take a cautious or guided tone. Elizabethan historian David Starkey (2000) and early modern English historian Robert Bucholz (2009) have widely noted the caution Elizabeth used in many of her letters and speeches, a characteristic which would remain consistent from her early childhood and throughout her reign over England. Due to the guided tone of her actions and written documents, analysis of primary sources constructed by Elizabeth are best done thematically and with historical context about her life filled in through secondary and biographical sources.

Based on the primary and secondary sources, there appear to be key relationships, roles and turning points in Elizabeth's life that influenced much of her decision making. In some instances, it appears that Elizabeth was aware of the impact these relationships and events had on her life, while in others, the influence appears to have occurred unconsciously. Based on the primary and secondary sources, one category of important relationships is that of the various mother-daughter relationships she encountered during her impressionable young years. These relationships are important to examine, as they give much insight into Elizabeth's ideas about the behavior and responsibilities as a female, and help shape many of her thoughts and decisions about marriage and motherhood.

Throughout her childhood Elizabeth, along with being the biological daughter of Anne Boleyn, played the role of stepdaughter to three different wives of Henry VIII. There is no evidence that Elizabeth had any contact with Anne of Cleves, Henry's fourth wife, as Anne and Henry's marriage turned out to be very short lived (Starkey D. , Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne, 2001). Throughout each of these relationships, Elizabeth was to learn something quite valuable about womanhood, roles, and the expectations of a woman and mother. The analysis of the relationship between Elizabeth and her mother Anne Boleyn, as well as the influence of the relationships between Elizabeth and Jane Seymour and Katherine Howard, Henry's third and fifth wives respectively, are addressed in the analysis of secondary sources. Elizabeth was too young prior to her mother's death and so there are no primary sources which might illuminate the character of this mother-daughter relationship. For similar reasons of young age, there are also not any primary sources from Elizabeth regarding her relationship with her first two stepmothers. However, the relationship between Elizabeth and Henry's last wife, Katherine Parr, can be analyzed through both primary and secondary sources and offers tremendous insight into the inner workings of England's future queen.

Primary Sources

Princess Elizabeth to Queen Katherine, July 31, 1544. This letter was written by Elizabeth to the newly married Katherine Parr at the very end of July, the very month that Katherine and Henry were married. It is, by all records and accounts, the very first letter from Elizabeth to Katherine, whom she had met just a month prior to the wedding in June. Elizabeth was only ten years old at the time she wrote the letter. This letter reveals the early trust and motherly feelings Elizabeth had for Katherine. Elizabeth

writes, “. . . For which I am not only bound to serve you but also to revere you with daughterly love, since I understand that your most illustrious highness has not forgotten me every time you have written to the king’s majesty. . .” (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 5). At the time she wrote the letter, Elizabeth remained in a precarious position regarding her place in the succession and in her relationship with her father. Mary and Elizabeth were only formally restored to the succession in the spring of 1544, just a few short months before the writing of this letter. Prior to this restoration, Elizabeth had experienced a lack of contact and attention from her father. Even with her return to a place in the succession, the relationship between Elizabeth and Henry was not a close one; Edward, the desired son and immediate heir, was Henry’s priority.

What is important to note in this early first letter to Katherine is Elizabeth’s use of the words “daughterly love.” Elizabeth at this point had not truly experienced being cared for as a daughter by anyone, but she appears to have fallen into the role wholeheartedly, especially as Katherine welcomes the role of caretaker over both Elizabeth and Edward and even acts as the mediator between her stepdaughter and the father who has largely ignored her. Elizabeth takes to Katherine as she has no other wife of Henry’s and will emulate many of her qualities as will be seen in further letters. Secondary sources corroborate the idea of the close mother-daughter relationship between Elizabeth and Katherine, who is described as immediately taking to the motherly role for both Edward and Elizabeth; both children are described as adoring her as their well-being was of upmost importance to her (Perry, 1990).

In this first letter, Elizabeth also writes that “heretofore I have not dared to write to him [Henry], for which at present I humbly entreat your most excellent highness that in

writing to his majesty you will deign to recommend me to him. . .” (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 6). Katherine, who seemed to understand Elizabeth’s feelings of exile from the family which had just recently been reconciled, works to further solidify the relationship between Elizabeth and Henry, an act which will earn Katherine the utmost love and loyalty from Elizabeth. This modest offering of thanks from Elizabeth to Katherine establishes the trend of the tone of her future letters: that of a humble daughter, grateful for the love and care offered to her by her stepmother Katherine.

Lastly, this letter reveals the awe that Elizabeth still holds for Henry. This sense of awesomeness and wonder is implied through various secondary sources as well as Elizabeth’s personal writings about her father. Elizabeth’s letter reveals her desire for Henry’s return (he had been away in a military engagement) when she writes, “and likewise entreating the Lord God to send his best success in gaining victory over his enemies so that your highness and I together with you, may rejoice the sooner at his happy return” (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 6). In this excerpt Elizabeth is reaching out as a trusting daughter to both her new stepmother and to her father through her stepmother. As a ten-year old girl, she appears to recognize the potential for family through Henry’s sixth marriage. The analysis of subsequent letters from Elizabeth to Katherine Parr will further demonstrate the importance of this mother-daughter relationship.

Princess Elizabeth to Queen Katherine, prefacing her New Year’s gift of an English translation of Marguerite of Navarre’s Miroir de l’ame Pecheresse, December 31, 1544. This second letter from Elizabeth to Katherine takes place exactly five months after her first letter. In these short five months much had changed for

Elizabeth, such as the new educational emphasis on the French language and culture which stemmed from a potential marriage arrangement for Elizabeth with a French prince (Perry, 1990). Her letter to her stepmother serves as an explanation for Elizabeth's Christmas gift to Katherine – a translation of the French poem *The Mirror of the Sinful Soul*. Although the gift was designed to demonstrate her developing mastery of the French language, the poem she chose was deliberate as it highlighted many themes Katherine herself would have agreed with. Katherine, who will be known for the rest of her life as a staunch supporter of Protestantism, underwent her Protestant conversion during the summer of 1544, the same summer she married Henry, became queen, and became stepmother to Elizabeth and Edward. Specific language in the letter illustrates the growing relationship between Elizabeth and Katherine as well as the influence Katherine had on Elizabeth's personal religious beliefs.

In the opening of the letter Elizabeth addresses it, "To our most noble and virtuous Queen Katherine, Elizabeth, her humble daughter, wisheth perpetual felicity and everlasting joy" (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 6). Elizabeth, who has continued to refer to herself as a humble daughter now also focuses on specific aspects of Katherine's character; her nobility and virtue. These are not just words she includes carelessly, for everything Elizabeth includes is purposeful. Further elements of the letter offer evidence as to the choice of these words. In the beginning of the letter, Elizabeth writes, "Not only knowing the affectuous [ardent] will and fervent zeal which your highness hath towards all godly learning, as also my duty towards you. . . but knowing also that . . . idleness [is] most repugnant unto a reasonable creature" (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 6). This illustrates the beginnings of influence Katherine has on Elizabeth now that the mother

role has been established. In just five months, Katherine has brought a focus on education and religion to Elizabeth's development; the education which is emphasized is the "godly learning" Elizabeth refers to. A godly education was a primary focus of the Protestant teachings, specifically the Calvinist sect of Protestantism which Katherine appears to be at least partially influenced by, even though the Church of England would always remain her external choice, being the Church established during her husband's reign and of which he was the head.

The influence of religion is seen both in the contents of the letter and the poem chosen for Katherine as a gift from Elizabeth. The poem Elizabeth chose to translate, *The Mirror of the Sinful Soul*, centers on the theme that the soul should be completely dependent upon God and that dependence on anything else is less than noble and virtuous (Perry, 1990). Elizabeth, in her purposeful way, writes that, "of her own strength she can do nothing that good or is or prevaieth for her salvation, unless it be through the grace of God" (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 7). Elizabeth has clearly comprehended and communicated the poem's theme of dependence upon God. She has also included the primary theological tenet of Protestantism: the idea that salvation comes only through the grace of God and is not dependent upon any works of the individual (MacCulloch D. , *The Reformation: A History*, 2003). Elizabeth demonstrates both a personal religious choice and an appeal to Katherine's religious leanings. This will not be the only time in her letters that her religious inclusions emulate the leanings of her stepmother.

This second letter is quite clever in its construction, for Elizabeth, after establishing the religious theme of the letter, then works to tie the religious elements to the nature of her relationship with Katherine. Following her inclusion of the idea that

salvation comes from the grace of God, Elizabeth writes, “whose mother, daughter, sister and wife by the Scriptures she proveth herself to be” (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 7). Here, not only is Elizabeth reiterating Katherine’s many roles, including that of mother which can only refer to Elizabeth and Edward as she did not have children of her own, but Elizabeth is also connecting Katherine’s roles directly to Scripture which serves as both a praise of Katherine and a reminder that God surely approves of the motherly and wifely roles Katherine plays. This wording is important as it indirectly and yet purposefully implies that Katherine’s religious virtue is at least partially dependent on her performing her womanly duties of wife and mother. There is a clear connection made in Elizabeth’s mind at this young age that a godly woman fulfills her duty in the roles of wife and mother.

Elizabeth’s imitation of Katherine, while purposeful, is also genuine. There is nothing in the letters or in Elizabeth’s life to suggest any sort of façade in her dealings with Katherine. Katherine is Elizabeth’s closest relationship during these few years. And though the influence of Katherine is relatively minimal in these two letters, future letters reveal the important influence Katherine plays as Elizabeth’s stepmother. Elizabeth absorbs the words and actions of Katherine, and eagerly follows both her educational and religious suggestions in an effort to please her and prove their similarity of persons. The next letter from Elizabeth to Katherine is written almost exactly one year later. While Elizabeth is only a year older at this point, the difference between this letter to Katherine and her earlier two, is striking, which shows how much her education has increased and her religious beliefs have developed.

Princess Elizabeth to Queen Katherine, Prefacing her English translation of Chapter 1 of John Calvin's Institution de la Religion Chrestienne (Geneva, 1541), December 30, 1545. The letter begins like all of Elizabeth's letters, with a greeting to queen Katherine from "her most humble daughter." In this greeting, Elizabeth also offers her due obedience to her stepmother. Elizabeth reveals a few things about herself in this letter including her educational progress such as historical knowledge, writing, and art and even includes a few hints at her knowledge of the developing sciences. Katherine had emphasized the importance of education and Elizabeth kept up her studies during these brief periods apart. Her lengthy demonstration of her educational progress in this letter is meant to impress her stepmother who had been more than encouraging of both Elizabeth's formal and religious education.

In her discussion of educational advancement, Elizabeth included a discussion of letters as evidenced in the following excerpt:

"And yet, especially among the aforesaid arts and sciences, the invention of letters seems to me the most clever, excellent, and ingenious. For through their ordering not only can the aforesaid bodily features be declared, but also (which is more) the image of the mind, wiles, and understanding, together with the speech and intention of the man, can be perfectly known – indeed, traced, and portrayed so close to artless and natural that it actually seems that his words that were spoken and pronounced long ago still have the same vigor they had before. Thus also we see that God by His Word and Scripture can be seen, heard, and known for who He is, inasmuch as it is permitted and necessary for our salvation – He who otherwise cannot be known or seen because in Himself He is invisible and

impalpable and, for our part, He is impossible to see or touch.” (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, pp. 11-12).

In this short excerpt Elizabeth indicates genuine, personal acceptance of Katherine’s beliefs. Not only does Elizabeth reveal that she has the highest regard for education and the use of letters, but she makes a crucial spiritual implication as well. In this excerpt Elizabeth makes an important reference to Protestant ideals; namely the belief that the Bible is God’s written word to his people, and that through careful individual study of His Word, an individual can have a personal relationship with God and learn the Bible. As previously mentioned, this was one of the major theological differences between the Catholic Church teachings and the Protestant teachings of Martin Luther and John Calvin.

This letter is an important piece of evidence in the consideration that Elizabeth genuinely accepted the Protestant theology of her stepmother and to a much greater degree than her father had. While Henry’s actions indicate he still aligned with more of the Catholic doctrine, Elizabeth wholeheartedly embraced Protestantism. Further, the letter as a whole is noted to be the preface to Elizabeth’s translation of a major Protestant work: the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, written by John Calvin, one of the most influential Protestant reformers. Although John Calvin was not English, his ideas spread throughout Europe and England quite rapidly; it is Calvin’s beliefs that the Puritan sect in England is based off of. This letter indicates that Elizabeth was also influenced by Calvinism, although not to the same degree that the Puritans would be. With this knowledge, it becomes more intriguing that Elizabeth would pass the Act of Uniformity and accept the particular language of the act. As evidence accumulates that Elizabeth

herself was heavily influenced by Protestantism, something besides her own personal religious convictions must have come into play when bringing about this act as her first major domestic policy as queen.

In the concluding paragraph to this third letter to Katherine, Elizabeth indicates her desire to follow in Katherine's religious footsteps. Elizabeth writes, "By which I hope that . . . your highness . . . will receive it as testimony that not for anything in this world would I want to fall into any arrears in my duty towards your grace, but rather, in my ability . . . that I may assist the fervent zeal and perfect love that your bear towards the selfsame God" (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 13). Elizabeth expresses her desire here to follow down Katherine's religious path and even indicates an inkling towards a more zealous nature. She then writes that "the organ of your royal voice may be the true instrument of His Word, in order to serve as a mirror and lamp to all true Christian men and women" (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 13). The indication at this point implies a desire to use the position of royal standing to promote and further the Protestant theology throughout the realm. Elizabeth seems to indicate a desire that the realm of England choose the true Protestant faith; not through coercion and threat of force, but through genuine conversion such as herself and her stepmother Katherine have experienced.

The events that happen in 1547 will set forth a chain of events that results in Katherine and Elizabeth never getting to see the fruition of their desires. In 1547, Henry dies. The country will now be ruled by Edward VI, who is still a young boy and heavily influenced by his council, the result of which is a country plunged down a radical, evangelical path and further religious turmoil as described in an earlier chapter. For

Elizabeth, the death of her father will end the short years of comfort and enjoyment she had discovered. Not only will the reigns of Edward and then Mary spell trouble for her in their own ways, but her home situation and relationship with Katherine will change drastically between 1547 and 1548. The close relationship they once shared will be severed due to her stepfather, Thomas Seymour, and the relationship will not be repaired prior to Katherine's death in 1548. The events that transpire in the next two years will mark a significant turning point for Elizabeth; her separation from Katherine and lack of reconciliation serve as one of the two most important turning points in Elizabeth's development prior to becoming queen.

The following letters cannot be properly analyzed and described without a brief explanation of the events leading to the separation between Katherine and Elizabeth. The separation was due to a family conflict that occurred in the summer of 1548. Following Henry's death in 1547, Katherine remarried, this time for love, and she married Thomas Seymour, who was in fact King Edward VI's younger uncle (Starkey D. , *Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne*, 2001). Prior to marrying Katherine Parr, Thomas had actually indicated his desire for a marriage to the young Elizabeth, but when this was not supported by the royal council, he settled for Katherine who was in love with him. It did not take long for Katherine to become pregnant by Thomas, and while Katherine was playing the role of pregnant housewife, Thomas felt himself free to pursue other interests, namely Elizabeth, who continued to live with her stepmother following the death of her father and her brother's ascension to the throne. The true account of events that followed continues to be an area of debate by historians as there is little written evidence describing the events as truth, easily discoverable once recorded, may have resulted in

any number of punishments, death included. Nevertheless, historians agree that there was some inappropriate, sexual relationship between Thomas and the fourteen year old Elizabeth that occurred in late 1547 and early 1548. Katherine, upon discovering Thomas in a dominating position over Elizabeth, responded with accusations, blame, physical assault and eventually the banishment of Elizabeth from her house. By the summer of 1548, Elizabeth was without any parental influence whatsoever. In the few months before her fifteenth birthday, this overnight transition from a young, loved girl to an orphaned adult was traumatic. The most traumatic aspect for Elizabeth was the loss of her only true mother figure and closest relationship. Though historians note there was some reconciliation between the women, Elizabeth would never see her stepmother again as Katherine died just a week after her baby was born. The two letters from Elizabeth to Katherine indicate this significant change in relationship and Elizabeth's devastation at the death of Katherine in September 1548.

Princess Elizabeth to Dowager Queen Katherine, circa June 1548. This letter, unlike all previous letters to Katherine, has none of the caring address and greetings from her humble daughter. This letter is simply addressed "To the queen's highness" (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 17). One theory behind this change in address is that Elizabeth no longer considered herself to be Katherine's daughter. A more likely theory is that Elizabeth, as she is attempting to make an apology and reconcile, is aiming to show humility and avoid words that might bring Katherine to an emotional aspect, as expressed by the tone of the letter. Elizabeth has been punished and is responding as a contrite young woman who has learned her lesson.

Elizabeth was most upset by the removal from Katherine's house as revealed when she writes, "For truly I was replete with sorrow to depart from your highness, especially leaving you undoubtful of health" (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 17). The undoubtful health Elizabeth is referring to is the advanced stages of Katherine's pregnancy. Elizabeth seems to regret the fact that she is not with Katherine at her time of need. This would corroborate the theory that Elizabeth continued to feel as she was Katherine's daughter and helpmate. The letter also implies that some reconciliation has taken place between the women as Elizabeth states that, "if your grace had not a good opinion of me, you would not have offered friendship to me" (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 19). By the end of this short letter, Elizabeth has transitioned to a more personal tone of writing. She has accepted her punishment and yet is humbly trying to reestablish the relationship her and Katherine had prior to the Seymour affair. Elizabeth closes the letter with the salutation "your highness' humble daughter, Elizabeth" (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 19). Once she has reaffirmed her feelings and responded to Katherine's acts of friendship, Elizabeth reestablishes her role as Katherine's daughter.

Princess Elizabeth to Dowager Queen Katherine, July 31, 1548. This letter is the last known communication between Elizabeth and her stepmother. Katherine would unexpectedly die in another month, just a week or so after giving birth to her and Thomas' child. This final letter then, is the last piece of primary evidence from Elizabeth directly to Katherine and reveals the nature of their relationship prior to Katherine's death. There is much in the letter to imply that reconciliation between the women was complete. Katherine had written letters to Elizabeth, which seemed to have mad Elizabeth quite happy as she remarked, "your highness' letters be most joyful to me in absence"

(Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 20). Elizabeth then goes on to show her overall concern for Katherine's health in the last months of her pregnancy when she writes, "your grace being so great with child and so sickly. . . I much rejoice at your health" (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 20). This is meant to note that she has heard of Katherine's ill health and is yet hopeful that Katherine will regain her overall good health. The tone of this letter indicates there are no hard feelings that remain, at least between Elizabeth and Katherine. Further, it demonstrates Elizabeth's desire for Katherine to make a full recovery from her pregnancy.

This final letter also indicates the new and now permanent state of the mother-daughter relationship. Although the women have reconciled through written letters, Elizabeth has not been able to see Katherine due to Katherine's inability to travel due to pregnancy, and Elizabeth is of course not able to return to the Katherine's house due to Thomas Seymour, the cause of the rift in the first place. Elizabeth appears to have accepted this permanent state of change and is carrying out her role of daughter as best as possible from afar. Elizabeth closes her letter as she does the previous ones, writing her salutation as Katherine's humble daughter. Elizabeth's own words to Katherine illustrate the importance the relationship held for Elizabeth.

There is one more letter included in this section for analysis, which is a letter from Elizabeth to King Edward VI, and reveals the effects that Katherine's death had on the young princess.

Princess Elizabeth to King Edward VI, Fall 1548. This is one of a few letters Elizabeth wrote to her half-brother upon his becoming king in 1547. This letter is important to the theme of the mother-daughter relationship as it shows the overall effect Katherine's death had on her. Elizabeth had previously sent letters to Edward, but had not written in quite a while as she states here. She writes about the desire to escape "the mark but even the very least suspicion of ingratitude" and then goes on to explain that she has "in such a long interval sent no letters from which you might at least discern the signs of a grateful heart" (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 21). There has now been a silence from Elizabeth towards Edwards for some months; the last letter written to him was dated February 1548. Her explanation for this gap in communication she explains as being the result of a physical ailment.

Elizabeth explains that "an affliction of my head and eyes has come upon me, which has so sorely troubled me since my coming to this house that, although I have often tried to write to your majesty, I have until this day ever been restrained from my intention and my undertaking" (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 13). The sickness Elizabeth refers to here is one that she came down with shortly after receiving news of Katherine's death. To show this, in her letter here, Elizabeth expresses that she has suffered from this physical ailment since coming to this house, meaning the house she moved into following the banishment from Katherine and Thomas' residence earlier in the year. These physical effects illustrate what her earlier letters do not, which is the strain and the changing nature of the relationship between the women was a source of emotional stress which greatly impacted her physical health. The physical ailments then becomes a full illness after the death of her stepmother.

The importance of Elizabeth's physical sickness is a significant piece of evidence illuminating the personal significance of their relationship to Elizabeth. Elizabeth has been no stranger to death; by the time of Katherine Parr's death, Elizabeth has dealt with the death of her own biological mother, four other stepmothers, and the death of her beloved father. But it is Katherine's death alone that causes these physical symptoms which manifest and become a prevailing sickness. Katherine was the only real mother Elizabeth ever knew and whom had been critical to Elizabeth's education and religious beliefs. This loss of Katherine was truly traumatic to her and would continue to shape her opinions and decisions regarding marriage and children throughout her reign.

Secondary Sources

Though the primary source analysis offers much insight into the nature of the relationship between Elizabeth and the most motherly figure she had, Katherine Parr, there are a couple of secondary sources which offer both corroboration and insight into all of the important mother-daughter relationships in Elizabeth's early life. One of the most comprehensive secondary sources about the earlier life of Elizabeth, including the nature of the relationship with the various mother roles, is that of David Starkey's *Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne*. It is through the use of this source in particular, in combination with the various primary sources available, that a more thorough understanding is possible of the impact the various wives of Henry had on Elizabeth's development.

As noted earlier, Elizabeth was only three when her mother died, and as Elizabeth herself neither penned anything regarding her mother, nor, it appears, ever said anything about her mother that was ever recorded, the effects of her mother's death on the young

child are all based on historical inferences (Starkey D. , Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne, 2001). Given Elizabeth's young age, and the fact that she was not present at Anne's arrest and later execution, there is little likelihood that Elizabeth was even aware of the significance of Anne's death until the gifts of clothes which Anne had frequently sent were suddenly gone. In addition to this, now that Anne was no longer Queen, Elizabeth was no longer treated as the special Princess, and those that looked after her treated her more as a ward than a special daughter of the king (Starkey D. , Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne, 2001). Elizabeth was quickly relegated to the same status as her older half-sister Mary. While growing up, both girls would be forced to hear the general public's expression of thoughts regarding their mothers; for Elizabeth, this meant hearing the frequent equalization of a sexual woman to the status of whore. One historian mentions "the accusation that her mother had lovers, and at least the hint she might be a witch" were common things Elizabeth heard; it is difficult to assume this would not have impacted Elizabeth (Levin, 2013, p. 6). This would not be the only time that Elizabeth learned through circumstances that a woman's sexuality could quickly lead to her downfall.

Elizabeth's relationship with her first stepmother following Anne's death is described as being enjoyable, although it was short-lived. Jane Seymour, Henry's third wife, appears to have genuinely worked towards reconciliation of the Tudor family, and tried to "show favor to Mary without forgetting Elizabeth" (Starkey D. , Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne, 2001, p. 25). Jane tried hard to make the two girls act and feel like sisters. Most historians agree that Elizabeth genuinely liked Jane. However, Jane's death shortly after the birth of Edward, Henry's longed-for son, ended any attempts at

familial reconciliation until Henry's last marriage to Katherine Parr. Elizabeth was still young when Jane died, and the psychological impact this death might have had on her is not certain. The likely impact that it had on Elizabeth comes from two major parallels. The first is that this was the second mother figure to die in a very short amount of time, which most historians as well as psychologists agree would have likely had a negative impact on Elizabeth's view of motherhood, even if it was not explicit, as Elizabeth has quickly learned that queens and mothers can die quite suddenly and that this death is caused by carrying out the roles of wife and mother (Perry, 1990). The second parallel is the treatment of Elizabeth which once again changed following the death of Jane and the promotion of Edward to first place in the succession. As had been the case immediately following Anne's death, Elizabeth is now pushed even farther away from a place of importance, as the treasured son will take center stage. Edward's preference reveals the important difference in treatment of children based on gender and given Elizabeth's sharp mind, it is likely she observed this difference and took its implications to heart.

Elizabeth had no interaction with Henry's fourth wife Anne of Cleves, and although she met Henry's fifth wife, Katherine Howard, there is nothing in their short interactions to indicate any level of intimacy between the two (Starkey D. , *Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne*, 2001). Yet, as noted by another historian, Elizabeth being the astute and observant young girl she was, there were still two lessons to be learned from these brief affairs (Levin, 2013). Henry's short marriage to Anne of Cleves was ended quickly due to Henry's lack of physical attraction and excitement towards her. There was no desire stimulated in Henry due to Anne's physical appearance and so he quickly ended the marriage. Henry's fifth marriage was also short-lived, as Katherine

Howard, a relative of the Boleyn family and therefore a distant relative of Elizabeth, met the same fate of Anne Boleyn after her extramarital escapades were discovered and the jealous Henry arrested her for treason (Starkey D. , *Six Wives: The Queens of Henry VIII*, 2003). The still young and impressionable Elizabeth learns more important lessons from these two wives of Henry. Historian Carole Levin summarizes the impact quite succinctly:

“ . . .as a child Elizabeth experienced first-hand the dangerous politics of royal marriages. Her own mother was executed, her first stepmother died of childbirth complications, and her next stepmother was cast-off by Henry because she did not sufficiently attract him. Katherine Howard, Henry’s fifth wife. . . [went to] her execution in 1542 when Elizabeth was eight for the same crime as Anne Boleyn’s [and] must have been particularly shocking” (Levin, 2013, p. 6).

As Levin discusses, all of these wife and mother figures taught Elizabeth some of her earliest lessons about gender, lessons that would influence her future decisions both before and after becoming queen of England. Women who were sexual creatures could quickly find this used against them, wives were meant to serve at the pleasure of their husbands, women were quickly replaceable when their husbands were through with them, and pregnancy and motherhood could be potentially fatal. All of these equated to a gender norm for women that Elizabeth would both come to find unacceptable, either due to fear of repulsion, fear of an early death, or a combination of both.

Katherine Parr’s impact on Elizabeth is also discussed, specifically in contrast to the lessons Elizabeth learned from Henry’s previous marriages. Starkey explains that for the majority of the summer of 1544, Henry was not at court as he was out fighting a war.

This left the English court in the hands of the Privy Council and Katherine, who was Queen Regnant. During these summer and fall months, Elizabeth witnessed the court run “by a woman and managed by a council” which was done rather successfully (Starkey D. , Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne, 2001, p. 40). Starkey goes on to explain that this sight likely left a deep impression on Elizabeth as she witnessed “some of the most powerful men in the realm bowing low before a woman” which was of course a very unusual sight in Tudor England (Starkey D. , Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne, 2001, p. 41). This would have also been the summer that Katherine was the primary guardian over Elizabeth and her status as a mother figure and a role model was firmly established in the young, impressionable Elizabeth. Besides being just a role model for a female ruler, according to Starkey, Katherine also served as “a powerful example of a particular sort of piety” in terms of her religious development, which may have served to tie religious piety with successful female rule as a solid association in Elizabeth’s mind (Starkey D. , Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne, 2001, p. 42).

Katherine’s role as a religious guide to Elizabeth is well established in these sources. Katherine’s transition to her religious ideology, Protestantism firmly rooted in the basis of salvation through faith and God’s grace rather than works, seems to have developed during her first few months of marriage to Henry, which means that Katherine’s religious ideology developed simultaneously with the development of her relationship with Elizabeth and Edward as their stepmother (Ronald, 2012) (Starkey D. , 2001). The summer of 1544, where Katherine was the acting monarch, saw the governing of more than just domestic politics. Thomas Cranmer, who will later be Edward’s religious tutor, also served as Katherine’s religious tutor during this time. The court under

the governance of Katherine and the Privy Council has been described as a “revivalist meeting” where the court became “a sounding board for the preacher’s pulpit” (Starkey D. , *Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne*, 2001, pp. 46-47). Starkey does not offer analysis of Elizabeth during this time in Katherine’s religious court, other than to note that as she was young, impressionable, and had a desire to please, she naturally would have become a Protestant religious enthusiast as well (Starkey D. , *Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne*, 2001). This would make sense as the historical context between the time of Elizabeth’s first letter to her stepmother in July 1544 and the second letter written in December 1544. As noted above, the first letter to Katherine is written primarily in the tone of a humble and loving daughter, while the second letter is full of religious themes, implying the marked development of religious piety for both Katherine and Elizabeth.

Clearly, the years of her childhood and early teen years were a period of tremendous learning for Elizabeth. As a young Tudor princess, Elizabeth would have been taught the expected roles and behaviors fitting a noble female and a princess. However, the females in Elizabeth’s early life were the role models she would have observed and truly learned the most valuable lessons from, even if these lessons were not directly taught to her. As the daughter born of Henry’s second marriage, Elizabeth had five different women in varying degrees of motherly roles. Their actions shaped Elizabeth’s religion, fears, as well as her thoughts on traditional gender roles for women including the roles of wife and mother specifically. While there are other themes that stem from Elizabeth’s personal writings which also influenced her, this theme of mother-daughter relationships brings important insight into answering both Research Questions 1

and 2: how did gender conflict and the role of women shape Elizabeth's decision to develop the 1559 Act of Uniformity, and how did existing religious conflict shape Elizabeth's decision to develop the 1559 Act of Uniformity?

Theme 2: Brokenness

Introduction

Theme one indicates that mother figures greatly influenced Elizabeth; the mother-daughter role is but just one of the different types of relationships Elizabeth experienced during the twenty-five years she lived before coming to the throne of England. Elizabeth is considered by many historians to be a complex historical figure due to the complex task of deciphering the actions and feelings of the mysterious queen. Elizabeth's relationships are one such area of complexity. Elizabeth has different types of relationships with numerous people throughout her development, and although she publicly displays a nonchalant attitude regarding other people (she was frequently accused of treating other people as disposable), the various relationships in her life are truly important to her, even though there are varying degrees of importance within those relationships.

Besides the relationship with her stepmother Katherine Parr, Elizabeth valued the relationships she had with her father Henry VIII, her half-brother Edward, her half-sister Mary, as well as non-family members such as her Governess Katherine Ashley. Though Elizabeth had many other relationships and acquaintances, these would be the relationships of primary importance to Elizabeth. One common characteristic connects all of these important relationships Elizabeth had; this is where the theme of brokenness comes in. These important relationships turn out to be rather fleeting in terms of time-

span, and a few of them bring Elizabeth into the center of an event of conflict. What is most intriguing is how these broken relationships impact Elizabeth. They teach her important life lessons about marriage, family, womanly duties, sisterly duties, the importance and power of religion, as well as the value of unity over divisiveness. What is also worth noting, is that many times in these relationships, Elizabeth herself becomes a primary reason that the conflict and eventual break in the relationship occurs. Though some historians have argued that people and relationships weren't of much importance to Elizabeth, her writings indicate otherwise. As all of her important relationships share the commonality of breaking down into conflict and separation, Elizabeth becomes quite exposed to the devastating nature of political and personal conflict. These broken relationships have a tremendous influence on her decisions as queen throughout the course of her reign; more specifically, negative experiences with separation are a major influence on Elizabeth's decision to pass legislation aimed at unifying her country and ending religious conflict. In different ways, these broken relationships serve as important turning points in Elizabeth's life and in the development of her personal ideologies.

Primary Sources

The first few sources included in this analysis provide insight into one particular event which serves to end her mother-daughter relationship with Katherine Parr, as well as the relationship with her stepfather, Thomas Seymour. This event will also be one of the events that further solidifies Elizabeth's judgments on marriage as Elizabeth experiences the double standard for men and women in matters of sexual behavior and infidelity. The second set of sources included in this analysis provide insight into the nature of the relationship between Elizabeth and Edward. This relationship offers an

important look into the religious connection between the half-siblings and touches on the overall religious conflict present in England during this time. Also included is a letter from Elizabeth to Mary which highlights the impact that the religious conflict had on the Tudor siblings. The religious conflict between Protestants and Catholics has significant personal consequences for Elizabeth that shape her future beliefs and choices.

Princess Elizabeth to Dowager Queen Katherine, circa June 1548. This is the penultimate letter from Elizabeth to her stepmother Katherine and was written just after Elizabeth was removed from the Seymour residence following Katherine's discovery of the inappropriate relationship between her husband Thomas and Elizabeth. There is no historical record to precisely state the nature of the relationship, but from historians' gatherings, whether consensual or not, there is enough evidence to indicate that it was sexual in nature. The best record is the testimony stemming from Elizabeth's governess which declared that "the queen was jealous on her and him . . . suspecting the often access of the admiral to the Lady Elizabeth's grace, came suddenly upon them, where they were all alone, he having her in his arms, . . . and as I remember, this was the cause why she was sent from the queen" (Haynes, 1740, p. 96). Whatever the true nature of the relationship between Thomas and Elizabeth, Katherine had enough and had Elizabeth removed from the premises.

Elizabeth was saddened by her departure from her stepmother, a sadness which will be magnified a few short months later following Katherine's unexpected death. In the brief letter to her stepmother, Elizabeth writes that "truly I was replete with sorrow to depart from your highness, especially leaving you undoubtful of health" (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 17). Katherine's pregnancy was giving her great difficulty, and

Elizabeth felt as her daughter that her place was in her house to help her. Elizabeth weighs the nature of their close relationship when she writes, “I weighed it more deeper when you said you would warn me of all evils that you should hear of me; for if your grace had not a good opinion of me, you would not have offered friendship to me” (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 19). Elizabeth at this point is recognizing all that has truly been put at stake with the inappropriate dealings with her stepfather. Elizabeth closes the letter with her common phrasing “your Highness’ humble daughter, Elizabeth” which indicates her attempt to continue the mother-daughter relationship (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 19). However, the event caused quite a scandal in the royal household and this event would be the breaking point in Elizabeth and Katherine’s relationship.

What is of particular interest in this letter is that there is no addressing of her innocence or victimization. Although Elizabeth was just fourteen at this time, and Thomas was in a position of authority over her, being her stepfather, Elizabeth makes no attempt to put any blame on him for her unfortunate circumstances. These actions may seem confusing until the consideration of gender norms of the time. A woman alone was responsible for her reputation. Assumptions of purity or lack thereof were placed solely on the woman. Even if the entirety of fault in the situation could be placed on Thomas’ shoulders, the reality of guilt and innocence did not work out this way. For Elizabeth to be caught in his arms, in what seemed to be a willing position, was enough reason to put the guilt on Elizabeth’s shoulders. Elizabeth knew this, and knew that she was therefore responsible for the loss of her reputation of purity.

Princess Elizabeth to Thomas Seymour, Lord High Admiral, summer 1548.

This is the only letter exists from Elizabeth to her stepfather Thomas Seymour. The letter is short in length, and like the previously mentioned letter, it was written shortly after Elizabeth's hasty departure from Thomas and Katherine's residence. The letter takes on a more formal tone than Elizabeth's letters to Katherine; this may have been an attempt by Elizabeth to demonstrate both maturity and purity. In the brief letter Elizabeth writes, "You needed not to send an excuse to me, for I could not mistrust the not fulfilling of your promise to proceed for want of goodwill" (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 19). This aspect of the letter is quite curious, for it indicates a trust in Thomas which would be suspect if he played the role of the abuser. Further, Elizabeth then indicates that there is no ill will which she holds of him when she writes, "wherefore I shall desire you to think that a greater matter than this could not make me impute any unkindness in you" (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 19). Based on these few phrases, and her actions towards Thomas following Katherine's death, it appears as though Elizabeth expected a full reconciliation to the Seymour household once the scandal blew over. Elizabeth tries to show her continued loyalty to her stepparents when she writes, "For I am a friend not won with trifles, nor lost with the like" (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 19). She goes on to close the letter by asking for God's help in guiding the Seymour's affairs, and in keeping them from evil. She is clearly making all attempts at this point to maintain the relationship with the Seymour household. As this letter shortly follows the previous letter to Katherine, it would also seem to indicate a double-sided attempt to show her steadfast devotion and pure intentions to them.

Her actions following this letter further indicate her expectations for the matter to be resolved and for her place to be quickly restored. Following Katherine's death a week after giving birth, Elizabeth is both cast into a state of physical illness and a state of bargaining over her future. The physical illness, addressed in theme 1, was likely due to her enormous grief at Katherine's passing, as their relationship was not repaired prior to her death. The state of bargaining over her future came from Seymour's expressed desire to wed Elizabeth following Katherine's death. Now that Katherine had passed away, Seymour no longer had legal claim to guiding her affairs – and in terms of an agreement like marriage, the Privy Council would be the ones to arrange Elizabeth's marriage. Elizabeth was to discover quite quickly that her marriage was not hers to decide, and further that the Seymour scandal was not just going away. Seymour was involved in other affairs bordering on treason and would eventually lose his life for that involvement. Throughout the investigation into Thomas' life and affairs, the events leading to Elizabeth's departure became public knowledge. As a young orphaned girl of just fifteen years, Elizabeth found herself in a vulnerable position and being used to meet political ends. This was not a position she desired, and as the investigation continued, Elizabeth realized that this scandal could have negative political implications for her as an heir to the throne. Catholics and enemies of the Boleyn line of succession were quick to demonstrate similarities between Elizabeth and her mother Anne, the well-known whore. The fairytale quickly became a nightmare from which Elizabeth was not sure she would survive.

Princess Elizabeth to Edward Seymour, Lord Protector, January 28, 1549.

This letter from Elizabeth to Edward Seymour in early 1549 indicates the precarious position Elizabeth found herself in regarding her purity and her potential involvement in Thomas Seymour's treasonous doings. Edward Seymour was the uncle of King Edward VI (Elizabeth's half-brother) and had charge over him following Katherine's death and Thomas' imprisonment. In this letter, Elizabeth finds herself having to explain her role in the events of 1548, including the accusation of plotting to marry Thomas Seymour without the Council's consent. Elizabeth states that she was asked "whether if the Council did consent that I should have my lord admiral, whether I would consent to it or no. I answered that I would not tell him what my mind was, and I inquired further" (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 23). At this point in the letter, Elizabeth is recounting her questioning regarding her intentions with Thomas and the extent to which agreements were made between them. In response to her further inquiry as to why the Council was so interested, Elizabeth recounts being told that Thomas had been inquiring into Elizabeth's landholdings from her father, as well as the household expenses of her estate in comparison to his. To clarify, Elizabeth finds out in answer to her question that Thomas Seymour's principal interest in her has nothing more to do with land and wealth.

Elizabeth's feelings at this point are difficult to ascertain with certainty, as she did not record them, but they are not difficult to infer. In just six short months, she has descended from her position as beloved daughter, to that of exile for indiscretions with her stepfather. She has lost her beloved stepmother, had her stepfather indicate his desire of union with her, only to find out that his principal interest in marrying her is to acquire the land and wealth of estate her father left to her upon his death. Furthermore, all of this

testimony has come out during an investigation of treason into Thomas. Since Elizabeth has been connected to him in different ways, including suspicions of inappropriate intimacy, her own loyalty to the Crown is questioned, as well as her chastity. The circulation of information even reached the point of rumors of Elizabeth was “with child by my lord admiral” (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 24). Elizabeth writes that these rumors are “greatly both against mine honor and honesty” (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 24). At this point, it appears that Elizabeth has realized that the marriage discussion was purely for Thomas Seymour’s own personal advancement; Elizabeth was nothing more than a pretty pawn in his scheme for wealth and to maintain his proximity to the throne. After this letter of testimony, Elizabeth appears to have lost any remaining childish fantasy about marriage, and especially about her stepfather Thomas.

While Elizabeth was dealing with these difficult events which questioned her chastity, purity and even loyalty to the crown, these were not the only conflicts and broken relationships she found herself dealing with. The time of Edward’s reign was also a time of conflict among the Tudor siblings, as religion and the line of succession became highly contentious. Elizabeth would find herself losing more family than just her stepmother during this tumultuous time.

Princess Elizabeth to King Edward VI upon His Recovery from Sickness, September 20, 1547. This is the second letter written by Elizabeth to Edward after his coronation as King in 1547, following the death of their father, Henry VIII in January 1547. This letter is important as it reveals the deep sisterly affection which Elizabeth had for Edward. Elizabeth generally wrote letters in a much more reserved tone; Elizabeth never wrote to her father directly while he was king, let alone take a familiar and personal

tone in her letters. This letter shows the lack of reservations she held, and provides more of a glimpse into the close bond Edward and Elizabeth shared. She begins the letter by asking for his “indulgence” in her infrequent writings to him and states that, “especially since my inaction has not proceeded from any forgetting of you, whom I never can nor should forget” (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 14). This brief sentence may seem to be trivial, written out of respect or expectation, but in looking at other of Elizabeth’s letters, it seems to be best explained in terms of her genuine regard and close relationship with Edward. There is not another letter from Elizabeth to anyone in which she writes of them being unforgettable. Elizabeth goes on to explain that she decided to write to Edward after so long in order to “show that there has been no slackening of my due reverence to you” (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 14). Clearly, Elizabeth is showing her deep affection for Edward in this short letter; she wants Edward to be aware of her respect and devotion to him.

The letter also offers some indication of Elizabeth struggling to deal with the loss of Henry VIII in January as she references the fragile nature of man. Elizabeth indicates “the most good and most great God” and in her letter writes that “He has quickly and mercifully restored you to London after your recent illness” as the greatest piece of evidence of God’s greatness (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 14). It is very likely that after losing their father to illness in January, Edward’s recent illness gave Elizabeth cause for great alarm. Indeed, the remainder of the letter is spent discussing the role of Providence in the life of man. Elizabeth writes, “Earth nurtures nothing more fragile than man. Since then the life of every man is not only exposed to but overcome by so many and so great accidents, we judge that your past illness has been dispelled by the special

mercy of divine providence. . . To which providence I commit the protection of your majesty” (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 15). With these words, Elizabeth is not only indicating Edward’s importance to her, but she is also showing Edward evidence of the commonality of their faith in God and his hand in their lives.

Princess Elizabeth to King Edward VI, February 2, 1548. This letter from Elizabeth to Edward corroborates the depth of affection established by the previous letter. Elizabeth begins the letter by referencing Edward’s “love towards me” of which “no more numerous or illustrious proofs can be given” (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 15). Elizabeth is indicating that she is firmly convinced that Edward returns the affection which she feels for him. She is writing to him at this point more from the viewpoint of a beloved sister and less than that of one of the king’s royal subjects. This provides evidence of the close relationship Edward and Elizabeth had at the early point of Edward’s reign. The tone of the letter and the construction of its writings reveal an intimate level of familiarity with Edward. Elizabeth then goes on to recount the various “favours” Edward has done on her behalf and how they have allowed her to “perceive your brotherly love so greatly inclined towards me” in which she claims to have “no small joy and gladness” (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 16). In a way, the letter serves to show Edward that she reciprocates these feelings of familial love. With the death of her father a year prior, and the lack of relationship between Elizabeth and her half-sister, Edward remains the sole close familial relationship Elizabeth has.

The letter is important to analyze on another level, and that is for its discussion of the mind which Elizabeth includes. The frequent reference to the use of her mind in the letter, being the other focus of her writings, serves an important purpose. She first uses

the term when she writes “when to my mind there come your innumerable favors to me” and shortly after writes “I cannot easily recount how much my mind is drawn in diverse ways” (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 16). In both of these instances, she is using the term “mind” rather than the more fitting terms of heart or emotion. For in both of these phrases, she is referencing feelings, which are of course associated with heart and not the mind. Near the end of the letter, she repeats this when she writes that “it is rather characteristic of my nature not only not to say in words as much as I think in my mind, but also, indeed, not to say more than I think” (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 16). Again, she is using the terminology of her mind quite purposefully. Analysis of this terminology becomes clear when considered through the lens of gender roles and expectations. For example, Elizabethan historian Carole Levin, whose book focuses on the crossroads of gender and politics during Elizabeth’s life, notes in her book that Elizabeth frequently uses traditional male terminology when referencing herself (Levin, 2013). According to Levin, Elizabeth did this frequently in order to assert the male qualities of her person, in order to be deemed acceptable in a patriarchal society. The concept of the mind, or the thinking, logical, rational aspects of a person, are more typically associated with men, while women, who are considered more frail, are usually associated with terminology of emotional, irrational, illogical, etc. Elizabeth, being very aware of the differences in gender and the assumed superiority of men, would have tried to align herself with some of these male qualities. Therefore, it is not surprising to see her inclusions of the mind multiple times in this letter to Edward.

When the two different topics of the letter are combined together, the letter serves to establish the deep nature of the affection and reverence Elizabeth had for Edward and

desired to receive in return. Not only does she clearly express her affection and gratitude for his returning of the feelings, but her desire for Edward's approval and acceptance can be seen in how she emphasizes her use of her mind over her heart. This illuminates her desire to be thought of as higher than other women in Edward's mind, and her desire for herself to be thought of as Edward's near equal. The only other time that Elizabeth exhibits this level of showmanship of male qualities in a personal letter, are in the very few writings that exist from Elizabeth to her father, whether directly written or indirectly sent through some other messenger. Elizabeth wants to show that she is indeed on the same level as both her father and her brother. Clearly, their favor, and specifically Edward's, is what she is seeking in this letter.

Princess Elizabeth to King Edward VI, with a Present of her Portrait, May 15, 1549. This letter was written to Edward about ten months after the Seymour affair, exile from their stepmother's household, and Katherine Parr's subsequent death. Katherine's death, as has already been established, was of great importance to Elizabeth and caused her much grief to the point of experiencing great illness. In this letter, we see Elizabeth again reference her mind as she did in the letter of more than a year prior. She states early on that "if the inward good mind toward your grace might as well be declared as the outward face and countenance shall be seen" indicating her desire for Edward to know her positive thoughts about him (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 35). Again, it is interesting here to note that the use of the word "heart" would have made her statement more clear, which indicates that she uses the word "mind" purposefully. Elizabeth then writes that "for the face, I grant, I might well blush to offer, but the mind I shall never be ashamed to present" (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 35). Elizabeth's meaning here is

clear: no matter what her physical appearance may show in the portrait she's giving to Edward, the quality of her intellect and her mind is what Edward should be focused on regarding his older half-sister. It has been established that Edward and Elizabeth grew close while living with their stepmother Katherine Parr; this is also when both their formal schooling and religious educations in Protestantism were firmly laid down. By referencing her strength of mind, Elizabeth is reminding Edward of their commonalities.

This close relationship may have kept conflict away early in Edward's reign, but as events developed from 1549 to 1552, the relationship between Edward and Mary develops into a full conflict. Elizabeth will find herself in the middle of this conflict, trying to act as the mediator, and subsequently, her relationship with both siblings will be strained until each of their deaths. 1548 is the year of the broken relationship between Elizabeth and her stepmother Katherine Parr, and events of 1549 will be the beginning of the broken relationships with her two siblings. By the time Mary will come to the throne in 1553, Elizabeth will have experienced five years of familial conflict and broken relationships.

Princess Elizabeth to Princess Mary, October 27, 1552. In order to adequately understand and analyze this letter from Elizabeth to Mary, some historical context is indeed necessary. In December of 1549, just seven months after the writing of the previously included letter, Edward's councilors and policy had become increasingly radical in their reformed, evangelical religion. As such they were becoming less tolerant of those who held firm to the Catholic faith, which would include Mary Tudor. By the end of 1549, a policy was passed that brought the religious conflict to a head in England, and by nature, created a familial conflict between Edward and Mary. Mary had been

openly practicing her Catholicism throughout Edward's reign; while Edward had earlier expressed his displeasure, nothing Mary had done was technically illegal in terms of the king's policy (Perry, 1990). The policy of December 1549 declared that the Book of Common Prayer was the official theology of the Church of England and was required to be followed in all services. This policy also officially ended any other services and effectively forbade the administering of separate Mass services. The conflict came to a head between Edward and Mary when Mary continued the celebration of Mass within her own residence, as this was strictly forbidden by the King (Perry, 1990). From this point on, Elizabeth would be caught between Edward and Mary, trying to play the role of mediator and help restore a sibling unity among the three of them.

This letter from Elizabeth to Mary in October 1552 was written shortly after Edward had written to Mary stressing that he would "see his laws strictly obeyed and those who break them shall be watched and denounced" to which Mary had replied that hers was the "true religion" and were "held by the whole of Christendom, formerly confessed by this Kingdom under the late King, my father" (Perry, 1990, pp. 46 - 47). Clearly the religious feud between Edward and Mary had become increasingly problematic with no reconciliation in sight. Elizabeth wrote her letter to Mary shortly after this exchange has taken place. The tone of the entire letter is friendly and sisterly, which in itself is quite telling as there had never been much sisterly affection between the two. From the moment of Elizabeth's birth, Mary had lost her place in the succession, lost her legitimacy of birth, and seen her mother cast aside and later died, and had been largely ignored by her father. Mary had no great liking for Elizabeth and the two had

never had a close relationship. However, in this letter, we see a new level of friendliness and sisterly affection alluded to, at least on the part of Elizabeth.

The contents of the letter itself are quite insignificant, yet do serve to corroborate what is deemed the purpose of the letter. Elizabeth addresses the letter “To my well-beloved sister Mary” and begins the letter by writing “Good Sister, as to hear of your sickness is unpleasant to me” indicating that Elizabeth is attempting to promote the positive sisterly affections between herself and Mary from the beginning (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 37). As Elizabeth writes, it becomes evident that Mary’s sickness she eluded to was nothing serious, as she mentions “it is your old guest that is wont oft to visit you” it seems clear that the sickness is nothing more than a menstrual discomfort, nothing serious enough to warrant writing a letter for (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 37). Following this mention of her illness, Elizabeth then writes about Mary’s request of a certain lady-in-waiting and Elizabeth’s pleasure at delivering the lady to her. Normally, exchanges of this type did not require a letter to follow up with the request; it was perfectly acceptable to just send the required servant once the request was made (Perry, 1990).

The end of the letter follows much the tone of the beginning; the letter is genial, sisterly and more affectionate than letters previously were. Near the end of the letter Elizabeth writes “Good sister . . . I have more occasion to render you my hearty thanks for your gentle writing . . . And you may well see by my writing so oft, how pleasant it is to me” (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 38). Here Elizabeth is trying to communicate to Mary that she is grateful for any letters she receives from Mary. She implies that receiving letters from Mary makes her quite happy, as it does for Elizabeth to write letters

to Mary in return as well. This would indicate Elizabeth is attempting to establish and restore some sisterly relationship between the two women. In previous letters Elizabeth had closed the letter as a “servant” to Mary, in this letter she closes the letter as “your loving sister, Elizabeth” (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 38).

Elizabeth, as previously established, is a genuine follower of the Protestant faith and is also highly devoted to Edward. It is likely that Mary’s rejection of what Elizabeth called the “true religion” would be a major source of contention between them. Yet in this particular letter, written just after Edward’s harsh words of obedience and punishment, Elizabeth does not address anything other than simple or neutral topics. The religious conflict is the only topic worth discussing at this point and yet it is the one topic that is not alluded to in any way. As Elizabeth was quite purposeful in all of her writings and actions, it must be assumed that this was done intentionally and purposefully as well. In this letter, not just by what is said, but also by what is unsaid, we see the theme of brokenness take shape in Elizabeth’s life again. The religious conflict at its height in her family, if not the entire country, has created a significant rift between her siblings. Elizabeth, who is caught in the middle, tries to reestablish and solidify the sisterly bond she has with Mary, as she has previously done with Edward. This would indicate the importance of both relationships to Elizabeth.

The rift between Edward and Mary will not be resolved before the king dies in July of 1553. The three last years of Edward’s reign 1550 – 1553 were by far the most radical showings of Protestantism the country had yet seen. Catholics were persecuted and directly forbidden from following any sort of their religion. The religious divide between Catholics and Protestants was becoming increasingly polarized and violent. In

Elizabeth's personal life, this has great ramifications and will once and for all end any sort of family unity or closeness among the Tudor children. What Elizabeth learns from this experience is that religious conflict ruins family relationships. Knowing the importance of these few relationships to Elizabeth, it seems highly likely that this experience will be part of the influence on her decision to seek a moderate religious settlement rather than choose a course that would perpetuate conflict. At this point, based on these few letters, it may seem as though the influence would be minimal. However, as Mary takes her place as Queen of England following Edward's death, the relationship between Mary and Elizabeth becomes even more strained, and the conflict nearly brings Elizabeth to her death as she is imprisoned in the Tower for the latter half of Mary's reign. This event is considered to be another major turning point in Elizabeth's life (Perry, 1990) (Starkey D. , Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne, 2001). The erosion of the relationship between Mary and Elizabeth will be made worse as it follows the isolation from Edward she experiences at the end of his reign and into the transition into Mary's reign as discussed below.

Princess Elizabeth to King Edward VI, circa spring 1553. In this last and final letter from Elizabeth to Edward there is a significant change in their relationship and in Elizabeth's stature that is revealed. The tone and words chosen in this letter offer a stark contrast to the tone and words of Elizabeth's earlier letters to her brother. Unlike the earlier letters, this letter is addressed to "the king's most excellent majesty" which is a much more formal address than the ones she previously used, indicating in itself a change in the nature of their relationship (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 38). Elizabeth begins the letter by comparing her current situation to that of a "shipman in stormy

weather” who must “tarry for better wind” as she has now had to “pluck down the high sails of my joy and comfort” (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 38). She then describes that there have been two events which have caused this removal of her joy and comfort. The first event, as she includes in the letter, is the recent bout of illness which Edward is suffering from. In terms of context, Edward’s bouts of illness had become more frequent, with his good health never fully recovering in between. It will be this last illness that he will not recover from before his death in July 1553, just a few months after Elizabeth writes this last letter. Elizabeth’s hearing of this new round of sickness has caused her grief as she describes in the letter. Elizabeth commonly felt physical sickness at the ill-health or death of those she closely loved, indicating that her affectionate feelings for Edward had not changed.

The second event that she describes in the letter is one that shows the changed nature of Edward and Elizabeth’s relationship. She indicates that she has heard rumors against her as she writes that “of my other grief I am not eased, but the best is that whatsoever other folks will suspect, I intend not to fear your grace’s goodwill . . . so I trust will stick by me” (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 39). This indicates that she has come across some information which should cause her to doubt her standing with Edward, but is unable to fully believe, at least at first, due to the nature of their relationship in the past. Rather than believe that Edward would have done anything against her or to hurt her, Elizabeth wants to trust the bond they once had. When she writes that her grief is not eased, it demonstrates that she knows in her heart about what she has heard is indeed correct. The event which she is writing about in this letter is referred to as the *Device for the Succession*, which was an act signed by Edward in June

of 1553 and heavily influenced by his Privy Council. This act served to disinherit both Mary and Elizabeth from the succession and instead legally established Lady Jane Grey as the heir to the throne upon his impending death. In this letter, the legislation has not been finalized, but Elizabeth clearly has heard whispers of its creation and is grieved to know that her strong, sisterly devotion and affection for Edward are of no consequence and that he apparently no longer returns any sort of brotherly affection towards her.

The impact of this event on Elizabeth's psyche is not directly stated and therefore must be inferred. This was not the first time Elizabeth had been disinherited, but in the previous situation, the disinheritance was for purely political reasons; Henry had finally received the male heir through birth that he desired and needed to formally establish the line of succession. Elizabeth was not so much disinherited as she was moved to the back of the succession line. This disinheritance by Edward is significantly different. In this instance, Edward is grouping Elizabeth and Mary together as one and the same, even after the time Elizabeth has spent trying to mediate between them and keep the sibling union together. It would not have been surprising to find that Edward had disinherited Mary, as she had already shown her unwillingness to compromise with Edward in terms of religion. It is not even that surprising that Edward would have to move Elizabeth's place in the succession in order to establish Lady Jane Grey as the next in line in his desire to keep a Protestant monarch on the throne. For Elizabeth, the impact comes from the personal nature of the relationship. This act is one that has completely taken her by surprise; there has been no communication between Edward to her indicating that this might be necessary. Indeed, Elizabeth appears to have been removed completely from Edward's inner circle, which as a member of the royal family, was a position that was

traditional. This lack of communication is due to more than just circumstance. Elizabeth writes in the letter that “if your grace’s advice that I should return (whose will is a commandment) had not been, I would not have made the half of my way the end of my journey” (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 39). She is in Hatfield at the request of her king and brother. The letter indicates a happiness on her end at being summoned, only to have that happiness destroyed upon hearing rumors of her impending removal from the succession and removal from the king’s inner circle, which by proxy meant a removal of their personal relationship. The hurt she suffers at the hand of her brother and his councilors has put her back into a position she hates to be in; Elizabeth is once again alone, with no family and again has been removed from her rightful place in the kingdom. The impact on her was indeed great.

Princess Elizabeth to Lady Katherine Knollys, Autumn 1553. This letter from Elizabeth to her cousin Katherine Knollys, who was the Protestant daughter of Mary Boleyn, Anne Boleyn’s sister, gives an important first look at the impact Mary’s reign had on Elizabeth in such a short amount of time. The context of the letter is that it was written when the Lady Katherine was retiring to exile as a Protestant. The Lady Katherine was one of many Protestants who had fled Mary’s court shortly after Mary became queen as the policies she put into place immediately put Protestants into jeopardy. In the letter Elizabeth writes that “when your need shall be most you shall find my friendship greatest” (Perry, 1990, p. 58). In this letter Elizabeth is reaching out to her cousin in solidarity, indicating a desire for Elizabeth to leave Mary’s court as well. After all, the first few months of Mary’s reign had been quite difficult. The conflict arose between the half-sisters almost immediately following their brother’s death; although

Edward was a devout Protestant, Mary wanted to see him buried as a Catholic, which Elizabeth was understandably vehemently against (Perry, 1990). Additionally, Elizabeth found herself once again legally declared a bastard as Mary's first Parliament declared the marriage between Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon a lawful union. Any hope Elizabeth had of maintaining a sisterly affection and understanding seemed to be eradicated in just a few short months.

Elizabeth grieved her loss of legal status, was afraid for her life due to her Protestant beliefs and connections, and grieved the loss of relationship with Mary. This is all indicated in Elizabeth's letter to her cousin. Elizabeth writes that her "power [is] but small, my love as great as them whose gifts may tell their friendship's tale" which reveals Elizabeth knew that her standing at court had been utterly reduced (Perry, 1990, p. 58). Elizabeth closes the short letter by writing "I am driven by a need to write, farewell, it is which in one way I wish, the other way I grieve" (Perry, 1990, p. 58). Here Elizabeth expresses that this may be the final farewell between them. Elizabeth is not sure that she will be able to escape Mary's court, and is clearly fearful that her standing as a Protestant may cost her life. Elizabeth signs the letter "Cor Rotto" as a way to indicate her broken heart, not just regarding the last farewell between Elizabeth and her cousin, but also her broken heart over all the proceedings that have taken place since Mary has become queen. The events Mary quickly put into place reveals what her true priorities and intentions were. Mary was clearly not concerned about her relationship with Elizabeth or the impact her decisions would have on her half-sister. Instead, Mary is focused solely on the reestablishment of Catholicism as the legal religion of England, and correcting her family's place in history.

Princess Elizabeth to Queen Mary, March 17, 1554. At the time the letter was written, Mary has been queen for less than a year, but already Elizabeth has realized that her status as Mary's sister is void and meaningless, and that her life is in jeopardy. This letter shows the distance that has come between the two women and reveals the danger Elizabeth finds herself in. This letter begins the short collection of primary sources which reveal the importance of this timeframe to Elizabeth's personal development. Mary's reign, with the constant fear for her life Elizabeth faces, will serve as an important turning point in Elizabeth's religious decisions of the future.

When writing this letter, Elizabeth did not even take the time to address Mary or include any of her usual niceties which speaks to Elizabeth's desperate frame of mind when she composed it. As her first words to Mary, Elizabeth writes, "If any ever did try this old saying – that a king's word was more than another man's oath – I most humbly beseech your majesty to verify it in me, and to remember your last promise and my last demand: that I be not condemned without answer and due proof" (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 41). Elizabeth is reminding Mary that as a member of the royal family her word is more valuable than the words of others. She is also trying to appeal to Mary's sense of humanity and ask that she not be convicted based on the words of others. There is genuine fear that comes out in this letter to Mary; Elizabeth is clearly afraid that she is about to meet her end. As Elizabeth was taken to the Tower after her arrest, the last residence of many an executed heretic, her fears that she was about to be executed herself are not unfounded.

Elizabeth was placed in the Tower after the attempted Wyatt rebellion in which an English gentleman by the name of Sir Thomas Wyatt, who was vehemently opposed to

the marriage of Mary Tudor and Philip II of Spain, attempted to forcibly remove Mary from the English throne and establish Elizabeth as the Queen of England instead.

Elizabeth was heavily implicated in the plot which led to her arrest and imprisonment in the Tower (Starkey D. , *Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne*, 2001). Elizabeth wants to guarantee Mary of her innocence in the plot and writes that “[the Tower is] a place more wanted for a false traitor than a true subject” (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 41).

Much of the desperation stems from the broken relationship Elizabeth and Mary have consistently had. If Mary had gone through with the execution of Elizabeth, it would not have been the first time Mary made a decision without regard to Elizabeth’s person.

Indeed, it appears as though for Mary, there is little to no sisterly affection that she carries for Elizabeth.

Though the women have a strained relationship, Elizabeth does attempt to convince Mary to let Elizabeth come before her and plead her case in person. She writes, “I humbly beseech your majesty to let me answer afore yourself and not suffer me to trust your councilors. . . Let conscience move your highness to take some better way with me than to make me be condemned in all men’s sight afore my desert known” (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 41). Elizabeth is trying to play on Mary’s conscience; if Mary possesses even a shred of doubt regarding Elizabeth’s guilt, Elizabeth’s request would likely be granted. Elizabeth also attempts to reassert the sisterly connection between the two of them. She writes, “I pray God as evil persuasions persuade not one sister against the other, and all for that they have heard false report and not hearken to the truth known” (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 42). Elizabeth is appealing to Mary to consider the connection that once existed between them; even if there is no longer a relationship, they

are still connected by the blood of their father. If Mary had executed Elizabeth for the crimes of treason without certain proof, it would have put a dark stain on her tenure as queen, as Elizabeth is considered to be of royal blood, despite Parliament's legislation bastardizing her.

After Elizabeth finishes the body of her letter to Mary, she fills the paper with numerous diagonal lines so that no other person could add anything else to the letter and further condemn her. This illustrates the very precarious situation Elizabeth found herself in, and shows that she did fully understand the immense danger she was in. Elizabeth finishes the letter by writing "I humbly crave but only one word of answer from yourself" in her last attempt to find Mary's merciful conscience (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 42). Elizabeth signs her letter "Your highness' most faithful subject that hath been from the beginning and will be to my end, Elizabeth" (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 42). The desperation that Elizabeth feels when writing this letter becomes more evident by the end of the letter. Elizabeth has held nothing back in her attempt to persuade Mary away from blindly convicting and executing her.

Elizabeth's time in the Tower created a new level of separation between the two sisters. Up until this point, everything Elizabeth has done has indicated her willingness to look past their conflict and reconcile their relationship. Mary has revealed her position to Elizabeth which is a position of superiority with Elizabeth in a much inferior position, even to the point of being brought into the Tower through the traitor's gate as any commoner would be. The way in which Elizabeth writes her letter to Mary indicates her understanding of her new position and her acceptance of it. Although it could potentially be argued that Elizabeth writes the letter this way in order to save her own skin as is quite

likely, it doesn't change Elizabeth's internal reaction to Mary's decision to imprison her and cast her aside. Elizabeth will survive this ordeal, and will write again to Queen Mary, but her correspondence will contain none of the same attempts to appeal to sisterly affection. As Elizabeth herself never accepted a second place position with those she loved, this can only mean that Elizabeth's heart towards Mary has changed. After her imprisonment, Elizabeth will no longer possess the same affection for Mary she previously had – there will be no more attempts at reconciliation as a sister.

This letter, which marks the turning point for Elizabeth regarding Mary, is important for another reason. This letter, and the circumstances around it, serve to show Elizabeth the destructive power of radical, militant religious policy. By being treated as if she was any other common Protestant English citizen, Elizabeth experiences the terror and fear that so many faced during Mary's reign as well as Edward's. Further, as Elizabeth herself experiences, being imprisoned for religion does not serve well to endear subjects to their monarch. Mary's radical and persecutory Catholicism does not bode well for the people or the country; in the same way, Edward's radical and persecutory Protestantism did not bode well for the people or the country. Radical religion, whether Protestantism or Catholicism, only served to create fear among the population, unnecessary imprisonment, and fear. This will have a direct influence on Elizabeth and her later decision to solve the religious question by establishing a moderate religious settlement.

Princess Elizabeth's Prayers in the Tower of London. Though Elizabeth mostly wrote letters, during her time of imprisonment in the Tower and while under house arrest in Woodstock, Elizabeth did occasionally express herself through other

mediums, such as poems and these two short prayers. These prayers were likely not intended to be read by anyone other than herself, and it was common for those able to write down their prayers as a symbol of devotion to God. Both prayers are short, taking up no more than a couple sentences, and yet they are full of raw emotion. In the first prayer Elizabeth writes, “Help me now, O God, for I have none other friends but Thee alone. And suffer me not (I beseech Thee) to build my foundation upon the sands, but upon the rock, whereby all blasts of blustering weather may have no power against me, amen.” (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 48). This short prayer reveals the loneliness Elizabeth feels; at this point in her life, all those that Elizabeth was close to have fallen away; whether through death or through conflict breaking apart a relationship, at the point of time Elizabeth writes this, she truly has no one left. She also reveals the desperation she feels for her enemies to fail in their attempts to ruin her reputation and destroy her life. With all those around her who would seek to destroy her, and having lost all of those that were close to her, Elizabeth returns to the one constant that remains in her life – her faith.

The second prayer follows much the theme of the previous prayer and reemphasizes Elizabeth’s commitment to her God and her faith. In her second prayer she writes, “Grant, O God, that the wicked may have no power to hurt or betray me; neither suffer any such treason and wickedness to proceed against me. For Thou, O God, canst mollify all such tyrannous hearts and disappoint all such cruel purposes. And I beseech Thee to hear me, Thy creature, which am Thy servant and at Thy commandment, trusting by Thy grace ever so to remain, amen.” (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 48). This prayer, like the first, reveals Elizabeth’s commitment to God and her religious faith. She

also reaffirms her faith that God will vindicate her from the wicked plans of her enemies and will ultimately show her to be pure of heart and innocent of the charges against her. At her loneliest and darkest hour, Elizabeth reveals a vulnerability that is rarely seen from her. This faith which she professes and clings to will be the first she desires to settle upon being crowned as queen just a few short years later.

Secondary Sources

The secondary sources which discuss the relationships and events between Elizabeth and her half-siblings mostly come from the work of one biographer and historian, David Starkey, as most Elizabethan biographers focus on chronicling the events during Elizabeth's reign as queen. Starkey discusses the events described above as 'turning points' for Elizabeth as being intertwined; he implies that Elizabeth's position during the reign of Edward was like that of a pawn – she was used for political purposes by Edward's councilors without consideration of her own feelings and the effects it would have on her personal psyche. In this way, the broken relationships between Elizabeth and both Mary and Edward, although they affected Elizabeth significantly and influenced her own decisions on policy many years later, were facilitated for the purpose of advancing political policy. While Elizabeth does come to understand the politics behind her relationships which become broken and conflicted, it does not lessen either the personal pain she felt or the political ramifications of this pain once Elizabeth takes the throne (Starkey D. , *Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne*, 2001).

The affection Edward and Elizabeth had for each other developed primarily during the time they lived under the care and tutelage of Katherine Parr, Henry VIII's sixth and last wife. Once Edward becomes king, Starkey describes the political use his

councilors had for facilitating the continuance of their close relationship. Starkey writes that the “Council’s principal motive in facilitating Elizabeth’s enrichment was to build her up as a rival to Mary” (Starkey D. , *Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne*, 2001, p. 100). Edward’s Council believed Elizabeth would be useful in building up Protestant resistance to a successor other than Mary, who was vehemently Catholic and next in line to follow Edward. The hope was that English citizens would be more favorable towards a succession coup against Mary if the successor was one who held a legitimate claim to the throne and was a member of the Tudor line by birth. What the Council ultimately doesn’t account for resulted in both the failure of their plan, and the end of good relations between Elizabeth, Edward, and Mary.

Elizabeth is described as possessing an “unshakeable sense of dynastic legitimacy” and through her love and respect for her father was also “passionately loyal to her father’s memory and wishes” (Starkey D. , *Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne*, 2001, p. 110). Edward’s Council did not fully understand the depths of Elizabeth’s loyalty and righteousness, nor did they understand Mary’s own loyalty to the Catholic religion over her siblings. These two elements incidentally work to foil the Council’s plot to overthrow Mary’s place in the succession following Edward. Mary’s personal religious choices being of utmost importance to her can be seen in the protest she mounts regarding the religious developments taking place so quickly into Edward’s reign as king in the fall of 1547 (Starkey D. , *Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne*, 2001). Mary continued to protest against the increasingly Protestant regulations being put forth. One particular incident during the Christmas holiday of 1550 illustrates the level the conflict

had risen to between Mary and Edward over religion. The incident is described by Starkey in the following way:

“The long-postponed showdown between Mary and the regime finally began at Christmas 1550. This time the family reunion, put off the previous year, actually took place, and Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth all gathered together for the festivities. But, as so often, Christmas turned into a time of family quarrels. Edward openly upbraided Mary for hearing mass in her chapel. Humiliated, Mary burst into tears. Later she went on the attack and informed Edward that he was not old enough to make up his own mind about something so important as religion. It was now Edward’s turn to dig in his heels and he demanded Mary’s obedience to his laws as both his sister and his subject. It was a stalemate.” (Starkey D. , Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne, 2001, pp. 101-102).

This account explains the escalation of the religious and also personal conflict between Edward and Mary. It is not until after this incident and stalemate that Elizabeth really jumps into the situation in her attempted role as mediator between her siblings. The conflict between Mary and Edward will remain a public conflict over religion as eventually, their warm personal affections appeared to continue, with Mary even continuing to “express an affection for Edward, which, as his godmother, she probably felt” (Starkey D. , Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne, 2001, p. 105). Yet the religious division would remain an ever-present force between them, and Elizabeth, as a Protestant herself and never one to ignore situations to improve her own position, believed that she was secure in her situation with Edward and his Council. For Elizabeth, along with being a genuine Protestant, also possessed the “warmest ties” with Edward, which are described

as mutual and warmly returned by Edward to Elizabeth (Starkey D. , Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne, 2001, p. 105). However, these ties will be severed in the months immediately preceding Edward's death, and Elizabeth will find her situation in grave danger along with her familial relationships.

Any political use Edward's Council had hoped for from the relationship of Edward and Elizabeth and Elizabeth's own ambitions, were found to be futile, and through the course of working towards their own political purposes, the relationship between Edward and Elizabeth would be severed. Edward and his Council come to understand the depth of loyalty Elizabeth possesses towards family and her firm adherence to dynastic legitimacy. Elizabeth would learn just how equally loyal Edward was to his evangelical Protestantism. Elizabeth experiences the removal from Edward early in the year 1553 when she received an order to cancel her visit to Edward. This normally wouldn't have been a cause for concern except "while Elizabeth was turned away from court, Mary was welcomed with honour" (Starkey D. , Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne, 2001, p. 108). Elizabeth does not yet understand what has taken place but later the events of the forced cancellation become evident.

The scheme that Edward and his Council had devised had ultimately one goal: maintain Protestantism at all costs, even if these costs included the ending of familial relationships and breaking the legitimacy of succession. Edward's original idea, and thus the need for developing close ties with Elizabeth, was to remove Mary Tudor from her place in the succession in favor of Elizabeth. However, Elizabeth's own professed loyalty and affection for her siblings and for the rightness of dynastic succession meant that Edward had to develop a new scheme. Edward, "who had been determined that May

would submit to his laws and his religion” now agreed to meet with Mary in order to ascertain her own position on religion before finalizing his scheme for altering the succession (Starkey D. , *Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne*, 2001, p. 110). Her invitation to court after Elizabeth’s had been cancelled was a futile attempt to persuade her to keep Protestantism as the national faith; Mary refused. Following this, Edward’s scheme meant removing his own sisters from their place in the succession. Mary, as she was a determined Catholic, had to be removed. Elizabeth, as Edward knew she would not agree to his scheme, had to be removed as well; Jane Grey would be the chosen successor (Starkey D. , *Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne*, 2001, p. 110). Edward’s reasoning was that “Elizabeth and Mary were bastards, of the half-blood, and might marry abroad. The Grey girls . . . were legitimate, of the whole blood, and learned Protestants” (Starkey D. , *Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne*, 2001, p. 114). Elizabeth, as a “bastard” would be heavily encouraged to marry an established, legitimate ruler from another country, which could ultimately weaken the radical Protestantism in England. Protestantism was ultimately more important to Edward than either of his sisters.

Between the primary sources cited above, and the description of Elizabeth’s actions and reactions as recorded in secondary sources, the pain that Elizabeth experienced at being shut out by her brother, bastardized, and removed from the line of succession, was a tremendous pain indeed. The letter Elizabeth had written to Edward in the spring of 1553, in which she intended “not to fear your grace’s goodwill” and to “trust will stick by me” was thrown back in her face (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, pp. 38-39). The affection Edward at one time had expressed and shown to his older half-sister had now “evaporated in the face of his burning [religious] conviction” (Starkey D. ,

Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne, 2001, p. 110). Edward would die just a couple months later, with the earlier affection between them never restored. Edward died with Elizabeth a bastardized half-sibling, a position of his own creation.

Mary and Elizabeth would both survive the attempted coup to remove the Tudor sisters and establish the Grey sisters as legitimate heirs, as there were many in England whom, like Elizabeth, supported the dynastic succession as intended, even though it would bring the Catholic daughter of Katherine of Aragon to the throne. Elizabeth's later actions show she never forgot the pain caused by Edward, and never forgave the Grey sisters for their involvement in her heartbreak – even the least of those involved in the plot were to spend their lives imprisoned in the Tower (Starkey D. , Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne, 2001). Spring of 1553 would be a defining moment for Elizabeth for it was through this that she realizes she could not “ever abide again the sort of advanced Protestantism which had led to Edward” to make these horrible decisions (Starkey D. , Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne, 2001, p. 117). Religion, was not supposed to break apart families; it was not supposed to be placed in higher consideration than a beloved family member, and legitimate successor to the throne. Unfortunately for Elizabeth, this would not be the only time this painful lesson would be learned. Mary would repeat much of the same decisions Edward had, with similar consequences – namely the heartbreak of Elizabeth – as well as cause fear and nearly bring about the death of Elizabeth.

Mary's ascension to the throne mirrored the end of Edward's reign in terms of its radical religious elements, and the detriment it brought to Elizabeth. Biographers have highlighted the nature of the relations between Mary and Elizabeth in the summer of

1553 and likened them to the nature of the relations between Edward and Mary in the second half of Edward's reign. In the public sphere, the relationship between Mary and Elizabeth appeared stable and absent of conflict. The public image was maintained just as it had been between Edward and Mary. However, privately, Elizabeth's discomfort was growing as Mary continued to exert enormous pressure on her to convert to Catholicism and to participate in Catholic services and ceremonies (Starkey D. , *Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne*, 2001). The pressure Elizabeth felt in this position was the same Mary had experienced from Edward when he pressured her to adopt Protestantism and recant Catholicism. The personal discomfort Mary felt just a few short years prior she was now forcing onto Elizabeth. Elizabeth, like Mary had been in the position, was caught between following her personal faith and being careful not to upset her queen. And like Edward before her, Mary was personally offended by the disobedience Elizabeth exhibited in her refusal to convert to Catholicism. As much as Elizabeth attempted to avoid and lessen conflict between herself and her siblings, this piece of evidence further suggests that Elizabeth truly was dedicated to Protestantism – otherwise the conversion to Catholicism would have been the much simpler and ultimately safer course.

Elizabeth's letters to Mary during the elder's reign indicated a lack of personal devotion and consideration for the younger. The events of Mary's reign during this time further illustrate the gulf that existed between the sisters; using Elizabeth's letters as a guide, it does appear as if the attempts to reestablish a relationship were one sided. Mary simply had other, more important matters to attend to. Mary's primary concern was getting England back on track for in her mind, England had been off course ever since

Anne Boleyn began to tempt her father and the attempted annulment of Henry from Katherine was made. Mary's mother, Katherine of Aragon, was the one and only true Queen of England, in Mary's opinion, with all other queens being false and the children of those illegal unions were simply illegitimate bastards. Further, Mary felt as if she endured twenty years of being pushed aside for these illegitimate half-siblings and was ready to restore her own position as the one true heir of Henry VIII and the savior of Catholicism in the realm (Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor*, 2009). As mentioned above, the Marian Parliament's first major act was to undo the years of Protestantism that had been in place. Parliament's Act made Catholicism the legal and official religion of the realm and with it, the Act repealed all of Edward's religious innovations, including doctrine and practice. Nothing of Protestantism remained intact under Mary's rule. This Act of Parliament legally validated the marriage of Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon which also made Mary the legitimate heir to the throne and bastardized Elizabeth. It is described that "it was after the passage of this act . . . that Mary's attitude to Elizabeth became overly hostile" (Starkey D. , *Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne*, 2001, p. 121). After the act legalized the way Mary thought and felt about her half-sister, she no longer had any reason to pretend to care for Elizabeth.

The hostility Mary felt for Elizabeth was offered a chance for an outlet with the failed Wyatt's rebellion which attempted to remove Mary from the throne and establish Elizabeth as queen. Elizabeth's indirect connection with Wyatt and the rebellion was enough to earn her a place in the Tower; Elizabeth's desperate letters to Mary while she's imprisoned show the genuine fear she feels while being held as prisoner. Biographer David Starkey describes Elizabeth's time in the Tower as Elizabeth's lowest point as it

led to the most dangerous and most difficult time of her life; Elizabeth was incredibly fearful of losing her life either by execution for attempted treason or by murder (Starkey D. , Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne, 2001). Elizabeth is not the only one who experiences fear in this situation; Mary herself has become a disliked monarch, one who has never really connected with the English people. As such, Mary is afraid of these rebellions as they are personal attacks against her which serve to threaten both Mary's throne and her life (Starkey D. , Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne, 2001, p. 129). As evidence mounted of Elizabeth's participation in the Wyatt rebellion, Elizabeth will have "descended from the second person in the kingdom to a suspected traitor" virtually overnight (Starkey D. , Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne, 2001, p. 139). This rebellion will be the final break in the relationship between Elizabeth and Mary. Not only will Elizabeth experience a change in attitude towards Mary as her letters indicate, but Mary's rage towards Elizabeth will develop such a deep and long-lasting hold.

Conclusion

Elizabeth experiences few close relationships throughout her life and each one leaves its imprint on the young princess, whether positive or negative. The relationships Elizabeth develops with Edward and Mary ultimately break down, leaving a negative legacy with Elizabeth which will greatly influence her future decisions. The break with Edward teaches Elizabeth that radical Protestantism breaks up close family relationships and alienates people. Elizabeth's break with Mary, which is an important turning point in that it nearly brings the end of Elizabeth's life, reiterates the lessons she's learned from Edward, while showing Elizabeth how increasingly dangerous and violent radical religion can be. Overall, the broken relationships Elizabeth faces bring her to the lowest

points of her life, which is where Elizabeth develops some of her most important convictions regarding religious policy.

Chapter 6: Research Findings

The purpose of this study was to examine factors which influenced Elizabeth's decision to develop the Act of Uniformity in 1559, and to examine Elizabeth's usage of her role as queen in fostering nationalism in the ebbing of religious conflict. The factors under examination regarding the 1559 Act of Uniformity were gender conflict, which includes the role of women, and religious conflict which includes the conflict perpetuated by her family members in their respective tenures as monarchs of England.

Purpose for the Historical Archival Analysis

Assessing the decision to enact a broad religious settlement by analyzing the factors that led to its creation is the basis of the research within this dissertation. Considering the historical constraints placed upon Elizabeth as Queen, the passage of the 1559 Act of Uniformity becomes even more monumental both its implementation and its significance. The research findings for this study are explained through the application of the themes presented and discussed in previous chapters. Primary sources were carefully read, analyzed, coded and categorized in the discovery and connection of themes. Secondary sources were then consulted for the purpose of analyzing the context of events surrounding the individual primary sources in order to corroborate and validate the thematic analysis. The two major themes, mother-daughter relations and the brokenness of significant relationships, offer important pieces in consideration of the specific research questions.

Summary of Findings for Research Question 1

The first research question for this study was: How did gender conflict and the role of women shape Elizabeth's decision to develop the 1559 Act of Uniformity? The

analysis of Elizabeth's personal letters revealed two important themes which help to address and answer this question. Elizabeth's letters, and the themes that emerge from them, bring much insight into Elizabeth's actions to reject marriage and childbearing, unite her people under one religion, and to rule over them as both a mother and a monarch.

Theme 1 analyzes the various mother-daughter relationships Elizabeth possessed and the degree to which these relationships taught her different aspects of womanhood. As she learned from the various mother figures in her life, the roles and actions which society required a woman to undertake seldom worked out for the women in the royal family. These lessons, most of which were unintentionally taught, heavily impacted Elizabeth. As noted in the review of the content literature, women in the 16th century maintained a place of inferiority compared to men; this included women in royal families. Women's inferiority was firmly established in Christian theology through the story of Adam and Eve; this inferiority was reemphasized with a focus on domestic duties once Protestantism took root (Wiesner-Hanks, 2008) (MacCulloch D. , *The Reformation: A History*, 2003). Once she took up residence with Katherine Parr, Henry VIII's last wife, Elizabeth would become exposed to the true meaning of a devout Protestant woman who understood her role and position.

Katherine Parr demonstrated the role of a loving wife and mother which Protestantism emphasized in its theology. While Catholicism required celibacy of its clergy and celebrated the virtue of virginity, Protestantism established the spiritual relationship between husbands and wives; a godly woman was one whom was submissive to her husband, a righteous role model to her children, and whom served her household

through adherence to the traditional gender roles. Theme 1 illustrates the mother-daughter bond that had formed between Katherine and Elizabeth. For the first few years of their relationship, Katherine did an effective job at showing Elizabeth the required behaviors for women and ensured that Elizabeth received the best education possible in both her school studies and her religious studies. In one of the letters from Elizabeth to Katherine, much evidence exists of Elizabeth's personal acceptance and devotion to the Protestant faith. The various letters from Elizabeth to Katherine also demonstrate her own attempts to be a godly daughter to her new stepmother.

Yet after the death of Henry VIII in 1547, the lessons Elizabeth learns from Katherine end up shattering her earlier illusions of the role of women and showed instead the harsh reality that existed for women who were wives and mothers. One of the most devastating moments for Elizabeth was the end of her relationship with Katherine, following the sordid Seymour affair. Although Elizabeth was only a young teenager and also part of the royal bloodline, Elizabeth is the one who receives the punishment for the inappropriate actions between her and Seymour. Elizabeth is banished from their household and lives without any parental guidance. From the letters of Elizabeth which follow this encounter, this break had a devastating impact on her. Her health declined, as she wrote in a letter to her brother Edward, and she remained ill for some time after leaving her stepmother's house.

Elizabeth learns many valuable lessons from this. First, she learns that in the face of conflict, as the inferior gender, Elizabeth or any woman is likely to receive the blame or punishment resulting from such conflict. This could have devastating effects when considering the possible international relations once Elizabeth herself would become

queen. This could also have other intrapersonal implications as Elizabeth would be at a position of disadvantage as a woman. The second lesson she learns is of the painful truths of marriage. Elizabeth loses her own mother at the age of three, Anne being executed for adulterous treason; Henry's fifth wife Katherine Howard would meet the same fate. Edward's mother Jane Seymour did not get to raise her own child as she died in childbirth. Katherine Parr meets the same fate when she dies just a week or so after her and Thomas Seymour's child is born. In watching the various mother figures around her, Elizabeth learns that marriage for women in the 16th century is not a position of equality, power or even of longevity. Marriages and the situations surrounding them are decided by the male figure. Once a woman agrees to a marriage, she is now under the dominion of her husband, and her role is to be the godly wife – submissive to her husband and his desires, even if those desires might cost the wife her life. Elizabeth is put-off by the idea of marriage at a young age, and never seriously considers entering into a marriage agreement with anyone – no matter her personal feelings.

Yet Elizabeth fully understands the requirements and expectations of her gender and uses that to full advantage once she becomes queen. Although Elizabeth has no genuine intention to find a mate and thus relinquish her power as queen, she is mentally astute enough to understand that using her hand in marriage as a bargaining tool puts England in a state of power as other countries seek her hand in order to strengthen their own power. If Elizabeth were to marry, all of her bargaining power would be gone. Her gamble pays off; while the other European powers believe there is yet a chance to be joined with England through marriage with the queen, none of them form a direct threat against her.

Theme 2 offers more insight into Elizabeth's decision to develop the Act of Uniformity. Besides the loss of relationship with her stepmother Katherine, Elizabeth experiences broken relationships and conflicts with both of her siblings. While the conflict between them is primarily over religion, there are still elements that serve to reaffirm Elizabeth's lessons, and subsequently, her thoughts and decisions about gender and marriage. Edward, as the only male heir of their shared father, possesses all of the power even though he is the youngest of the three siblings. Elizabeth and Mary will both be bastardized by their brother and lose their place in the succession, a situation which would never have occurred if there wasn't a gender difference. Edward, even though he is only a young boy, is considered king in his own right. Edward's councilors were an important part of England's governance during his reign, but there was no question of his legitimacy to rule. Mary, however, was a different story. Mary is the oldest of the three siblings, and as she was the first born child to Henry VIII, should have been considered the most legitimate of the Tudor children. Yet, as Mary was a female, her place in the line of succession was behind Edward. Sons had the preference while daughters remained inferior to them. After Edward passed away, Mary still had to fight for the crown as Edward's legislation had named Lady Jane Grey his successor. Once she takes the crown, and is formally crowned, Mary is still not given the same reverence as Edward had. While Edward was king in his own right, Mary's advisors expected her immediately to find a husband, so that England could be properly governed. The message was clear: a country governed by an unwed queen is in a state of weakness. Marriage is the only way to overcome this weakness. The idea was that once Mary was wed, her "weak" female qualities would be balanced out; further, once she was wed, her husband would officially

be king of England. Although Mary was the legitimate ruler of her country, marriage put her in a place of submission to her husband, and gave him much say in the governance of her country.

Elizabeth, being astute and clever, would have seen the differences in the royal proceedings which occurred due to their gender. She also witnessed the conflict which occurred in Mary's court regarding the marriage negotiations, and the impact her choice had on the constituents of England. Once Mary accepted the offer of marriage from Philip II of Spain, their union presented a picture of the reassertion of Catholicism in England, and Western Europe. However, although Mary was expected to wed, her choice of husband and king for England did not satisfy her people. Mary experienced great criticism from the English people and her advisors over her choice of mate. There was much concern over a Spanish takeover of England, as well as concerns of Mary and Philip using England to build up the Spanish Empire. Marriage had not lessened the conflict in England, it had only worsened it. Mary's legitimacy, which was supposed to be strengthened through the act of marriage and giving England a king, only destabilized the country. Elizabeth sees the lack of unity in England which stems from these actions, and this will impact her own decisions as Queen.

In terms of the Act of Uniformity, gender conflict and the role of women played an important role in Elizabeth's thoughts behind it. Elizabeth witnessed how the role of a Queen had the potential to destabilize the country. By the time Elizabeth had become queen, she had already internally decided that she does not want to marry. Yet Elizabeth also does not want her country to be divided. The Act of Uniformity which was passed in 1559 was originally one half of legislation Elizabeth wanted to pass. Originally, the Act

of Uniformity was combined with the Act of Supremacy into one piece of legislation. Conflict from the Catholic members of the House of Lords in Parliament required her to break the act into two smaller, separate pieces which became the separate Act of Uniformity (1559) and the Act of Supremacy (1559). The intention of both of these was to present Elizabeth as Queen, who was legitimate in her own right, and to bring the country together. Conflict in England at the time of her coronation was primarily religious; yet the undertones of gender conflict remained. Right before Mary died and Elizabeth was crowned, a Protestant preacher named John Knox had finished his pamphlet titled *The Fire Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*. This pamphlet, as the name implies, spoke heavily against the idea of a female in a position of authority.

With the Act of Uniformity, Elizabeth hopes to minimize conflict. She despises conflict and has personal experience with its devastating consequences, as revealed through the thematic analysis. The two primary types of conflict in England at the time were religious conflict and gender conflict. Elizabeth strived to lessen conflict in both areas through her Act of Uniformity. She desired to unify England and bring its people together. Knowing that as a woman, her rule would bring debate whether or not she was married. Elizabeth chose not to marry, to rule as a Virgin Queen, and worked to draw the English people to her. Though she would not have children of her own, she was still a mother – a mother to the English people.

Summary of Findings for Research Question 2

The second research question for this study was: How did existing religious conflict shape Elizabeth's decision to develop the 1559 Act of Uniformity? This question

focuses on the religious conflict between Catholics and Protestants which developed as a result of the Protestant Reformation. The religious conflict is felt internationally, domestically and interpersonally. For Elizabeth, it is the interpersonal and domestic conflict which has the most significance personally, and has the greatest impact on her choices.

Theme 1 analyzes the mother-daughter relationships Elizabeth had throughout her young life. Elizabeth's biological mother was the second of Henry's six wives, and the events surrounding Elizabeth's conception and birth were founded in religious conflict and would continue impacting the nature of her future relationships. Religious conflict permeated every familial relationship Elizabeth established. Elizabeth's first motherly relationship was short lived as Anne was executed when Elizabeth was just three; however her memories of her mother were impacted by the pervading religious conflict as theme 1 discusses. Elizabeth had to hear frequent mentions of her mother as a "whore" and a "heretic." Elizabeth also experienced the inconsistency of her own status due to the religious conflict in England. Catholics considered her a bastard since they did not recognize the divorce of Katherine of Aragon and Henry VIII as legal and subsequently Henry's marriage to Anne Boleyn was not recognized, making Elizabeth an illegitimate princess. As Elizabeth grows up, Protestantism is truly the only religious choice she has, as it's the only option for her to have a legitimate claim to the throne.

Elizabeth's devotion to Protestantism was more than just political, as the analysis of Katherine Parr and Elizabeth's relationship shows. As Elizabeth grew ever closer to Katherine, Elizabeth's religious and secular education developed simultaneously. Elizabeth's letters to Katherine illustrate a deep religious devotion and Katherine's own

example of religious piety is one way in which Elizabeth desired to emulate her stepmother. As analysis shows, Elizabeth frequently references her soul's dependence on God and reiterates her strength of belief in Protestantism's core theology of salvation through faith. The religious devotion of the Tudor children was heartfelt and deep and would serve as the basis for the interpersonal conflict Elizabeth experienced. Edward was devoted to his evangelical Protestantism, just as Mary was strictly devoted to Catholicism. Religion would be the catalyst for the severing of the sibling relationships which heavily impacted Elizabeth and brought her to the lowest points of her life. Elizabeth's mother-daughter relationships, especially her close relationship with Katherine Parr, are what brings her to a deep Protestant devotion. Unfortunately, as theme 2 illustrates, religious devotion perpetuates the conflict between Elizabeth and her siblings.

Theme 2 analyzes the broken relationships Elizabeth experiences throughout her life before she comes to the throne. These broken relationships have an important impact on her and teach her different lessons, including the importance and power of religion as well as the value of unity over division and conflict. The analysis first shows the close relationship Edward and Elizabeth had both before his reign and during the early part of his tenure as king. One thing which strengthened their relationship was the devotion they each held to the Protestant theology. Frequently Elizabeth mentions asking Providence to watch over Edward as he struggles with poor health throughout his reign. Their mutual devotion will not be enough to save their relationship as religious conflict in the realm has implications for the continuation of the throne, and Elizabeth is caught in the middle of political power plays which result in the severance of her and Edward's closeness.

While Edward was king, Elizabeth watched the country become increasingly radical in its form of Protestantism. Edward had two different versions of the Prayer Book restructured and published, with the 1552 version being more radical than the 1549 version. As radicalism increased in England, the country itself became more internally divided, as those aligned with Catholicism felt increasingly ostracized and their safety threatened. This division was also present within the Tudor family. The letters from Elizabeth to both Edward and Mary between 1549 and Edward's death in 1553 show the increasing conflict between Edward and Mary as Edward tries to force Mary to adopt Protestantism and Mary remains firm in her resolve to keep observing the Mass in her own household. Elizabeth witnesses radical Protestantism divide her country and her household. Because of the religious conflict between Edward and Mary, and Elizabeth's own sense of loyalty, when Edward acts to have Mary removed from the line of succession for her Catholic beliefs, he simultaneously removes Elizabeth. This act which makes Elizabeth a legally recognized bastard, causes Elizabeth deep emotional pain. Religious conflict divided her family and was the reason for the loss of her brother. This is a painful lesson which she does not forget and which will heavily influence her decision in the Act of Uniformity.

While Mary was queen, the religious conflict in England intensified, and this time it presented more of a direct threat to Elizabeth's freedom and her life. As soon as Mary became queen, she immediately worked to overturn all forms of Protestantism in England, beginning with the events and ceremony of Edward's funeral. Mary's policies drove many Protestants away from court; Elizabeth herself expressed her desire to be away from Mary's court as the pressure and discomfort was growing with every passing

day as seen in Elizabeth's written communication to her cousin Katherine Knollys. The discomfort for Elizabeth grew as Mary's Parliament had Elizabeth legally declared a bastard and outlawed all forms of Protestantism; Mary herself continually pressured Elizabeth to convert to Catholicism and reject Protestantism. In one of her letters, Elizabeth indicates her fear that her personal devotion to Protestantism may cost her life. Elizabeth was personally devastated to know that Mary, her own half-sister, would choose religion over her own blood, and even more devastated that religious choice was a reason to cost someone their life.

Elizabeth did not lose her life over her religious choice, but for the entirety of Mary's reign, Elizabeth lived in terror that any day would be her last. Besides her choice of Protestantism, Elizabeth's name was circulated as part of the Wyatt rebellion which attempted to remove Mary from the throne. This rebellion had religious motives at the center of it; the leaders and supporters of the Wyatt rebellion desired to see a Protestant monarch back on the throne. All of those associated with the Wyatt rebellion were arrested, and most were executed. Mary did not stop there; she earned her historical nickname "Bloody Mary" for the many persecutions and burnings of Protestants which took place during her reign. As Mary's prisoner in the Tower, Elizabeth heard news of the ongoing arrests, persecutions and executions which took occurred under Mary's orders. Regular English citizens were caught up in a political struggle which transcended religion.

Elizabeth's letters written during the time of her imprisonment indicate the absolute fear and terror she felt being confined to the Tower. Her desperation seeps through her words to her sister, pleading for a face-to-face meeting with Mary in order to

clear her name. This imprisonment will be the event which completes the break between Mary and Elizabeth as sisters. Between the complete break in their relationship, and the period of imprisonment in the Tower, this time period became an important turning point for Elizabeth. The break in the relationship with Edward had already negatively impacted Elizabeth and her thoughts on religion in England, and the events with Mary only served to solidify Elizabeth's convictions. Elizabeth has had both of her sibling relationships torn apart, and religion was at the heart of the conflict leading to the painful breaks.

In terms of the Act of Uniformity, existing religious conflict played an enormous role in Elizabeth's decision to push for its creation and passage in Parliament.

Domestically, Elizabeth witnessed how the religious conflict divided the people of England, leading to division, persecution, and numerous executions during the reigns of her siblings. Elizabeth personally understood the terror the English people felt being on the wrong side of the monarch's religious preference. Elizabeth saw firsthand how a monarch's choice in religion above all other matters in the country was contrary to its progress. On an interpersonal level, religious conflict showed Elizabeth the destructive power it possessed. Religious conflict broke up relationships and destroyed families. Religious conflict led to violence. Religious conflict led to personal terror, persecution and death. These were all effects Elizabeth longed to see ended with her Act of Uniformity.

With the Act of Uniformity, Elizabeth desired to unify the country in terms of religion which was a policy of a different road than her predecessors had taken. Having seen what radicalism on both sides had produced, Elizabeth realized it was the best for her to take a middle road in religious matters. Radical Protestantism and Radical

Catholicism were both bad decisions for England and her people. Being a devoted Protestant, Elizabeth was not going to follow a policy of religious toleration where the English people would get to choose their own religion. Like other monarchs of the 16th century, Elizabeth believed the traditional view that a state religion was unifying for the people and the country as a whole. Therefore the best choice in Elizabeth's mind was that of a moderate religious settlement. The Act of Uniformity officially made Protestantism the state religion and removed many of the theological tenets of Catholicism. Although Protestantism was the official religion, it was not radical the way it had been under Edward. Most of the changes were small or invisible to the general English population; the intent of this was to keep as much stability as possible. To the majority of people in England, things appeared much the same which offered the appearance of stability. This stability was what Elizabeth hoped for; it brought unity to the people and mitigated the religious conflict for nearly the entirety of her long reign as queen.

Summary of Findings for Research Question 3

The third research question for this study was: How did Elizabeth use her role as a female monarch to foster English nationalism and help mitigate religious conflict? This question focuses on the role that Elizabeth takes while Queen of England and looks at her ability to use that role in developing an early form of English nationalism in the form of a unified, proud, English identity among the citizens of the English nation. In order to answer this research question the intentions of Elizabeth, as revealed through the answering of the previous research questions, must be understood, in order to fully comprehend the role Elizabeth adopts as queen of the English people.

The first research question focused on the influence of gender conflict and women's roles while the second research question focused on the influence of religious conflict; both of these questions sought to evaluate the extent of influence these issues had on Elizabeth's decision to develop the 1559 Act of Uniformity. What the two themes in this study revealed was that both the existing religious conflict at the time and the assumptions and expectations of Elizabeth's adherence to traditional gender roles were incredibly influential to her decision to develop the Act of Uniformity. Beyond just the Act of Uniformity, however, what the analysis reveals is that these issues were influential in guiding the course of Elizabeth's reign as a whole rather than just this one important area. Elizabeth will take the lessons she has learned from her mother-daughter relationships as well as the heartache from her broken relationships with her siblings and offer to the people of England what she herself never had; Elizabeth will become "married" to her country and play the role of "mother" to its people offering the English citizens consistency, stability and unity. This unity she brings to the country is crucial in the development of the English national identity, which serves as the basis for later English nationalism.

Theme 1 addresses the important mother-daughter roles which Elizabeth was influenced by and the impact these roles had on her personal and religious development in her earlier life. Witnessing what her various mother figures went through both as married women and as mothers, affected Elizabeth in such a way that she did not desire to marry. Prior to even taking the throne of England, Elizabeth had already decided that marriage was not for her. She understands that as a woman, her country and her council expect her to fulfill the traditional female gender role; that of a wife and mother. She also

understands, that as an unmarried woman who has the entire kingdom of England as a marriage prize, that her virginity and the potential of offering her hand in marriage, is her single most valuable bargaining tool. Elizabeth, then, decides she will fulfill the 16th century gender roles but in her own way, by changing the way in which she becomes a wife and mother.

Through the witnessing of her different mother figures losing their lives at the whim of her father, or as a result of bringing a child into the world, Elizabeth decides that the traditional role of wife or mother is not for her. Women who were married were inferior to their husbands, and had to submit to them. As her beloved stepmother Katherine Parr had given her access to a Renaissance education, and Elizabeth had witnessed this strong woman governing court in Henry's absence, Elizabeth does not buy into the inferiority aspect, nor does she desire for her life to be governed by a potential husband. Along with disagreeing with the inferiority aspect, Elizabeth was not comfortable giving herself completely over to another person, which would take energy away from her governance of her kingdom. By the time Elizabeth becomes queen following the death of her sister Mary, Elizabeth has adopted a maternal role towards the people of her country.

Elizabeth defines her role and makes her sentiments towards her country and people immediately clear as she addresses the topic in her first speech to Parliament which she delivered February 10, 1559. In her speech she states "But when the public charge of governing the kingdom came upon me, it seemed unto me an inconsiderate folly to draw upon myself the cares which might proceed of marriage. To conclude, I am already bound unto an husband, which is the kingdom of England, and that may suffice

you” (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 59). Here Elizabeth makes it clear that her vow and commitment is to England. It is then recorded that after giving this statement, she stretched out her hand to the members of Parliament to show “them the ring with which she was given in marriage and inaugurated to her kingdom” (Marcus, Mueller, & Rose, 2000, p. 59). Although it would not make her Privy Council happy, Elizabeth was determined to play the roles of wife and mother, but only to her country and to her people. Those closest to her described her as being “wed only to her kingdom and a mother to her people” (Levin, 2013, p. 64).

It is through this maternal role Elizabeth adopts over her citizens that she is able to foster a unified national English identity which would be the basis for later English nationalism. Between the maternal role she adopts, and the Act of Uniformity which is passed just a few short months after her February speech, Elizabeth is able to unify the people of England. In adopting the maternal role on top of her title as queen, Elizabeth impresses upon her people the importance of unity of religion. She is willing to do what no other monarch has yet done in England; she is ready and willing to put the overall good of the country, and her people, ahead of her personal religious preference. Her experiences with Edward and Mary and their desires for religion over the good of the country have left a lasting impression on Elizabeth. She will not divide the country over religion as her two siblings had done before her. Elizabeth’s desire for resolution of religious conflict and unity is much greater than her desire to enforce her version of Christianity onto the people. The English people accept the Act of Uniformity and accept their new Queen with a breath of fresh air. As a country, the English people are tired of the radicalism, they are fearful of religious persecution, and they desire a monarch who

will truly govern them as one of them. Elizabeth takes her lessons from her earlier years, adopts the role of mother over her people, and brings them together in religious unity. Finally, the sense of being English will be a more important characteristic in England than will be the labeling of one as Protestant or Catholic.

Chapter 7: Contributions & Modern Applications

Contributions of Study Findings

This research provides information to assist in understanding both gender and religious conflict and developing a lens through which to consider modern conflict situations and potential policy implications. By analyzing the factors which influenced a state leader in choosing a moderate religious settlement, resulting in relief of the pre-existing religious conflict, and unifying the country under a banner of national identity rather than separate and conflicting religious identities, research is better able to explain the choices a leader makes and the implications of those choices in directing their state. The goal of the research was to explain the factors influencing Elizabeth I's choice in implementing a moderate religious policy in order to reveal more of an explanation for where to develop a new approach to help mitigate existing religious and gender conflict.

A significant contribution from this research study is the development of a lens through which helps to explain the need for a new approach to resolving existing religious conflict. Many of the deadliest conflicts around the world illustrate this need for a new approach in viewing the role religion plays in human conflict disputes and a need to understand possible approaches in dealing with these conflict disputes. Research findings give rough estimates that two-thirds of the world's population identify as being part of a religious group (Moix, 2006). Of the earth's 7.4 billion people, 2.1 billion (31%) of these identify as Christian, while 1.6 billion (23%) identify as Muslims (World Religion Population). In addition to this, many states with a predominant percentage of their population identifying as religious also have moderate to high religious intolerance (World Religion Population). With religion playing a part of the lives of two-thirds of

people in the world, it also plays a significant role in many of the conflict disputes around the world. Due to the enormity of cases where violent conflict and religion have become intertwined, it is imperative that an understanding of religious conflict and options for resolution become part of the general theory and practice of conflict and dispute resolution (Moix, 2006). Both historical cases and current cases illustrate the need for increased understanding in this area.

The research study shows that state leaders who focus on following divisive religious policies succeed only in further dividing their own people and bringing about increased conflict. Elizabeth's experiences reveal that divisive religious policies, as followed by both of her siblings, one Protestant and one Catholic, resulted in increased domestic turmoil, interpersonal conflict within the Tudor family, and affected international relations. Likewise, the research study shows that religious division and conflict can be overcome through a policy of moderate uniformity. Though Elizabeth was personally devoted to her religious beliefs, ultimately she recognized the division within her country, longed to heal that division and so focused on a policy which would allow the two sides to live together peacefully. This did not mean that either side changed their personal religious preferences, but rather their differences of religion were lessened through their shared identity of English constituents. By creating a situation where both religious theologies could exist and diverting attention away from their religious differences, it brought the people together. Neither religion was pronounced right in the dispute nor was either religion pronounced wrong. The focus on shared identity and unity versus divisiveness was key.

Another aspect of understanding this research is to consider the implications this research has towards gender roles in positions of power. There were expectations of how Elizabeth should be and act as a ruler that stemmed directly from her female sex. The inferiority of the female sex in the 16th century played a significant part in the Tudor family conflict and in the different relationships they held with one another. Women, as the inferior sex, were held to different standards of behavior and morality as well as different expectations about what they were and were not capable of. These different standards and expectations had detrimental effects on the Tudor family, and significantly impacted Elizabeth's personal development, specifically her ideas about marriage and children. Elizabeth's success in constructing and implementing the Act of Uniformity was ultimately accomplished through her ability to take traditional expectations of her gender and transform them to the political realm. To clarify, Elizabeth still had to be a wife and mother, but she accomplished this in the political realm by treating England as her husband, and the English people as her children. Although Elizabeth's goal in the Act of Uniformity was ultimately accomplished, the fact that she had to reject traditional gender roles placed upon women in order to be successful highlights an important area of conflict resolution studies.

Gender conflict and the family continues to be one area within modern conflict resolution studies that progress needs to be made. Although gender equality has made significant progress in the last century, gender conflict research illustrates areas in which progress is lacking. The 16th century notion of separate work spheres with women responsible for the domestic work and men responsible for professional work has changed as increasing numbers of women over the past centuries have joined the labor

market (Steil & Hoffman, 2006). While the family work roles have changed and the boundaries have become more blurred, current research findings reveal that “across all cultures women continue to experience more family work conflict than men and conflict is a more salient feature of their work life than it is for men” (Steil & Hoffman, 2006, p. 231). The social-cultural beliefs regarding the importance of the female role in the raising and care of the child have not drastically changed over time. Women who desire to be successful at their jobs usually experience conflict in the balancing of their work and domestic responsibilities while women who desire to focus energy on their domestic duties experience less career opportunities than women who neglect the traditional domestic role. The social message has not changed significantly from Elizabeth’s time: women who desire to be wives and mothers do not fit into the professional work environment, and those women who desire to join the professional work environment will struggle to perform domestic roles.

The research study reveals the effect that interpersonal conflict and personal choices can have both on an individual and their family, and on society as a whole. Elizabeth, by taking on the role of wife to her country, and mother to her people, provides valuable insight for conflict resolution. Upon becoming queen, Elizabeth proclaimed her decision to rule over all of England. Where Edward chose to govern Protestants and persecute Catholics, and Mary chose to govern Catholics and persecute Protestants, Elizabeth instead chose to govern all of her people. This is the key to England’s unity at the start of her reign. State leaders and politicians would be well served to understand that an important element in bringing cohesiveness to the people and earning their loyalty is to choose to govern all of the people they represent and not cater to their own political

party or interest group. Elizabeth put aside her personal preferences and made choices which were best for her country as a whole and her people loved and respected her. This aspect is as relevant today as it was in the 16th century.

This research study can help provide a basis of historical understanding to conflict resolution researchers and specialists, specifically in the areas of gender, religious and even familial conflict studies. Chronicling the effects of gender and religious conflict on a person's decisions can offer an important foundation in seeking ways to help mitigate current conflict. Conflict resolution specialists in all areas seek to understand the root of existing conflicts, including intrapersonal, interpersonal, and international factors that caused the conflict. The basis of conflict resolution is centered on the notion that to resolve a conflict, one must first understand the root causes, and then work to remove those causes. Further, this research study reveals the national and international implications stemming from interpersonal conflict.

How This Research Can Help

This research study offers important lessons to our modern-day world in two key areas; it offers an example of the necessity of separating political decisions from religious preference, and it illustrates that while gender equality has made significant progress it still has a long way to go. As the modern political atmosphere continually debates the role of the church and religion in political affairs, this research is relevant. As the Women's March took place on January 21, 2017, it shows again that this research is relevant in gender studies.

One of the longest standing themes in world history is the role the church and religion play in political decisions. States and political leaders throughout history have

used religion as their basis for a political platform and to make decisions. Laws in various states are often determined by a moral code based on religious principles, whether Christian, Muslim, Hindu, etc. Within the United States, for example, many conservative Republican leaders use religion as the basis for guiding their political stances on the abortion debate and the issue of gay rights. Conservative Republican leaders often focus on the religious element behind these issues rather than focus on the people impacted by their political decisions. The segment of the American population which follows the same religious ideology often feels their interests are served, while many others in the American population does not feel their interests are served. This research, as it reveals that Elizabeth did not proclaim either religious preference to be right or wrong, does not seek to imply that political parties based on religious ideology are right or wrong. What is important to note from this study is that political decisions based on religious preferences only divide the population rather than unify it. State leaders and politicians who desire to resolve disputes from conflicting groups within their population would be well served to follow Elizabeth's model of mothering *all* her people.

As the lessons from Elizabeth's life demonstrate, political decisions based on religious preferences serves only to divide the country's people. Elizabeth witnessed this phenomenon during both her brother Edward's and her sister Mary's reigns. Once she became queen, Elizabeth tried what no one else in her family had attempted as monarchs; she put her personal religious preferences aside, and implemented legislation which was the right choice for her people. Elizabeth put her personal religious preferences aside in order to bring her people together. Modern state leaders would be well served to consider Elizabeth's decisions and the impact they had. Basing political decisions solely on

personal religious choices alienates a large portion of the country's constituents and creates division between those who agree with the religious ideology and those who don't. For the sake of the unity of their people, politicians may be best served by not letting their personal religious preferences guide their political legislation.

This research study can also help in showing the lack of change for women in positions of power. In order for Elizabeth to be most successful, she had to step away from a traditional female role. Although her Privy Council consistently pushed her to marry and provide an heir for England, Elizabeth knew that she could not successfully play both the role of a traditional mother and child and play the role of a monarch. Elizabeth had to choose between the female, domestic role and the male, monarchial role. As queen of England, although she placated the Council by stating she was married to England and would be a mother to the English people, she also operated under male qualities – living by her statement that she had the heart and stomach of a king. On one hand it is easy to claim that the role of women has significantly advanced since the time of Elizabeth's reign, yet current examples indicate there is much progress still to be made.

This research study reveals that gender expectations do more to hinder progress than they do to facilitate social progress. The study also shows that while the overall inequality between men and women has improved somewhat, gender inequality still remains a global issue today. As previously mentioned, women continue to experience more family work conflict than men do. There are various social debates which illustrate this statement including: economic opportunity and wage discrepancies, access to upper-level management and executive positions, the access to and affordability of women's

reproductive healthcare, and the debates about expanding the Family Medical Leave Act to allow women paid time off after giving birth. All of these issues indicate that society continues to be structured towards a male preference.

In the United States, some of the most prominent female political leaders today still face the same interpersonal conflict that Elizabeth did over four hundred years ago. Leaders such as Hillary Clinton, Elizabeth Warren, Sarah Palin, and Condoleezza Rice experience the dissonance of being both a woman and a strong political leader. As politicians, these women are not known for their traditional roles of wives and mothers; their successes come from their political accomplishments – accomplishments they could only attain through putting their traditional domestic duties in a secondary position while they focused on their political roles. Some historians have argued that the primary difference between the levels of success these four women have achieved stems from their differing abilities to push aside the domestic roles as they pursue their political careers. These women have had to take on more of the traditional male roles in their rise to power, acting as men in many instances in order to achieve their political success.

This is not meant to put a slight on the women that choose their careers or politics over fulfilling the domestic female role; rather it is meant to demonstrate the interpersonal conflict which remains for many women. In order to develop a new approach to helping resolve the increased amount of work conflict women experience over men, it must first be recognized that gender roles and expectations remains a prevalent place in American society. For women to be successful in arenas which are usually held and dominated by men, these women must focus on fulfilling the male roles

rather than their female roles. This research study is important in revealing how little has actually changed for women in positions of power.

Future Research

This research reveals truths about the role of gender and religious conflict in the 16th century and offers implications about modern American society. Future research would be well served to focus on a comparative analysis of female rulers in modern times for the purpose of theory development. What is the experience of female rulers in modern times, and do they have some shared experiences which would serve to offer a basis for theory development? As women in the United States continue to push for women's equality in various arenas, a future research study to effectively highlight the differences between men and women in the political arena would be instrumental in the movement for true equality.

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