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I

**‘Elizabeth’s Ghost: The afterlife of
the Queen in Stuart England’**

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Elizabeth's Ghost: The afterlife of the Queen in Stuart England

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Abstract: Toward the end of **James I's** reign John Reynolds' 1624 pamphlet, *Vox Coeli*, or News from Heaven, presents **Queen Elizabeth I** discussing England's contemporary events with her father, her siblings, Anne of Denmark and Prince Henry. The heavenly Elizabeth supports a strong and militaristic England and is critical of the current king. In the latter part of the seventeenth century Elizabeth was presented as a Protestant heroine in contrast to the Catholic James, Duke of York, later **James II**. But there is one Stuart successor who is connected positively to Elizabeth. In 1706 in the reign of the last Stuart monarch Elizabeth made another appearance in "Queen Elizabeths Ghost: or A Dream." Unlike the earlier Elizabeth, this one praises **Queen Anne**, rather King James as her worthy successor. This paper examines a range of sources to further understand the impact **Elizabeth I's afterlife** had in the century after her death both in terms of politics and religion, and the perceptions of powerful women.

This is an essay about Queen Elizabeth I's ghost – and I am using that term both as what ghost usually means, but also as a way of discussing Elizabeth's afterlife.¹ The depiction of Elizabeth as a ghost in the conventional sense occurred throughout the Stuart Age as the Queen returned to earth as a Protestant nationalist heroine or sat in heaven and observed what went on in the world. Politically, this veneration of Elizabeth was an indirect method of condemning the policies of her Stuart successors or praising a Stuart queen by comparison. Though this is an essay about Elizabeth's ghost, I begin this essay in 1588 when the queen was very much alive and facing one of the most serious crises of her reign: the threatened Spanish invasion. At Tilbury Elizabeth showed her most martial and patriotic self. She gave a famous speech to encourage the troops. The text, as it survived in the seventeenth century, records her saying:

I may have the body of a weak and feeble woman, but the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too, and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realm; to which rather than any dishonour shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms, I myself will be your general.²

¹ This essay is indebted to and in conversation with John Watkins, *Representing Elizabeth in Stuart England: Literature, History, Sovereignty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Michael Dobson and Nicola J. Watson, *England's Elizabeth: An Afterlife in Fame and Fantasy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Julia M. Walker, *The Elizabethan Icon: 1603-2003* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); *Resurrecting Elizabeth in Seventeenth-Century England*, eds. Elizabeth Hageman and Katherine Conway (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University, 2007); and Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009). I am deeply grateful to Catherine Loomis and Estelle Parangue for reading this essay and for their excellent suggestions, to the anonymous readers, and to Jonathan Walker for his great help in locating a source.

² The speech is in a letter from Dr. Sharp to the Duke of Buckingham printed in *Cabala, Mysteries of State and Government in Letters of Illustrious Persons and Great Ministers of State as well Forreign as Domestick* (London, 1663), 373.

The crowd who heard her was most enthusiastic. As Sir Ralph Sadler put it: "O happy people in such a princess, and happy princess in such a people!"³ In the century that followed, this speech became the touchstone for perceptions of Elizabeth as the great English Protestant queen, standing firm against the foreign Catholic aggressor. In his seventeenth-century biography of Elizabeth, William Camden described how

the Queen with a masculine Spirit came and took a View of her
Army and Camp at Tilbury, and riding about through the Ranks of
Armed men drawn up on both sides her, with a Leader's Truncheon
in her Hand, sometimes with a martial Pace, another while gently
like a Woman, incredible it is how much she encouraged the Hearts
of her Captains and Souldiers by her Presence and Speech to them.⁴

There were many soldiers who heard Elizabeth's speech. One was Henry Lyte, then in his late fifties, who was the captain of group of men from Somerset formed to fight the Spanish. When not serving his country, Lyte was a botanist who translated herbals and was also an antiquary.⁵

A few months later, on Sunday November 24, Elizabeth participated in an elaborate ceremony of thanksgiving for the great victory against the Armada. The Queen, dressed in silver and white, departed from Somerset House in a "chariot-throne" drawn by white horses and rode with members of the Privy Council, many ladies of honor, and much of the nobility. They were dressed in their appropriate robes and in strict order of precedence. There were more than four hundred in her retinue.⁶ The London Guilds wearing their livery coats with their apprentices in velvet coats with streamers and little flags greeted the queen as she passed and the crowd continually roared their approval. As Steven May and Arthur Marotti comment: "The Queen's entrance to London was in form a military triumph in which she took center stage as the conquering hero. Yet all official interpretations of the victory including Elizabeth's explicit behavior gave all the credit to God, England's providential rescuer."⁷ As she traveled through London Elizabeth did all she could to connect with her people, rather than hold herself aloof. She passed along the Strand to Temple Bar, where city musicians greeted her. At Temple Bar the Lord Mayor gave the queen the sword of the city, which she returned to him that evening. An officer of her Privy Chamber gave the queen a jewel that she graciously accepted, stating it was the first she had received that day. After that present, the Somerset captain Henry Lyte stepped forward.⁸

Lyte offered her a book that he had written and dedicated to her, *The Light of*

³ *The State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler*, eds. Arthur Clifford and Walter Scott (Edinburgh: A. Constable and Co., 1809), III, 76.

⁴ William Camden, *The History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth, Late Queen of England*, fourth edn. (London, 1688), 416.

⁵ G. S. Boulger, "Lyte, Henry (1529?-1607)," rev. Anita McConnell, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com.library.unl.edu/view/article/17301>> [accessed July 22, 2014].

⁶ John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth, Among which are interspersed other Solemnities, Public Expenditures, and Remarkable Events During the Reign of that Illustrious Princess* (London: Printed by and for J. Nichols, 1823), II, 538-42.

⁷ Arthur F. Marotti and Steven W. May, "Two Lost Ballads of the Armada Thanksgiving Celebration," *English Literary Renaissance* (2011) Winter 41, 40.

⁸ G. S. Boulger, "Lyte, Henry (1529?-1607)," rev. Anita McConnell, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.library.unl.edu/view/article/17301>> [accessed July 22, 2014].

Britayne that described the island's legendary beginning. What is perhaps of most interest in the book is its dedication – which actually discusses seeing her on the day it was presented. Lyte described Elizabeth as the

Phoenix of the worlde: The Angell of Englande: . . . The chast Diana . . .
that keepeth . . . [Britann] from Romish wolves and Foxes.

In the dedication Lyte chronicled giving the book to the queen personally:

my deere and dreade Sovereigne: whom this day I doe beholde and see . . .
To you I am come with this small offering . . . my fealtie and bounden duety
to your most excellent majestie . . . whom I pray GOD alwaies to blesse in
his mercy, & graunt your majestie, alwaies to tryumphe over all your enemies.

Lyte described how delighted he was to see Elizabeth “come to the Church and house of God amongst his Saints in the congregation: to give all the honour and glorie unto God.”⁹ It is not clear if Lyte presented Elizabeth with a manuscript copy of the book and then described the event in the printed version, or if he imagined what the event would be and it was there in the published version handed to the queen. Elizabeth then proceeded to St. Paul's Cathedral where she heard a sermon that thanked God for victory. This was the Elizabeth most loved and represented in the Stuart age, the Elizabeth who fought to protect the English people and Protestantism.¹⁰

Yet at the end of her reign many were tired of rule by women after a half-century, especially given the problems England faced in the last decade of the sixteenth century: bad harvests, inflation, worries about further potential Spanish invasions, and deepening conflict in Ireland. Many of the English eagerly looked forward to the rule of a king. They welcomed a male ruler, even one from Scotland, especially one who was also a husband and father of sons. Part of James's welcome was necessarily an effort to reinforce Elizabeth's support for James as her lawful successor. One way this was accomplished was with the first depiction of Elizabeth's ghost: the work of the Scotsman Alexander Craig, a notary and a poet, who followed James VI to England when he became James I. In 1604 Craig published a series of poems including one that was in the voice of the ghost of Queen Elizabeth, welcoming James as king. The ghost assures her people, “Cease loving Subjects, cease my death for to deplore.” Craig's ghostly Elizabeth expresses delight with her successor. “So now my ghost is glad, . . . My countries have their lawfull King.” James is not only a lawful king. Elizabeth assures her subjects that “a godly *David* ruleth now, a Prophet and a Prince.” Indeed, having her subjects do their homage to their new king leaves her “blessed ghost in boundles joys.”¹¹

A ghost was a clever way to show support for the new king. Ghosts were often presented in popular drama of the time. Hamlet's father is only one of a number of ghosts presented on the English Renaissance stage, especially in revenge tragedies. According to Eleanor Prosser, in English drama between 1560-1610 there were fifty-one ghosts in twenty-six plays.¹² And many people of the time were convinced that they had actually seen ghosts – or knew someone who had. Medieval Catholics had argued for the existence of ghosts as spirits trapped in purgatory. After the Reformation in England, with its denial

⁹ Henry Lyte, *The Light of Britayne. A Recorde of the honorable original & antiquitie of Britaine* (London, 1588), A3-A4.

¹⁰ Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 470.

¹¹ “Elizabeth, Late Queene of England, Her Ghost” in *The Poetical Works of Alexander Craig of Rose-Craig, 1604-1631* (Glasgow: The Hunterian Club, 1873; reprinted 1966), 23-24.

¹² Eleanor Prosser, *Hamlet and Revenge* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1971), 259.

of purgatory, some reformers refused to believe in the existence of ghosts at all. If seen, they were apparitions of demons or angels taking the form of a dead person. Yet the popular belief in ghosts was still strong in Protestant England.¹³ Although Ludwig Lavater demonstrated in his work that “many vainly persuade themselves they have seene wandring spirits,” he argued yet there are actually “walking spirits, & that other straunge things do sometime happen.”¹⁴ Throughout the Stuart Age there were pamphlets that used ghosts to critique political issues. As well as Elizabeth, James I himself was a ghost in a pamphlet in 1642 and the ghostly Oliver Cromwell appeared in five pamphlets.¹⁵

As James's reign progressed, the joy over a king, and former frustration over a queen, shifted. Within the first decade of James's reign, many of the English were again celebrating November 17, Elizabeth's accession, as they had during her reign. The Elizabeth who was a strong and devout Protestant even in her sister's reign and who fought Catholic Spain and roused the troops at the time of Armada again came to the fore. Early in James's reign Londoners could see their dead queen on the stage. Thomas Heywood's play about Princess Elizabeth in peril, *If I Know Not You, I Know Nobody, Part I* was extremely popular and frequently staged; it appeared in eight editions between 1605-1639. The play showed the queen as a strong Protestant in great danger during her Catholic sister Mary's reign. Though she herself is frightened, Elizabeth as prisoner tells her servants and gentlewomen,

My Innocence yet makes my hart as light,
As my front's heavie:
...
... weepe not I pray,
Rather you should rejoyce:
If I miscarry in this enterprise, and aske you why,
A Virgine and a Martyr both I dy.

Later in the play, there is a dumb show showing Elizabeth asleep on stage. On one side enters the Bishop of Winchester with friars and from the other side two angels. The friars move to Elizabeth, with threatening motions but are driven back by angels, who then place a Bible in Elizabeth in Elizabeth's hands. Heywood's Elizabeth is a Protestant heroine who at the end of the play becomes queen.¹⁶ The angels can be seen as prefiguring Elizabeth's later appearance as a benevolent ghost.

As he explained in his introduction, the purpose of Thomas Dekker's 1607 play, *The Whore of Babylon*, “is to set forth, in tropical and shadowed colors, the greatness,

¹³ Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies In Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970), 587-601.

¹⁴ Ludwig Lavater, *Of Ghostes and Spirites, Walking by Night and of Straunge Noyses, Crackes, and Sundrie Forewarnings, which Commonly Happen Before the Death of Men*, translated into English by R.H. (London, 1596), 97.

¹⁵ *Strange apparitions, or, The ghost of King James with a late conference between the ghost of that good king, the Marquesse Hameltons, and George Eglshams, Doctor of Physick, unto which appeared the ghost of the late Duke of Buckingham concerning the death and poysoning of King Iames and the rest* (London, 1642); *Bradsham's ghost, a poem, or, A dialogue between John Bradshaw, ferry-man Charon, Oliver Cromwel, Francis Ravilliack, and Ignatius Loyola, 1660* (London, 1660); *The Case is altered. Or, Dreadful news from hell. In a discourse between the ghost of this grand traytor and tyrant Oliver Croomwel, and sir reverence my Lady Joan his wife, at their late meeting neer the scaffold on Tower-hill. With his epitaph written in hell, on all the grand traytors, now in the Tower* (London, 1660); *Oliver Cromwells ghost, or, Old Noll newly revived* (London, 1678); *Oliver Cromwell's ghost at St. James's* (London, 1680); *Oliver Cromwells ghost dropt from the clouds* (London, 1681).

¹⁶ Thomas Heywood, *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody, Part I*, ed. Madeleine Doran (Oxford: Malone Society Reprints, 1935), lines 332-33, 339-42; 1049-53.

magnanimity, constancy, clemency, and the other incomparable heroic virtues of our late Queen." His other motive for the play was to show "the inveterate malice . . . and continual bloody stratagems" of the Catholic Church, and its attempts to take away "our Princes' lives,"¹⁷ referencing the recent 1605 Gunpowder Plot. Despite that event, the play centers on Elizabeth and the defeat of the Armada, not on the current king James. The play's main character Titania, the Fairie Queen, "under whom is figured our late Queen Elizabeth," even more explicitly suggests a ghostly queen. As the Prologue carefully explains:

So, winged Time that long ago flew hence
You must fetch back, with all those golden years
He stole, and here imagine still he stands,
Thrusting his silver lock into your hands.
There hold it but two hours: it shall from graves
Raise up the dead. . .¹⁸

Dekker begins his play with a dumb show somewhat reminiscent of Heywood's. Titania enters attended by her counselors. She is met by Time and Truth, and, like Elizabeth in Heywood's play, is given a book that is obviously the Bible. Those around her embrace Truth and promise to defend the queen and her book. When Cardinals and Friars enter they are driven off by Truth and Time. The representation of the living Elizabeth on stage after the death of the actual queen creates a ghost, embodied by a boy actor costumed as the queen, a living version of the effigy that appeared in Elizabeth's funeral. Dekker's reanimation of Elizabeth helps to strengthen the view of Elizabeth the Protestant queen, and this recreation of Elizabeth, along with the changing attitudes towards the Stuart king, transformed Craig's ghostly Elizabeth into the very different figure who appeared at the end of James I's reign.

In the same year as the Armada victory the early modern English merchant John Reynolds was born; his role as a merchant led him to be based in France from about 1619.¹⁹ As well as being a merchant, he also developed a career as a writer. Reynolds read Thomas Scott's political pamphlets, such as *Vox Populi, or Newes from Spayne* (1620). Scott's pamphlet pretends to be a report by the Spanish Ambassador Gondomar to the Council of State in Madrid but is actually a polemic with a strong anti-Catholic, anti-Spanish perspective that is highly critical of James' foreign policy. Though D. R. Woolf makes an interesting argument that Scott did not intend to insult James, I agree with Steven May, who has pointed out Scott's writing was dedicated to showing that Spain was "England's inveterate, satanic enemy."²⁰ Though Scott published the pamphlet anonymously, by early 1621 he was known to be the author and had gone into hiding; he eventually emerged in the Netherlands. Reynolds decided he too would turn his attention to writing about politics; he too was strongly opposed to James's pro-peace, pro-Spanish values. His pamphlet

¹⁷ Marianne Gateson Riely, *The Whore of Babylon by Thomas Dekker: A Critical Edition* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1980), 101.

¹⁸ Riely, *The Whore of Babylon*, 107, lines 12-16.

¹⁹ "Reynolds, John (b. c.1588, d. after 1655)," K. Grudzien Baston in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.library.unl.edu/view/article/23422>> [accessed July 22, 2014]. For more on Reynolds, see Jerry Bryant, "John Reynolds of Exeter and His Canon," *Library XV*, 2 (1960), 105-117 and John Reynolds of Exeter and His Canon: A Footnote," *Library XVIII*, 4 (1963), 299-303.

²⁰ D. R. Woolf, "Two Elizabeths? James I and the Late Queen's Famous Memory", *Canadian Journal of History*, 20 (1985), 185; Steven W. May, "'Tongue-tied our Queen?' Queen Elizabeth's Voice in the Seventeenth Century," eds., Hageman and Conway, *Resurrecting Elizabeth*, 59.

Vox Coeli, or News from Heaven, probably written in 1621 but not published until 1624, praised Elizabeth, which greatly angered King James. From the beginning of his reign James had been hostile to the memory of Elizabeth. In June of 1603 the French ambassador extraordinaire, Maximilian de Bethune, Duke of Sully, wrote to Henry IV of his great regret at hearing James, who was drinking wine at the time, speaking with contempt of Elizabeth. "He even went so far as to say, that, in Scotland, long before the death of that princess, he had directed her whole council, and governed all her ministers, by whom he had been better served and obeyed than herself."²¹

By the 1620s James would certainly not want to know what a pro-Protestant, pro-war ghostly Elizabeth would have to say about him. Reynolds had created a version of Elizabeth that fitted his needs and the political situation and had found a witty, clever way of presenting her. Reynolds's Elizabeth discusses Spain and its relations with England with such other ghosts as her father Henry VIII, her siblings Edward and Mary, Anne of Denmark and Prince Henry. James was so angered by the pamphlet that he worked with the French government to extradite Reynolds, who was living in Paris. Back in England Reynolds was imprisoned. He was not freed until 1626, in the reign of James's son Charles.²²

The pamphlet clearly struck a responsive chord; it appeared in five editions in 1624.²³ In Reynolds's pamphlet, it might seem odd that Queen Mary I was in heaven and taking part in this discussion. Reynolds explained of Mary that it was "not her Romane merits, but the prayers of the Protestants had brought to Heaven," without explaining why Protestants would want to intercede for the Bloody Queen. Perhaps Reynolds wanted to suggest the generosity of spirit of the Protestants. Reynolds's own reasons for Mary's presence are much more clear; he needed a foil for the Protestants, and Mary "always loved, and preferred Rome and Spain before England." Reynolds assures his readers that England was a place for which Mary felt "innate and inveterate malice."²⁴

As Reynolds explained, since heaven was God's throne, and earth God's foot stool, everything spoken, acted, or even thought was known in heaven, not only to God but to "his Angels, Saints, and Martyrs" (1). The heavenly Elizabeth, "that immortal Mayden Queene . . . whose heart ever loved *England*, as her soule did Heaven" (2), supported a strong and militaristic England and was critical of the current king. Before they began their discussion, the princes and queens begged God for permission that they might "consult on this important businesse betwixt England and Spaine." Since God had such "immense affection and favour" for England, he agreed, allowing them to meet in the "golden Starre-Chamber of Heaven, which was purposely prepared for them" (3). The group contains some who died in the mid-sixteenth century – Henry VIII and his son Edward VI and older daughter Mary. Elizabeth has been in Heaven only two decades, and

²¹ *Memoirs of Maximilian de Bethune, Duke of Sully, Prime Minister of Henry the Great / newly translated from the French edition of M. de l'Ecluse ; to which is annexed the Trial of Francis Ravaillac, for the murder of Henry the Great.* (Edinburgh : Printed by Alex. Lawrie and Co., for Bell and Bradfute [et al.], 1805), III, 158.

²² We do not know when he was finally released, but by 1629 Reynolds was publishing French translations. He lived until at least 1655.

²³ May, "Tongue-Tied Our Queen," 60.

²⁴ John Reynolds, *Vox coeli, or, Nevves from heaven Of a consultation there held by the high and mighty princes, King Hen.8. King Edw.6. Prince Henry. Queene Mary, Queene Elizabeth, and Queene Anne; wherein Spaines ambition and treacheries to most kingdomes and free estates in Europe, are vnmasked and truly represented, but more particularly towards England, and now more especially vnder the pretended match of Prince Charles, with the Infanta Dona Maria* (London, 1624), 2, 3. All further citations are in the text.

James I's wife Anne of Denmark and his eldest son Prince Henry are even newer residents. Only a dozen years before Reynolds published his pamphlet, Prince Henry, known as a strong Protestant with great promise, had died. His mother Queen Anne was devastated by the loss of her eldest son, and her own health deteriorated. She died in 1619. There are theological differences among the Protestant monarchs. Seventeenth-century English subjects were well aware that during his lifetime the chivalric Prince Henry was an unabashed Protestant who was enthusiastic about military endeavors.²⁵ But as Richard Rex carefully points out, the historical Henry VIII refused "to advance down the path of Protestantism." Rather, it was the "many Protestant voices" that sought to legitimize the Reformation who reframed Henry as a Protestant. Reynolds makes the ghostly Henry VIII, however, a confirmed and committed Protestant.²⁶ While Anne and Prince Henry are especially concerned about current events in England, Elizabeth's martial and militant Protestant rule is promoted as the perfect example that James does not follow. Elizabeth is proud of England's fighting record. She praises not only Sir Francis Drake, Sir John Norris, Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, but "my Essex" (36), suggesting the heavenly ghostly Elizabeth had forgotten much of her life while on earth – or that Reynolds hoped his audience had. After Essex's death, there were many ballads and broadsides that, as Alexandra Gajda tells us, "lionized the earl's heroic memory,"²⁷ and his staunch Protestantism trumps any hint of rebellion.

While the heavenly Elizabeth loves her Protestant God, she is skeptical about the Spanish king, and his most Catholic Majesty's faith: "Religion was onely the pretext, but wealth and Empire the sole object of *Spaines* ambition," she asserts, adding "No Kings of the world know better how to dissemble then the Catholique Kings" (7). As a monarch, she would be privy to such secret knowledge. The kings, prince, and queens converse about Spain's relations with many countries of the world. A Henry VIII who is far more sensible in Heaven than on earth leads the discussion: "But now leave we all other Countries, and come wee to England . . . let us see Spaines Ambition and Envy towards it." While Mary assures the others that "There is no Kingdome in the world, that Spaine loves better then England," Elizabeth counters that "Nor no people under the Sunne that it hates more then Englishmen" (33). Through the rest of the conversation there is much said about Philip II's and Spain's love for England, though that "love" is defined in various ways. Elizabeth greatly fears that Philip loves England as a place to take over and that though this Spanish king is also dead, Spain more than ever wants to take over England and destroy its Protestant independence.

Mary is convinced that Philip II had married her because of his love for her, for England, and for the English people. Elizabeth allows that Philip loved Mary but that more important were his ambitions for returning England to Catholicism. Henry, however, tells Elizabeth, "To speake truth Daughter, he neither loved you, nor Mary his wife and Queene, but only England." The others discuss Mary's marriage to Philip as well. Prince Henry avers that if Mary had not married Philip, England would not have lost Calais. Though Edward VI agrees that the marriage was unfortunate, at least "Philip and

²⁵ "Henry Frederick, prince of Wales (1594–1612)," James M. Sutton in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <<http://www.oxforddnb.com.library.unl.edu/view/article/12961>> [accessed September 17, 2014].

²⁶ Richard Rex, *Henry VIII* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Amberley Publishing, 2009), 123-24.

²⁷ Alexandra Gajda, *The Earl of Essex and Late Elizabethan Political Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 189.

Mary had no Children.” This makes Mary feel sad, since “If we had had any Males, England had beene long since a Province to Spain” (33). Elizabeth states that God, to save England, made Mary sterile, a comment that makes Mary exclaim: “The Kings of Spaine are the greatest and most potent Kings of the World.” Elizabeth is quick to respond that this is not true in terms of power, “for I proved it not so, I found it not so, I left it not so.” But as she was proving it, Spain’s plots continued to put Elizabeth – and thus England – in great danger. “Almost every yeare Spaine hatched a new Treason, witnesse *Parry, Babbington, Williams, Yorke, Lopez,* and infinite others, who sought to lay violent hands on my Person and Life” (34). Fortunately, Elizabeth proclaims, God protected her.

Commentary about the events of 1588 is central to the discussion. Prince Henry ironically suggests that the way Philip, a man of greed and ambition, “discovered his love to England” (34), was his plan to conquer it with his Armada. Perhaps Reynolds was thinking of Shakespeare’s Henry V courting Princess Katharine of France after defeating the French decisively at Agincourt. After Henry tells her that he loves her and asks if she can love him, she questions “Is it possible dat I sould love de enemy of France?” Henry’s love of France may well be the prototype of Philip’s love of England.

No; it is not possible you should love the enemy of France, Kate: but, in loving me, you should love the friend of France; for I love France so well that I will not part with a village of it; I will have it all mine: and, Kate, when France is mine and I am yours, then yours is France and you are mine.²⁸

Though Henry is “courting” Katharine, in fact she really does not have a choice as to whether she wishes to marry Henry V or not. Philip would not have given the new subjects he loved any choice if the Spanish Armada had been successful. The Protestants in the discussion show their pleasure that God looked “on that great and mightie Navall Army with contempt and detestation.” Elizabeth herself is even more convinced of heavenly intervention: “Yea God was so gracious to England, and so mercifull to mee . . . the Windes and Waves fought for my defence . . . against the pride and malice of Spaine, who grew mad with anger . . . to see this his great and warlike Armado beaten, foyled, and confounded” (35). This conceit, immortalized in the Armada portrait, had long been used as proof of God’s approval of English Protestantism.

Prince Henry salutes Elizabeth, stating “You Madame found Warre with Spaine surer and safer then Peace” (34), an ironic statement as the actual Elizabeth for a range of reasons felt very uncomfortable with war. This ghostly Elizabeth agrees that war is “farre more safe, and farre more profitable too for England,” a sentiment more in keeping with the political situation in the 1620s than in 1588. Finally the conversation turns to more current events, with Queen Anne wondering since that is the case, why her husband “so delights and drownes himselfe in his peace with Spaine” (38).

The conversation moves on to the proposed match between Henry’s younger brother Charles, now heir to the throne, and the Spanish Infanta. Edward VI asks the others “how doth King James relish this Match?” Though his sister Mary tells the others how much she supports the match, she is well aware of James I’s motivations: “His Exchequer is poore, and King *Philips* Indies rich, and therefore his Majestie likes it so well, as

²⁸ William Shakespeare, Henry V (5.2.171-177 http://www.shakespeare-online.com/plays/henryv_5_2.html [accessed September 25, 2014])

he will hearken to no other" (38). That this ugly objection is given to the most objectionable participant in this conversation is not accidental, and Reynolds proceeds to dismantle Mary's argument.

To provide context Henry asked his daughter Mary who had negotiated the match between her and Philip II. While she claimed that it was "My Selfe and the Parliament" (39), Elizabeth challenged the truth of the assertion. "Nay Sister, put in *Woolsey* and *Gardiner*, and leave out the Parliament; for you onely proposed it them but for forme, and had secretly concluded it before hand your selfe." Though of course Cardinal Thomas Wolsey had been dead for decades by the reign of Mary, by the early seventeenth century, he was such a marker for Catholic aggression that he was believed to have played a role. Mary admitted this was true but bragged, "Suppose I did, I might doe it of mine owne authority, and prerogative Royall." This did not placate the heavenly model Queen Elizabeth, who called her sister on it: "But you offered no faire play to the Parliament." Mary does not back down, seeing her marriage as bringing "Strength, Profit, Honour, which England, King *James*, and Prince *Charles* will likewise now finde if the Match hold" (40). This argument does little to convince the Protestant monarchs. Anne explains that "I could never yet affect the match of Spaine, for either of the two Princes my Sonnes: for the *Spaniard* is by nature as trecherous as proud" (41). Again, as a royal consort, Anne is in a position to understand the inner workings of royal power.

For the heavenly Elizabeth, what is the worst about the proposed match is her conviction that the plots against her that had been instituted by Philip II were matched by Philip III's plot, blaming him and the pope for "that horrible Gunpowder Treason . . . that England should have beene blowne up, overthrowne, and ruined in a moment" (41). Although Mary refuses to believe that Spain had a role in the Gunpowder Plot, she gloats if the marriage happens, "Those Protesting Heretikes of *England*, will sing another tune, when they see the King of *Spaine* hath made their Countrey his Province" (46). By acknowledging what must have a wide-spread fear, Reynolds permits a powerful counter-argument to be made.

Those in heaven are deeply concerned that because James's concern is for peace, not war, the king had not adequately supported the English navy. Even Queen Mary noted that the navy that had once been so strong "time and negligence hath almost made all these ships unserviceable, who lye rotting." This is devastating to Elizabeth: "O my Ships, my Ships" (36). Elizabeth offers a grim prediction of what will happen to an England invaded or ruled by Spain. "And then shall Englands strong men fall upon the edge of the Sword; her Virgins bee defloured and murthered, her Wives defiled and slaine in sight of the Altr dying Husbands; and their Children and young Babes shall have their braines dashed out against the walles in sight of their dead Parents" (53), vividly recalling the memory of the 1572 St. Bartholomew's day massacre and images from John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*.

Elizabeth is convinced that the negotiations for the match between Prince Charles and the Infanta must not go forward, because "to trust to *Spaine*, is to . . . harbour a serpent in our owne bosomes" (15). The group votes five to one against the match—not surprisingly, Mary alone supports it. Henry VIII plans to inform "our sacred God both of Heaven and Earth" (54), hoping that he will now stop the match. Whether this conversation had anything to do with what is going on earth or not, the Spanish match fell apart, and Charles instead married the French princess Henrietta-Maria. As Joan Walmsley points out, "*Vox Coeli* is remarkable, not only for the skill and wit of its conception and

and dialogue, but as a social-historical document.”²⁹ As he produced this pamphlet, clearly Reynolds was far more interested in the religious and political perspective he was presenting to the people at the end of James I's reign, than in any historically accurate depiction of the last Tudor queen.

Just as Reynolds had ghostly Elizabeth in heaven praise Essex, Thomas Scott, in his pamphlet published the same year, depicts Essex in heaven expressing his support for his queen. As Alexandra Gajda points out, Scott's Essex in *Robert earle of Essex his ghost* is a “Protestant warrior, terror of Spain, whose heroic exploits shamed the Jacobean peace.”³⁰ In 1598 the Earl of Essex wrote a letter ostensibly privately to Anthony Bacon, but circulated in manuscript in an attempt to justify his opposition to peace negotiations with Spain. This *Apologie* was first published about 1600, and again in 1603. This was clearly Scott's source, so that, as Elizabeth Pentland demonstrates, “the fictional and the historical voices of Essex become nearly indistinguishable.”³¹ The actual Essex publicly extensively praised the queen, though his sincerity was highly doubtful. Scott's ghostly Essex, though he describes how his enemies tricked her into executing him, praises Elizabeth, referring to her as “that glorious Queene, my now fellow Saint.” Linking the aristocratic loyalty of Essex to Elizabeth's devotion to England provides a powerful unified front in opposition to the Spanish match.

In the pamphlet Essex is so concerned with James's policy of peace and the weakness it conveys, he is sending a letter from Heaven to the commonality of England. Essex is proud that “My Sovereigne Lady, and Mistresse Queen Elizabeth, by valiant men of Action, curbed King Phillip, and kept him in awe.” Essex further praises Elizabeth in his letter, “You had a Queene, in my time on earth, who was ever open handed to men of desert, yet never wastfull in her private expences; but maintained Armies and Garrisons,” as a way to criticize her successor James who sold knighthoods and spent his subjects' money fecklessly.³²

Scott wrote at least twenty political pamphlets, and, like Reynolds, was not in England when this pamphlet was published. In 1623 Scott left England for the Netherlands, becoming a preacher for the English garrison at Utrecht. In 1626, only two years after the publication of Scott's pamphlet, John Lambert assassinated Thomas Scott as he was leaving church. Lambert had heard from spirits encouraging the murder. He was arrested, tried and found guilty. The night before his execution godly men came to visit Lambert, and found him “as full of his fond and imaginarie conceits as before.” He affirmed a number of sovereigns daily and hourly appeared to him, such as “the spirit of the late Queene *Elizabeth*.”³³ Even those in early modern England who believed in ghosts, might wonder why if Queen Elizabeth's ghost were to return to earth she would want to haunt Lambert; rather, these were the delusions of a man who had lost his wits.

²⁹ Joan Walmsley, *John Reynolds, Merchant of Exeter, and his Contribution to the Literary Scene, 1620-1660* (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1990), 25.

³⁰ Alexandra Gajda, *The Earl of Essex and Late Elizabethan Political Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 3.

³¹ Elizabeth Pentland, “Elizian' Fields: Elizabeth, Essex, and the Politics of Dissent in 1624,” Hageman and Conway, *Resurrecting Elizabeth*, 153.

³² Thomas Scott, *Robert Earle of Essex his ghost, sent from Elizian to the nobility, gentry, and communitie of England* (London, 1624), 15.

³³ Anon., *A briefe and true relation of the murther of Mr. Thomas Scott preacher of Gods word and Batchelor of Diuinitie. Committed by Iohn Lambert souldier of the garrison of Vtricke, the 18. of Iune. 1626. With his examination, confession, and execution* (London, 1628), 6.

As the concerns about Stuart rule became more intense, Elizabeth's image as a strong committed Protestant continued to be important. This became even more true in the reign of Charles I's son Charles II, when there was more and more concern that his younger brother James, a converted Catholic, was his heir. As Steven May has pointed out, the Elizabeth of Reynold's *Vox Coeli* became the dominant representation of her queen in the latter seventeenth century as well.³⁴ Associated with a unified Protestant nation, Elizabeth could serve as both a model monarch and a prophet warning of the dangers of returning to Catholicism.

The glorification of Elizabeth that had begun within a half a dozen years of the beginning of the rule of her successor became ever more intense when it appeared that James I's younger grandson and namesake would be the next king of England as Charles II had no legitimate children. Titus Oates and the fictitious Popish Plot - that Catholics including Charles II's wife Catherine of Braganza were conspiring to murder Charles - caused deep hysteria. In 1679 and '80 there were intense efforts in Parliament to exclude James and in this Elizabeth had her role. A 1680 pamphlet by a "Queen Elizabeth Protestant," warned that "You all very well know, That it hath been of late the great artifice of the Jesuited Party to intrude (if possible) their damnable Plot upon Protestants".³⁵ The Jesuits, a powerful metaphor for a widespread, secret, and deadly Catholic conspiracy, were invoked to intensify anti-Catholic sentiment.

In this period the celebrations of Elizabeth's anniversary of her accession on November 17 were particularly popular and carefully devised. Each year there were processions with an elaborate effigy of the pope paraded through the streets of London to Temple Bar and brought before a statue of Elizabeth where the effigy was mocked and burned. This was to celebrate the "Day wherein the Unfortunate Queen *Mary* Died, and that Glorious Sun, Queen ELIZABETH of Happy Memory, arose in the *English* Horizon, and thereby dispelled those thick Fogs and Mists of *Romish* Blindness, and restored to these Kingdoms their just Rights both as Men and Christians."³⁶ This public procession, like the Catholic processions it displaced, was an annual reminder that England was a Protestant nation - and needed to be kept that way.

Despite the hostility to James as heir at the beginning of the 1680s, by 1685 when Charles II died, there was a smooth transition. But James II's strong pro-Catholic policies, his absolutism, and finally, the birth of his son in June 1688 led to deep problems. As the crisis developed a broadside was published called "Queen Elizabeth's Opinion concerning Transubstantiation, Or the Real Presence of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament; with some Prayers and Thanksgivings composed by Her in Imminent Dangers." The pamphlet prints her Tilbury speech, stating in that "in 1588 the Spanish Armada invaded the kingdom, the Design being no less than the Conquest of England . . . It is incredible how much [Elizabeth] encouraged the Hearts of her Captains and Souldiers by her presence, but especially by her most generous and undaunted speech."³⁷ This powerful, defiant, nationalist speech was certainly relevant on its one hundredth anniversary in 1688, as it showed

³⁴ May, "Tongue-Tied Our Queen," 61.

³⁵ *The loyal Protestants vindication, fairly offered to all those sober minds who have the art of using reason, and the power of suppressing passion by a Queen Elizabeth Protestant* (London, 1680), 1.

³⁶ Anon., *The Solemn mock procession of the Pope, Cardinals, Jesuits, fryers &c. through ye city of London, Nouember ye 17th, 1679* (London, 1680), one page.

³⁷ *Queen Elizabeth's Opinion Concerning Transubstantiation, or the Real Presence of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament; with some Prayers and Thanksgivings composed by her in in Imminent Dangers* (London, 1688), one page.

Elizabeth's confidence that God supported Protestant England against the Catholic invasion. Though William was a foreigner, his wife Mary, daughter of James II, was not, and the implication was that it was the duty of those who supported the true religion to force out James II and his pro-Catholic regime. In 1588 a speech Elizabeth made to Parliament "concerning the Spanish invasion" was also published and a broad sheet of *Popish Plots and Treasons from the Beginning of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* was republished. William Camden's *Elizabeth*, with its emphasis on the Queen's Protestantism, was also reissued in a new edition.³⁸

Once James had fled, Parliament had to deal with the issue of who would be the next ruler. William insisted that he should be king in his own right, and many agreed that England needed a male ruler, but Sir Joseph Tredenham argued, "As for [Mary] being a woman, Queen Elizabeth was so, and reigned gloriously."³⁹ Parliament chose to make William and Mary joint rulers; although William did the real ruling while he was in the country, Mary ruled as queen regnant six times when he was abroad. As the first queen regnant since Elizabeth's death, Mary was, as Melinda Zook has pointed out, the subject of poems that compared her to Elizabeth.⁴⁰ Being joint monarchs turned out to be crucial, because Mary II died in 1694. William ruled alone until his death in 1702. The throne then passed to Mary's younger sister Anne. With the accession of another queen regnant, the ghostly existence of Elizabeth became far more present. John Watkins argues that Anne failed to cast herself as a convincing Gloriana, in part because of the growing ambivalence the English were feeling about Elizabeth and printed tales about her sexual exploits, but while this may well be true, I argue that the connections with Elizabeth did strengthen Anne's position.⁴¹

Anne had seen parallels between herself and Elizabeth as early as 1692 when her sister Mary was fighting with her and eager to remind Anne that she was of lower rank. "I know what is due to me, and expect to have it from you," also stating, "I am the Queen and I will be obeyed."⁴² This placed Anne in the same position in which Elizabeth found herself during Mary II's reign. Anne was particularly upset when the Mayor of Bath was forbidden to pay the princess "the same respect and ceremony as has been usually paid to the royal family." Dr. Richard Kingston wrote after visiting Anne that "the Princess discoursing her sufferings often made a parallel between her self and Queen Elizabeth."⁴³ Like the depictions of Elizabeth's travails in *If You Know Not Me*, Anne found herself in the position of passive obedience.

Once she became queen, Anne did all she could to "channel" Elizabeth. When she went to speak to Parliament the first time March 11, 1702 she deliberately dressed in a

³⁸ *A speech made by Queen Elizabeth, (of famous memory) in Parliament, and 1593. And in the 35th year of her reign, concerning the Spanish invasion* (London, 1688); G. C., *Popish Plots and treasons from the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1676-1697). William Camden, *The History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth, late Queen of England*, 4th edn., (London, 1688).

³⁹ *Debates in the House of Commons, from the year 1667 to the year 1694*, ed. Anchitell Grey, 10 vols. (D, Gebert & R. Cave, 1763), 9:56 in Rachel Weil, *Political Passions: Gender, the family and political argument in England, 1680-1714* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1999), 106.

⁴⁰ Melinda Zook, "The Shocking Death of Mary II: Gender & Political Crisis in Late Stuart England," *British Scholar* (2008), vol. I, issue 1, 25.

⁴¹ John Watkins, *Representing Elizabeth in Stuart England: literature, history, sovereignty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 210.

⁴² Edward Gregg, *Queen Anne* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), 86. Dalrymple, *Memoirs*, 2: app., pt 2, 45 in Zook, "The Shocking Death of Mary II," 30.

⁴³ Gregg, *Queen Anne*, 96.

way that resembled Elizabeth's coronation portrait. Sir Godfrey Kneller's 1705 portrait also hinted at the connection between the two queens. Anne proudly proclaimed "I know my heart to be entirely English," as Elizabeth had called herself "mere" – meaning pure – English, and described her heart as that of a king and king of England too. In her November 5, 1566 speech to Parliament, Elizabeth passionately asked, "Was I not born in this realm? Were my parents born in any foreign land?" as she was asserting her loyalty to her people.⁴⁴ When Anne was crowned on April 23, the feast day of England's patron saint St. George, many hailed her as a Deborah – just as Elizabeth was described as an English Deborah from the beginning of her reign. Anne was also called a second Elizabeth, and as Kevin Sharpe remarks, "Queen Anne went to some lengths to appropriate her predecessor's name, image, and authority."⁴⁵ Anne, like Elizabeth, was a Protestant queen fighting a Catholic superpower. A clergyman that spring preached that Anne "presides in councils and revives the memory of that heroine Queen Elizabeth, whose armies were as victorious abroad as her wise designs of policy were well laid at home."⁴⁶ In December Anne announced she had chosen as her motto, *Semper Eadem*, always the same, the same motto chosen by Elizabeth. Anne ordered "That it was her Majesty's Pleasure, that whenever there was occasion to Embroider, Depict, Carve, or Paint her Majesty's Arms, these Words, *Semper Eadem*, should be us'd for a Motto; it being the same that had been us'd by her Predecessor Queen Elizabeth, of glorious Memory."⁴⁷

Anne did something else to draw a powerful parallel between her reign and that of Elizabeth. In November 1702 she offered a public thanksgiving for the victory at Vigo Bay, making a procession to the newly built St. Paul's Cathedral. The procession began with members of Parliament in an array of coaches, followed by members of the court, much of the nobility, and finally Queen Anne, attended by her Ladies and Maids of Honor. She passed a monument at Ludgate where verses were attached that proclaimed

As threatening Spain did to Eliza bow
So France and Spain shall do to Anna now.⁴⁸

This connection between Anne and Elizabeth was also presented by Lady Mary Chudleigh in her 1703 collection of poems. In one addressed to Anne, "The queen's most excellent Majesty", she wrote

Such was that Virgin Glory of our Isle, . . .
She knew Afflictions, felt a Sister's Hate,
And learned to reign, while in a private State.
. . .
And such the Queen who now the Throne does grace, . . .
Like her she bravely stood the Shock of Fate,
And liv'd serene in a dependent State.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Gregg, *Queen Anne*, 96.

⁴⁵ Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 472.

⁴⁶ Anne Somerset, *Queen Anne: a biography* (London: Harper Press, 2012), 179.

⁴⁷ Abel Boyer, *The history of the reign of Queen Anne, digested into annals. Year the first. Containing, Besides other Memorable Transactions, a Particular and Genuine Account of the late Expedition into Spain; and the Proceedings of both Houses in the last Session of Parliament* (London, 1703) I, 162.

⁴⁸ Gregg, *Queen Anne*, 165.

⁴⁹ "To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty," in *The Poems and Prose of Mary, Lady Chudleigh*, ed. Margaret J. M. Ezell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 85.

The following year Edmund Arwaker described how the ghost of Mary II celebrated her sister becoming queen in *An Embassy from Heav'n: or, the Ghost of Queen Mary*. The ghostly Mary talks of earlier monarchs who are in heaven watching the new queen and connecting what will be the glories in the reign of Anne with the great exploits of the past, focusing on military might and Protestantism. Some such excellent precursors of Anne are Edward III and his son the Black Prince. "Great ANNE they both revive again;/ She scourges France." But the earlier monarch whom Mary praises most is "the Blest ELIZABETH." As Elizabeth was in her earlier incarnations, this Elizabeth is also a strong Protestant who is celebrated not only for her religion but for successfully battling Catholic powers.

With Drake and Rawleigh , She beheld the Seas,
And Troops of Her Old Worthies wond'ring gaze.
To see a Spanish , and a French Armado blaze.

Mary is a ghostly queen celebrating a new queen and her strongest praise is for this earlier queen, who is far more inspiring than any other monarch, so remarkable that she impresses even the stars in the heavens.

Tho' Edward 's Morning was Eclips'd so soon,
She warm'd World with her enliv'ning Noon.
How shall I count the Worthies of her Age,
Or, how describe her splendid Equipage?
Shepherds, you wou'd have thought, had you been there,
The Stars had left their Orbs to follow her.⁵⁰

This strongly Protestant patriot militarist ghost of Elizabeth as a parallel to Anne makes one last final appearance. In 1706 an anonymous broadside was published, "Queen Elizabeth's Ghost: or a dream."⁵¹ The author describes how he had spent the day thinking about the Duke of Marlborough's victories in the wars with Spain, and "our Great Queen" Anne. That night "I fancied Queen *Elizabeth* (to whose Memory I always bore a Profound Respect) Appeared to me, and Talked with me very freely about our present Affairs." Elizabeth informed the writer that she was mightily pleased that Queen Anne had chosen her motto and she thought of Queen Anne as "Her Daughter of Fame." Elizabeth added that the success of her reign and Anne's proved women were superior in government. Later she spoke of "Her Church of *England* (and really without Vanity She might well call it Her's) She was very sensible of our Queen's true Christian Piety, and well-govern'd Zeal for the *Established Church*." After a long conversation he awakened, and found this had been a dream. Now while many in the early modern period believed that it was easier for the spirits of the dead to speak to the living in dreams, it appears in this broadside that the dream is a frame for expressing praise of Queen Anne by comparing her to the popular earlier queen. The conceit of the dream offers assurances that the vision of a ghostly Elizabeth is a benign manifestation.⁵²

Queen Elizabeth had a range of perspectives on Protestantism and England's involvement in continental Europe. There were a number of problems in her reign, especially in the closing decade, and at the time of her death many in England welcomed a

⁵⁰ Edmund Arwaker, *An Embassy from Heav'n: or, the Ghost of Queen Mary* (London, 1704), lines 84, 86-88, 312, 349-54.

⁵¹ *Queen Elizabeth's Ghost: or a dream* (London, 1706).

⁵² For more of dreams and politics in early modern England, see Carole Levin, *Dreaming the English Renaissance: Politics and Desire in Court and Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

new male ruler. But the Elizabeth in her afterlife and ghostly form was a more militant and martial Protestant who was used by some as an example through the Stuart age of how England ought to respond to Catholic threats. This Elizabeth was more heroic, if less complex, than the original woman but this version of Elizabeth is important in the century after her death. Toward the end of Anne's reign in January 1713, Anne stated that "We will never lose sight of the example and prudent conduct of our predecessor" Queen Elizabeth. Robert Bucholz argues that "both women seem to have been exactly what the nation required at the end of their royal lines, and both achieved success unparalleled in the reigns of their respective ancestors."⁵³ The ghost of Elizabeth helped the reigning Queen Anne reach this success.

Yet with all the ghostly affinities to Elizabeth throughout the Stuart age, the closest we actually come to a ghost of Queen Elizabeth is an event that happened while Queen Elizabeth was still alive, but in her last moments. According to Elizabeth Southwell, writing four years after the Queen's death, Lady Elizabeth Guilford was staying in the privy chamber with the Queen in those last days when the Queen appeared beyond recovery. Seeing her asleep, Lady Guilford walked toward her to apologize. The Queen suddenly disappeared. Returning to the privy chamber, Lady Guilford found the queen still asleep in the same position she had been.⁵⁴ Even as she lay in her bed dying, her significance and power was so strong that she haunted those around her. And the ghostly Elizabeth in her afterlife played a significant role in religion, politics, and the belief that women could be strong rulers.

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⁵³ Robert Bucholz, "The 'Stomach of a Queen,' or Size Matters: Gender, Body Image, and the Historical Reputation of Queen Anne," in Carole Levin and Robert Bucholz, *Queens & Power in Medieval and Early Modern England* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 265.

⁵⁴ Catherine Loomis, "Elizabeth Southwell's Manuscript Account of the Death of Queen Elizabeth," *English Literary Renaissance* (1996) 26: 3, 486.

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