

P, 2000). See the preface, in which the rationale for our editorial decisions is explained in detail. All quotations from Elizabeth's speeches come from our edition and will be documented in the text by page numbers.

⁴ Frances Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1975); Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (Wallop, Eng.: Thames, 1977); Philippa Berry, *Of Chastity and Power: Elizabethan Literature and the Unmarried Queen* (New York: Routledge, 1989); Helen Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (New York: St. Martin's, 1995); Heisch 32; Montrose 310; Susan Frye, *Elizabeth I: The Competition for Representation* (New York: Oxford UP, 1993) 54. See also Carole Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1994); Marie Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession* (London: Royal Hist. Soc., 1977); and King, whose analysis of different versions of Elizabeth's 1559 speech to Parliament about her

marriage and succession provides a good corrective to the arguments about the queen's focus on her own virginity.

⁵ See, for an exception, her French prayer, in Marcus, Mueller, and Rose 314, where she thanks God for "the honor of being mother and nurse of Thy dear children."

⁶ Mary Beth Rose, "Where Are the Mothers in Shakespeare? Options for Gender Representation in the English Renaissance," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 42 (1991): 291–314.

⁷ Variations of this argument are made in, among other places, the sources listed in n4.

⁸ Constance Jordan, "Woman's Rule in Sixteenth-Century British Political Thought," *Renaissance Quarterly* 40 (1987): 421–51, and *Renaissance Feminism: Literary Texts and Political Models* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1990). See also Maureen Quilligan, *The Allegory of Female Authority: Christine de Pizan's Cité des Dames* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1991).

⁹ See Anne L. Prescott, "The Pearl of the Valois and Elizabeth I: Marguerite de Navarre's *Miroir* and Tudor England," *Silent but for the Word: Tudor Women as Patrons, Translators, and Writers of Religious Works*, ed. Margaret Hannay (Kent: Kent State UP, 1985) 61–76.

Abstract of "Elizabeth, Gender, and the Political Imaginary of Seventeenth-Century England"

MIHOKO SUZUKI

University of Miami

THIS PAPER ARGUES THE IMPORTANCE OF what I call the "Elizabeth effect" for the political imaginary of equality for both women writers and republicans throughout the seventeenth century. Although the historian Allison Heisch has argued that the reign of Elizabeth did not affect the status of ordinary women, I maintain that the precedent of Elizabeth's celebrated rule was strategically deployed as at least part of their self-justification by women who sought to challenge patriarchal norms and to participate in political discourse. From the earlier part of the century I discuss the examples of Anne Clifford and Ae-

milia Lanyer and from the Restoration Elizabeth Cellier and Elinor James—both of whom supported Stuart monarchs but nevertheless saw Elizabeth as a model of female political empowerment. Anne Clifford records in her diary, whose first entry concerns Elizabeth's death, her courageous opposition to the efforts by her husband, her uncle, and her king to dispossess her of the title and estate she considers to be rightly hers. The ideological justification for her tenacity lies in the model offered by Elizabeth: if women could inherit monarchies, they could certainly inherit baronies. Aemilia Lanyer introduces *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum*, a justification for "Liber-tie" and equality for women, by referring to the youth she spent at Elizabeth's court and comparing to Elizabeth the various aristocratic women patrons from whom she seeks support.

For male republicans throughout the century, Elizabeth became an iconic figure of the Protestant national popular who stood in opposi-

tion to the absolutism of the Stuart monarchs; her speeches to Parliament were republished at strategic moments to criticize the Stuarts' reluctance to deal with Parliament. I discuss the early-seventeenth-century example of Thomas Heywood's *If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody* and, from the Restoration, John Ayloffe's "Britannia and Raleigh," which represents Elizabeth as the patron saint of parliamentary preeminence and an alternative to Charles II. The male republican writers confirm Heisch's assertion, in that while they promote the idea of Elizabeth as a monarch sympathetic to their positions and interests, they are decidedly unsympathetic to or-

dinary women's claim to participate in politics and public discourse.

I conclude with a brief look at the opposing constructions of Elizabeth by historians from the eighteenth century such as John Millar and David Hume and contemporary historians such as Christopher Hill and J. P. Kenyon. It is telling that the revisionist historian Kenyon, who denies that an English revolution occurred at mid-century, calls Elizabeth a "sluttish housewife, who swept the house but left the dust behind the door," and labels her reign a "petticoat government" characterized by "female tantrums, sulks, and irrationality."

THE FINAL YEARS OF CHARLES II'S REIGN saw something new in the history of Elizabeth I's reputation. While many writers continued to celebrate her as a defender of the Protestant establishment, certain novelists and translators abandoned her public accomplishments and focused instead on her imagined interior life. Although long ignored by scholars, *The Novels of Queen Elizabeth*, *The Secret History of the Most Renowned Queen Elizabeth and the Earl of Essex*, and *The Secret History of the Duke of Alançon and Q. Elizabeth* rank among the most popular works ever written about Elizabeth.

The first part of the paper examines how these works situated Elizabeth among a specific cast of stock characters and in a set of recurrent plots centered on the conflict between arranged and affective marriages: a pair of young, attractive aristocratic lovers; a jealous, typically older woman who orchestrates their downfall; a corrupt minister who manipulates the ruler he ostensibly serves; and a libidinous monarch who desires one of the young lovers. Elizabeth's complex and

conflicted role in the history of affective marriage allowed her to play several of these roles.

Almost all the secret histories about Elizabeth were translations of French originals. My talk concludes by exploring the ramifications of their appearance not only in different languages but in different social and political environments. The same texts that served a conservative social function in France by asserting noble prerogatives served a potentially radical one in England. For a first-generation urban readership, the secret histories contributed to an emergent middle-class suspicion of monarchs and to an increasingly rigid restriction of female agency to the private sphere.

Abstract of "Gloriana's Secrets: The Restoration Discovery of Elizabeth's Private Life"

JOHN WATKINS

University of Minnesota, Twin Cities