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“Her mind has no womanly weakness”: The Humanist Studies of Princess Elizabeth, 1538-1558

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“Her mind has no womanly weakness”: The Humanist Studies of Princess Elizabeth, 1538-1558

by

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ABSTRACT

Elite women in early modern England and Europe were usually educated in the skills of embroidery, dance, music, and cooking, with some rudimentary training in writing, reading, and Latin. These were all skills that were believed necessary to attract stronger marriage prospects from, and be better partners to, elite men. This thesis examines Elizabeth I's (1533–1603) education during the years before she assumed the crown, circa 1538–1558. Partly because of their intense focus on Elizabeth's reign (1558–1603) rather than her childhood, historians have not given sufficient attention to her informal and formal education. Sources such as letters, the published works of her tutors, in addition to Elizabeth's own translation works, poetry, prayers, and other writing have been examined to gain an understanding of the curriculum to which the young Elizabeth was exposed. These sources reveal that Elizabeth was exposed to a wide range of humanist writings that were atypical of the curriculum traditionally offered to noble women. In receiving a humanist education akin to that which Tudor men acquired at Cambridge University, to which most of Elizabeth's tutors had close affinity, Elizabeth was provided a sound intellectual foundation that later helped her to meet the challenges of a regnant queen ruling in a patriarchal society.

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INTRODUCTION

Elizabeth I's (1533–1603) education was extremely influential in her apprenticeship for her unexpected accession to the English throne in 1558. For the majority of Elizabeth's childhood years, from the age of two to ten (1535–1543), she was deemed illegitimate, and was removed from the line of succession in favour of her half-brother Edward, born in 1537. Elizabeth and her older half-sister, Mary, were returned to the line of succession in 1543, although it was never expected they would reign as regnant queens. Nonetheless, as a daughter of Henry VIII and a princess of the realm after 1543, Elizabeth was provided an opportunity that was rare for women of the time: a humanist education taught by some of Cambridge's leading humanist tutors.

Elizabeth's humanist training, coupled with her natural intellectual abilities, allowed for her to become the only academically educated female English monarch.

George Ballard described Elizabeth as being “born with a genius as much superior to the common race of mortals.”¹ Providence “bestowed upon her uncommon intellects, and to have blessed and prospered her to an uncommon degree” to exercise them.² Due to the intellectual pursuits of Elizabeth's youth she highly valued scholarly debate, and the advancement of English literature, choosing to surround herself in her court with the most prominent writers of the Elizabethan period. Well into the later years of her reign Elizabeth remained dedicated to intellectual pursuits. She made royal visits to Oxford and Cambridge, wrote poetry, was esteemed internationally for her skills at languages and rhetoric, and kept up on her Latin and

¹ George Ballad, *Memoirs of several ladies of Great Britain, who have been celebrated for their writings or skill in the learned languages, arts and sciences* (Oxford: Printed by W. Jackson, 1752), 211.

² Ballad, *Memoirs of several ladies*, 211.

Greek through exercises provided by her childhood tutor, Roger Ascham. Elizabeth's childhood humanist training was instrumental in shaping her intellect and her attitudes about queenship, and reflected how she defined and shaped herself as queen.

Given the large number of biographies of Queen Elizabeth, her childhood humanist education is a surprisingly understudied subject. Early scholarship on Elizabeth, such as John E. Neale's well-known 1934 biography, is rooted in a hagiographic style depicting the tale of the Good Queen Bess.³ Neale provided little space to the upbringing of Elizabeth and overlooked the role Elizabeth's years spent as a bastard child had on her development, and the changes that occurred in her education after her re legitimization. Similarly, 1950s scholars A. L. Rowse and S. T. Bindoff wrote canonizing accounts of Elizabeth, Rowse being so bold as to dedicate his work "To the glorious memory of Elizabeth Queen of England," while Bindoff referred to Elizabeth as a "matchless flower."⁴ The introduction of gender studies in the last fifty years has resulted in a more robust assessment of Elizabeth's life and works. The shift in the historiography can be seen through works such as Alison Plowden's 1972 work *The Young Elizabeth*, which she begins with the coronation of Anne Boleyn.⁵ Plowden brought a broader focus to Elizabeth's life, and pays tribute to the important role that governesses such as Kat Astley played in Elizabeth's youth. Her biography's style is more literary than scholarly in focus, depicting Elizabeth's youth as a time of hardship, turmoil, and struggle, rather than as a formative apprenticeship for a future queen. Her work is the tale of a bastardized, mother-less

³ J.E. Neale, *Queen Elizabeth I* (London: Cape, 1934), 6.

⁴ A.L. Rowse, *The England of Elizabeth: The Structure of Society* (London: Macmillan, 1950), Introduction. S.T. Bindoff, *Tudor England* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1950), 306-307.

⁵ Alison Plowden, *The Young Elizabeth* (Newton Abbot, England: Readers Union, 1972).

heroine who overcomes all obstacles to become the great Queen Elizabeth I. Although focused on Elizabeth's childhood, Plowden subscribed to similar styles of Neale and mid-century scholarship in writing Elizabeth's biography as hagiography.

In 1976, Paul Johnson proclaimed that Elizabeth was a "Cambridge Girl."⁶ His assessment of this comes from the fact her formal tutors, William Grindal and Roger Ascham, were Cambridge trained. He argued that the education Elizabeth received, and her childhood shaped her intellectual approach to regency, but does not unpack the specifics of the education she received under her Cambridge tutors. The alignment of Elizabeth with a Cambridge curriculum is noteworthy, but Johnson does not go so far as to explain if she did in fact receive a Cambridge based training and education. Indeed, modern biographers have repeatedly included only brief sections with little to no analysis of the depths of Elizabeth's education. As Wallace MacCaffrey wrote in 1993, "the question remains how far [Elizabeth's] immersion in the classical authors affected her conduct as a ruler."⁷ The historiography until this point was largely devoid of an analysis as to where Elizabeth's understanding of the classics was developed, and to what extent it was significant in her role. He argued that her calculating methods displayed during her reign were most certainly a reflection of her reading of the classical moralists.⁸ MacCaffrey saw Elizabeth as a reactive politician, one who fell victim to the series of events that took place throughout her reign. This argument gave little agency to the education that Elizabeth received, and how this training prepared her to be a capable politician. Despite noting the

⁶ Paul Johnson, *Elizabeth I: A Study in Power and Intellect* (London: First Omega, 1976), 17.

⁷ Wallace MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I* (London: Edward Arnold, 1993), 7.

⁸ MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I*, 7.

importance of Elizabeth's education, MacCaffrey, like Johnson, failed to develop this concept with a thorough investigation of her formal childhood training.

Similar in approach to MacCaffrey, Christopher Haigh reviewed Elizabeth's education as focused on the "Classical" and states she was a "political realist" as a result of her education, but he failed to elaborate.⁹ The introduction is the only place Haigh mentions the childhood experiences of Elizabeth. He is certainly more critical than earlier historiography by challenging the notion of the "Elizabethan Golden Age," and attempts to show the failures of Elizabeth, whom he argued "died unloved and almost unlamented."¹⁰ David Starkey's work focuses on Elizabeth's road to accession claiming throughout his biography he "never forget[s] that the years of Elizabeth's apprenticeship are a wonderful adventure story," which he seeks to demonstrate through an argument for her "taste and learning" as a young woman.¹¹ Starkey argued in his introduction that a key component of understanding Elizabeth's childhood is the years of her Protestant-based humanist education, but follows through with this claim in a brief six-page chapter on her "Childhood and Education," and a very romanticized chapter on Ascham and Elizabeth. The work is largely unsupported by primary evidence, and has inconsistencies in dates. In another biography, David Loades argued that "Elizabeth was probably the best-educated member of her family, and most certainly the most intelligent and pragmatic."¹² Like Starkey, although Loades includes a biography of Elizabeth's childhood, he does not examine primary materials, nor reflect on Elizabeth's tutelage.

⁹ Christopher Haigh, *Elizabeth I: Profiles in Power* (Essex: Pearson Education Limited, 1989), 31.

¹⁰ Haigh, *Elizabeth I*, 164.

¹¹ David Starkey, *Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2001), xi.

¹² David Loades, *Elizabeth I* (London: Hambledon, 2003), xii.

One of the most recent studies on the topic is Ted Booth's *A Body Politic to Govern*, which focused on how Elizabeth shaped her gendered identity through her pre-accession writing.¹³ Booth investigated how Elizabeth "used her humanist education to project the image of a competent, learned and devout prince," but his argument was largely focused on how Elizabeth used her correspondence to address issues of her gender.¹⁴ He drew on the political virtues of the *vita activa* (active life) that English humanists taught to elite men, and found examples of Elizabeth reflecting similar ideas in her speeches and writing. Still, Booth's focus on gender and Elizabeth's "political Humanism" has limited his analysis to only certain parts of Elizabeth's childhood education. He does not discuss, for instance, Elizabeth's training with Kat Astley, nor the whole of the humanist curriculum she received under Roger Ascham and his Cambridge peers. For example, Ascham's *The Scholemaster*, which reflects the curriculum provided to Elizabeth as a child, was not mentioned. Although Booth gave greater agency than most scholars to the role Elizabeth's childhood humanist education played in her development as a monarch, he did not develop a comprehensive understanding of her education.

The desire of scholars to focus heavily on Elizabeth's reign, or on certain narrow romanticized aspects of her childhood, has resulted in an underdeveloped study of Elizabeth's humanist education. Although biographies and scholarly works on English Humanism have noted the significance of Elizabeth's intellect and the education she received, few have gone further than to simply note this. My thesis seeks to address how Elizabeth was educated as a young woman, and the composition of the Cambridge-based curriculum she received during

¹³ Ted Booth, *A Body Politic to Govern: The Political Humanism of Elizabeth I* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013).

¹⁴ Booth, *A Body Politic to Govern*, 1.

these formative years. Such an attempt is complicated by the fact there are a limited range of primary sources available during Elizabeth's years of illegitimacy. I rely on state letters, Elizabeth's translations, letters and speeches, in addition to a conduct book from Mary Tudor's hired tutor, Juan Luis Vives, and the letters and books written by Elizabeth's personal tutor Roger Ascham. Analyzing these sources, both in their original English and, as necessary, in translation from Latin, provides an understanding of Elizabeth's childhood through varying perspectives and reveals that Elizabeth, though a woman, was an academically trained monarch and that she received an education akin in subject matter to those received by young men who matriculated to Cambridge University at this time.

This argument will be developed in two chapters. The first chapter examines Humanism in England, specifically the studies in humanities at Cambridge University, and the influences of Humanism on the education of women in England during the early sixteenth century. This chapter reveals that Elizabeth and to some extent her half-sister Mary, were not treated the same way as regular noble women at this time. Focusing on the early part of Elizabeth's life, this chapter reviews the years from 1538–1544, when she was bastardized and removed from the line of succession to the crown. Traditionally, the role of overseeing a noble woman's education in early modern England was the responsibility of the mother. When Anne Boleyn was executed in 1536, Elizabeth's household changed a great deal. Her lady governess, Kat Astley (nee. Champernowne) provided the earliest stages of Elizabeth's informal education, beginning around 1538. As these years are often and rightly referred to by historians as the lost years, looking at examples just after her reinstatement into the line of succession (1543) provides a reflection of the training Astley provided Elizabeth during this period. The education Elizabeth received during the years in which she was illegitimate are paradoxical in that traditionally the purpose of

education a young noble woman was to improve her marriage prospects; however, for Elizabeth there were minimal active negotiations taking place for her marriage. The curriculum Astley exposed Elizabeth to was facilitated because there was no purpose of training her for court life and marriage; therefore, she was allowed the opportunity to devote her time to her humanist studies instead.

The second chapter covers the years of 1544-1558, after Elizabeth was reinstated to the line of succession and was placed into the household of Kateryn Parr along with her half-brother, heir to the throne, Edward.¹⁵ This period in Elizabeth's life saw the formalization of her humanist education, especially starting in 1546 when her first personal tutor was appointed. As a result of her time spent with Edward in a shared home Elizabeth received access to an education geared and tailored towards equipping the future male monarch for rule. This chapter focuses on Edward's Cambridge tutors: Richard Cox and John Cheke, and later Elizabeth's personal Cambridge trained tutors, William Grindal and Roger Ascham. Similar to David Carlson's approach in studying the education of Henry VII's children, Arthur and Henry (VIII), I have included a study of the scholars Elizabeth and Edward had because their biography "provides the best indication of the sort of education the Tudor royal children would have received."¹⁶ Ascham's *The Scholemaster*, though written during Elizabeth's reign and published posthumously, is thoroughly analyzed in this chapter because it provided a detailed understanding both of Elizabeth's curriculum under Ascham, and Ascham's prescribed humanist curriculum during the Tudor period. The chapter concludes with a review of Elizabeth's writing

¹⁵ On this choice of spelling for Kateryn Parr's name, see Susan E. James, *Kateryn Parr: The Making of a Queen* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1999), 10.

¹⁶ David Carlson, "Royal Tutors in the Reign of Henry VII," in *Sixteenth Century Journal* 22 (1991), 253.

during the reign of her siblings, Edward VI (1547-53) and Mary I (1553-58), in order to demonstrate her immersion in a humanist culture in the years before she began her rule. Elizabeth spent this period away from court and often under suspicion by her Catholic sister, a solitary life that afforded her the opportunity to work on her studies and intellectual development. As a result of her Cambridge humanist education, and her scholarly engagement during the reign of her siblings, Elizabeth received an unprecedented humanist education for noble women of the period.

CHAPTER ONE

ELIZABETH'S EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION, 1538-1544

This chapter examines the period from 1538, after Elizabeth's first governess, Kat Astley, was appointed, up to 1544, when Elizabeth was returned to the line of succession and moved into the household of her step-mother, Queen Kateryn. First the chapter defines the role of the humanist movement in reforming English education, especially at the University of Cambridge. The advancements made in the Cambridge syllabus between 1500 to the late 1540s played a critical role in shaping the humanist tutors Elizabeth was exposed to during her formal training years.

This chapter also describes the standards of humanist studies in England in the first half of the sixteenth century, and demonstrates the uniqueness of Elizabeth's early humanist studies provided by Astley. Comparing the curriculum other elite Tudor women were exposed to, especially Mary (I), to that which Elizabeth received by Astley, demonstrates the uniqueness of the texts and studies that were part of Elizabeth's early education. As early as the age of nine Elizabeth was being noted for her advanced intellect for a young woman of the period. In December 1539, when Thomas Wriothesley visited Hertford Castle he reported back to Cromwell that "my Lady Elizabeth's Grace, ... gave humble thanks [for her father's message of well wishes], enquiring again of his Majesty's welfare, and that with as great a gravity as she had been forty years old. If she be no worse educated than she now appeareth to me, she will prove of no less honour to womanhood than shall beseem her father's daughter."¹ Already illegitimized and removed from her father's favor by the time of Wriothesley's visit, this quotation suggests

¹ Thomas Hearne, *Sylloge Epistolarum* in Plowden, *The Young Elizabeth*, 68.

that his compliment of the young Elizabeth's intelligence was sincere and not motivated by hope of royal favor. Lady Astley provided Elizabeth with a unique education founded in humanist's tracts and pedagogy. The first writings produced by Elizabeth in 1544–1546 are examined in this chapter to demonstrate that the early foundations of her humanist studies were largely unprecedented for young women of the period, and were instrumental in preparing the princess for the formal Cambridge based education she received after 1544.

Humanism and Education in the Sixteenth Century

The humanist studies of fourteenth century Italian scholars, such as Petrarch, began from an intention to reform Italian culture, which necessitated a move away from the church-driven scholastic educational model, and projecting back to the classical period.² The initial reforms although began in Italy, spread throughout Europe throughout the fourteenth to sixteenth century. The humanists believed that Europe needed to progress past the injustice of the “dark ages,” which was a period robust in church corruption. As scholars they were critical of the role that humans needed to play in citizenry and sought to recover the classical ideals of Aristotle, Plato, Livy, Cicero, and Tacitus in order to provide civic engagement in a greater capacity. The ideals of the “New Learning” were to move away from the memorization practices of the clergy and the limited authorized texts, and instead emphasized the *studia humanitatis* which included subjects such as rhetoric, poetry, grammar, history, politics, philosophy, ethics, and law. The humanists and concept of “New Learning” was instrumental in separating academic institutions such as universities and libraries from the church.

² Nauert, *Humanism and the Culture of Renaissance Europe*, 8.

The term *studia humanitatis* itself was derived from the works of Cicero.³ Charles G. Nauert, Jr. defined the *studia humanitatis* as providing a broad education on general subjects, with emphasis “on the oratorical skills” and subjects such as grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history, and moral philosophy.⁴ It was believed these skills were best to prepare men to be competent and contributing members of society capable of conducting private and public affairs.⁵ (It might be noted that the term “Humanism” is a modern one coined by a German scholar in 1808, which referred to the subjects taught by the “humanists” of early modern Europe at the universities, and Latin grammar schools.)⁶ Most university studies in the medieval period were focused on law, medicine, and theology, with little attention to humanities-based curricula. The two key features of this educational model were a scholastic emphasis on logic, and a preference for natural philosophy and metaphysics that were consistent with the teaching of the Catholic religion.⁷ The humanists created a new approach by focusing their studies on the philosophy of the individual man’s social value system and his capacity to learn. Cicero, a key classical author emulated in the movement, argued that “man was not born himself alone,” a statement humanists interpreted to mean that humans had “a duty to pursue the good of the community.”⁸ From this Ciceronian concept emerged the idea of the *vita activa*, meaning the requirement for man to exercise virtue

³ Nauert, *Humanism and the Culture of Renaissance Europe*, 12.

⁴ Nauert, *Humanism and the Culture of Renaissance Europe*, 13.

⁵ Anderson, *The Honorable Burden of Public Office*, 5.

⁶ Nauert, *Humanism and the Culture of Renaissance Europe*, 8.

⁷ J.M. Anderson, *The Honorable Burden of Public Office: English Humanists and Tudor Politics in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2010), 2.

⁸ Cicero, *On duties*, trans. and ed. M.T. Griffin and E.M. Atkins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 9-10; Andrew Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America: An Intellectual History of English Colonization, 1500-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 2.

in their life, based on the contemplative studies of their education.⁹ The emergence of the subjects of the humanities were developed during the cultural movements of the Renaissance, a period in Europe where a new emphasis was placed on the potential of humans to improve themselves through the studies of literature, art, and the classical civilizations of Greece and Rome. The term “Renaissance” refers to the practical application and results of the humanists, such as the development of artwork, architecture, and literature produced during the early modern period. Humanist scholars wanted a new curriculum that was more obtainable by a larger percentage of the population, not just the clergy. Historian Paul O. Kristeller described three distinct influences on Renaissance Humanism: the dictation of medieval scribes, the study of Latin classical works, and the introduction of Greek classical works.¹⁰ The inclusion of these topics resulted in Italy, as well as other European countries, developing an approach to political life, military affairs, commerce, law, and religion from their classical studies, based on a method of “reflection and calculation.”¹¹ Early modern humanists believed this method of reflection on the classical works provided students with the skills of wisdom, justice, courage, and temperance.¹²

⁹ Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America*, 5-6.

¹⁰ Paul O. Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and its Sources* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979).

¹¹ Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America*, 5.; Peter Elmer, “Inventing the Renaissance: Burckhardt as historian,” in *The Renaissance in Europe: The Impact of Humanism*, ed. Lucille Kekewich (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 2.

¹² Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America*, 5.

The *Studia Humanitatis* and Noble Women

Ian Maclean explained that the influence of Humanism and the Italian Renaissance meant a resurgence of classical thoughts that did not generally include women.¹³ The *studia humanitatis* focused on the education of aristocratic boys, for reasons identified in Aristotelian thought. Maclean argued many Renaissance structures were inherited from Aristotle polemic binaries that defined men as having the ability to be good, logical, and at rest, whereas women were darkness, evil, and obscure.¹⁴ These binaries were used to define male and female roles during the Renaissance, and influenced the shaping of ethical thought, as well as women's competencies to be educated. Because woman was thought to be fallen and unvirtuous this meant the Humanist education was not for them. Many public schools in England during the sixteenth century disallowed girls from attending, or limited it to being allowed up until the age of nine.¹⁵ As the influence of Protestantism spread in England the new publications on the education of girls focused on two specific goals: cultivating virtue, and developing housewifery skills.¹⁶ Hilda Smith argued although humanists tended to agree, that women had the capacity to learn, there was a concern with what women would do with such learning, and how it would interfere with their more important role in society to be a mother and wife.¹⁷

¹³ Ian Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman: A study in the fortunes of scholasticism and medical science in European intellectual life* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1980).

¹⁴ Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman*, 2-3.

¹⁵ Aughterson, *Renaissance Woman*, 165.

¹⁶ Aughterson, *Renaissance Woman*, 167.

¹⁷ Hilda Smith, "Humanist education and the Renaissance concept of woman," in *Women and Literature in Britain: 1500-1700*, ed. Helen Wilcox (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 11.

Women were seen as weaker vessels because of ideas derived from the Bible.¹⁸ Maclean explained scholars in the early modern period believed there were “diminished mental powers (especially reason) in the female” because of their understanding of Peter 3:7; which stated “Likewise ye men dwell with them according to knowledge, giving honour unto the wife, as unto the weaker vessel, and as unto them that are heirs also of the grace of life, that your prayers be not let.”¹⁹ Eve, the mother of the female sex, was said to be produced from sleeping Adam, and Dominican Thomas de Vio, Cardinal Cajetan (1469-1534) argued “a sleeping man is only half a man.”²⁰ Due to the drowsy state from which women were created, it was believed to be biblically supported women were the lesser sex. Supporting this, it was common for theologians of the Renaissance to reference Cardinal Cajetan and Genesis 2:21 to demonstrate women’s weaker capacity to learn.²¹ Juan Luis Vives, who wrote Mary Tudor’s curriculum, instructed: “Let a woman learn in silence with all submissiveness. I permit no woman to ... have authority over men; she is to keep silent. For Adam was formed first, then Eve.”²² Theologians and academics of the period believed because of women’s flawed beginnings from Genesis they were physically incapable of being as intellectual as men.

The early modern period produced countless conduct books responding to Italian humanists Bruni, Petrarch and Dante, and their ideals, specifically on the subjects of religion,

¹⁸ Antonia Fraser, *The Weaker Vessel: Woman’s lot in Seventeenth Century England* (New York: Knopf, 1984).

¹⁹ Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman*, 9; David Daniell, ed., *Tyndale New Testament* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), Peter 3.7.

²⁰ Jack M. Greenstein, *The Creation of Eve and Renaissance Naturalism: Visual Theology and Artistic Invention* (San Diego: University of California, 2016), 106.

²¹ Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman*, 9.

²² Juan Luis Vives, *The Education of a Christian Woman: a Sixteenth Century Manual*, ed. Trans. Charles Fantazzi (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), 72.

scholasticism, and social reform. The conduct works that arose from the Renaissance period were specifically for men and focused on obtaining an education would make them more moralistic and logical. However, for women, the conduct works focused predominately on her chastity, her role as a wife, mother, and household governance. Leonardo Bruni's *On Studies and Letters* (c.1423-1426) addressed to a noble woman, argued woman should receive "largely the same classical education as men."²³ Only a handful of women received this education, as a woman educated in Greek and Latin was regarded as unusual during the period.²⁴ There is little to no mention of formal education outside of scripture for women in conduct books in the period.

Alternatively, Court was one place where women were educated and expected to show off their intellect and ideas. Maclean argued that court was a place where women were encouraged to display their knowledge.²⁵ As Baldassare Castiglione (1478-1529) wrote in his work *Il Cortegiano* (1528), a courtly woman must be educated enough to "sustain conversation in civilized company."²⁶ The social position of a noble woman was counter to the "strictures applied to her as a moral, domestic and [lacking] intellectual being."²⁷ Erasmus wrote in his *Colloquy of the abbot and learned woman* (trans. 1671) that it "becomes noble women, to have somewhat wherewith they may pleasantly pass away their spare time."²⁸ However, he feared that "it is not for women to be wise," as "books do much weaken women's brains."²⁹ He believed the teaching of language, especially Latin, to women would result in them having private

²³ Nauert, *Humanism and the Culture of Renaissance Europe*, 45.

²⁴ Nauert, *Humanism and the Culture of Renaissance Europe*, 45.

²⁵ Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman*, 64.

²⁶ Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman*, 64.

²⁷ Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman*, 64.

²⁸ Desiderius Erasmus, *Colloquy of the abbot and learned woman*, in Aughterson, *Renaissance Woman*, 171.

²⁹ Erasmus, *Colloquy of the abbot and learned woman*, in Aughterson, *Renaissance Woman*, 172-3.

conversations and encourage their fall into vice. The lack of education available to women was a control means in order to ensure they were dependent on their father and later on their husband.³⁰ The education of women at court was more to occupy their time and to keep them from falling victim to sin, rather than educate them.

In 1987, Joan Kelly questioned the notion of equality for men and women in the period, and argued although court may have been a slightly different situation to that of the more common woman's experience, the humanist education and Renaissance did not reach every aristocratic woman.³¹ Contradicting Maclean, Kelly argued that the intention of the Renaissance was still to educate women in order to become a wife, and therefore her education was focused on cultural and social functions of court. Women did not need to obtain an education equal to a man because their husbands would make decisions for them.³² Quoting Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, Kelly explained it is quite clear the sexes had very different expectations in regards to education. A woman was to learn "knowledge of letters, of music, of painting, and ... how to dance and how to be festive."³³ These activities were deemed as safe, as they would not stimulate sinful behaviour. Furthermore, Kelly concludes that any advances made during the Renaissance in regards to state politics, economy, and humanist culture, only further moulded the definition of a noblewoman being an aesthetic object that should be "decorous, chaste, and doubly dependent on her husband as well as the prince."³⁴ Despite Maclean seeing court as an anomaly,

³⁰ Joan Kelly, "Did Women Have a Renaissance," in *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*, ed. Renate Bridenthal, et al. 2nd ed (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), 176.

³¹ Kelly, "Did Women Have a Renaissance," 176.

³² Kelly, "Did Women Have a Renaissance," 187.

³³ Baldassare Castiglione's *The Book of Courtiers* (1528), trans. in Kelly, "Did Women Have a Renaissance," 186.

³⁴ Kelly, "Did Women Have a Renaissance," 197.

it was still enmeshed in the patriarchal expectations of the early modern period, in which women were being trained for their futures as wives and mothers.

The Education of Tudor Women

Despite the somewhat limited application of humanism and the renaissance works to women's education, there were some women in the early modern period who received a fairly robust education despite their gender. Women obtaining an education similar to the likes of Margaret More, daughter of Sir Thomas More, Mary and Elizabeth Tudor, Catherine of Aragon, and Jane Grey were so rare that scholar Hilda Smith estimated only fifteen women in early modern England received a humanist education.³⁵ Of these fifteen women, they were of varying levels and still not to the same degree as their male counterparts. Understanding the uniqueness of these women's education, and the opportunities they were provided helps to contextualize what was atypical about the extensive humanist education Elizabeth began to receive as early as 1538.

Catherine of Aragon (1485–1536), Henry's first wife, was very well educated for a female born in the late fifteenth century. Scholars such as Antonia Fraser speculated Catherine received an atypical education for the period because of her mother Isabella's (1451–1504) role as regnant Queen of Castile.³⁶ Queen Isabella had been educated in a secluded convent and received an education devoid of any skills necessary for governing.³⁷ She knew no Latin upon accession, and therefore was determined her daughters would all be educated in classical studies,

³⁵ Hilda Smith, *Reasons Disciples: Sixteenth-Century English Feminists* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), 40.

³⁶ Antonia Fraser, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1992), 11.

³⁷ Fraser, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII*, 11.

language, in addition to those skills necessary for a fifteenth century woman.³⁸ Isabella and Ferdinand selected Dominican reformer Pascual de Ampudia, Dominican Andrés de Morales, and the Italian humanist brothers Alessandro and Antonio Geraldini.³⁹ Catherine studied both her Missal, and the Bible but also classics such as Prudentius and Juventus, St. Ambrose on St. Augustine, St. Gregory, St. Jerome, Seneca and the Latin historians.⁴⁰ Great emphasis was placed on the study of Latin and theology, as was common for Spanish Catholic scholarship in the period. Due to Catherine's knowledge of literature and the classics, she was regarded in England as displaying a "quality of mind ... which few queens have seriously rivalled."⁴¹ Furthermore, Erasmus described her as "*egregie docta*," a "miracle of her sex."⁴² As per the custom of the time, in addition to her Latin, Catherine was also accomplished in music, dancing, and drawing, as well as basic domestic skills.⁴³ She was taught to spin, weave and bake, as well as embroidery. Catherine took great pride in her embroidery, and used her skill to embroider all of Henry VIII's shirts personally.⁴⁴ Catherine's education although inclusive of Latin and some classical works it was certainly not inclusive of a male students humanist education, and was largely focused on the purpose of her role to become a dutiful wife.

Mary Tudor (1516-1558) was Henry VIII's and Catherine's only surviving child. It was clear in the early 1520s that Mary would be the only legitimate heir to the English throne. It was

³⁸ C.S.L. Davis and John Edwards, "Katherine (1485-1536)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

³⁹ Davis and Edwards, "Katherine (1485-1536)," *ODNB*.

⁴⁰ Fraser, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII*, 12.

⁴¹ Fraser, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII*, 12.

⁴² Kathi Vosevich, "The Education of a Prince(ss): Tutoring the Tudors," in *Women, Writing, and the Reproduction of Culture in Tudor and Stuart Britain*, ed. Mary E. Burke, et al (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 62.

⁴³ Davis and Edwards, "Katherine (1485-1536)," *ODNB*.

⁴⁴ Fraser, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII*, 12.

with great pride Catherine approached the education of her daughter Mary. Since no educational based conduct books existed in the period for noble young women, Catherine commissioned Juan Luis Vives, a leading Spanish humanist to write an instructional work on the education of women. Vives wrote *The Education of Christian Women* in 1524, the leading document used for the training of Mary. Vive's manual is noteworthy for being one of the first focused on the education of women; however, it reads more similar to a conduct book for young women, than it does an educational treatise.⁴⁵ It largely encouraged domestic skills and dancing over a humanist enlightened formal education. Vives mirrored the common academic thought of the period stating that "woman is a frail thing, and of weak discretion, and that may be lightly deceived: which thing our first mother Eve sheweth, whom the Devil caught with light argument."⁴⁶ The educational plan outlined by Vives for the future heir of England was largely moralistic rather than academic. He explained that when educating a young woman "if the mother knows literature, she should teach her children when they are small," furthermore, "her daughters, in addition to letters she will instruct them in the skills proper to their sex: how to work wool, and flax, to spin, to weave, to sew and the care and administration of domestic affairs."⁴⁷ The intention of this curriculum instructed the values of "justice, piety, fortitude, temperance, learning, clemency, mercy and love of humankind."⁴⁸ The curriculum outlined a typical female education being accomplished in needlework and embroidery, but also "with equal vigour, grammar and rhetoric[,] scripture and moral philosophy, up to the full extent of her ability,

⁴⁵ Vosevich, "The Education of a Prince(ss)," 67.

⁴⁶ Juan Luis Vives, *De Ratiene Stuelii Puerilis*, trans. in Kathi Vosevich, "The Education of a Prince(ss)," 63.

⁴⁷ Vives, *The Education of a Christian Woman*, 270.

⁴⁸ Vives, *The Education of a Christian Woman*, 272.

unobstructed by any perceived notion of an essential difference in the intellectual capacity of the sexes.”⁴⁹ He instructed a woman should “learn in silence with all submissiveness,” meaning to gain an education is not to provide them with a louder voice, but instead a greater understanding of how to be a virtuous woman.⁵⁰ The intention of this work was to guide Mary’s education, as well as other female European courtiers. The work was written for Princess Mary, the only heir to the Tudor throne; however, this did not exclude Mary from her gender’s intellectual inabilities. Vives believed limitations regarding subject matter were needed. For example, he prohibited women from reading about war, a topic a potential state leader most certainly would need to be familiar with, but for fear of the topic being antithetical to chastity, it was prohibited.⁵¹ Despite her station, Vosevich argued Vives still intended for Princess Mary to receive an education befitting her in that it would produce a “silent, submissive woman, and not a vocal aggressive ruler.”⁵² Catherine of Aragon implemented Mary’s education mirroring the instructions of Vives.

The education Mary received was later reflected in Mary’s managing her personal household with a pious focus, and reflected her non-humanist education; instead she was more prone to traditional courtly values such as Valentines festival games, and the socialization and more domestic pursuits of women of the period.⁵³ In 1525 Henry sent Mary and her household to Wales with the intention Mary’s household would be the center of elite social life in the region.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Vives, *The Education of a Christian Woman*, 270.

⁵⁰ Vives, *The Education of a Christian Woman*, 72.

⁵¹ Vosevich, “The Education of a Prince(ss),” 64.

⁵² Vosevich, “The Education of a Prince(ss),” 65.

⁵³ J.L. McIntosh, *From Heads of Household to Heads of State: The Preaccession Households of Mary and Elizabeth Tudor, 1516-1558* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 73-77

⁵⁴ McIntosh, *From Heads of Household to Heads of State*, 31.

From a young age Henry was ensuring his daughter be educated and trained in the ability to act as a “royal hospitality center,” reflecting the influences of her courtly, not humanist focused education.⁵⁵ As the Princess of Wales by household from 1525-1528 she was expected to be an extension of her father’s court and to welcome nobility into her household in all the grandeur expected of an heir to the Tudor throne.⁵⁶ As a result the values instilled in Mary’s youth were more of the social etiquette, paying keen attention to her training to become a proper wife and Catholic woman.

Henry’s second wife, Anne Boleyn, Elizabeth’s mother, was educated in the fashion fairly typical of a noble woman in the early sixteenth century and focused on the learning of French and courtly social skills. Her father, Sir Thomas Boleyn was esteemed by Erasmus as being a man with great intelligence, *egregie eruditius* (brilliantly learned).⁵⁷ Through Sir Thomas’s station in Margaret of Austria’s court as an ambassador he was able to secure a place for Anne.⁵⁸ In 1513, when Anne received her placement in Brussels at Archduchess Margaret’s court it was the “most prestigious” court in Europe.⁵⁹ Anne studied French while at court, and wrote clumsy correspondence in French to her father.⁶⁰ During her station as a *demoiselles d’honneur* Anne was described by the Archduchess as being “bright and pleasant for her young age.”⁶¹ In 1514 Anne was moved to “the French Queen’s” household, where she held her position with Queen Claude for seven years. Anne’s advanced understanding of court manners

⁵⁵ McIntosh, *From Heads of Household to Heads of State*, 31.

⁵⁶ McIntosh, *From Heads of Household to Heads of State*, 23-49.

⁵⁷ Fraser, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII*, 118.

⁵⁸ E.W. Ives, “Anne Boleyn (C. 1500-1536),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁵⁹ Ives, “Anne C. 1500-1536),” *ODNB*.

⁶⁰ Fraser, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII*, 121.

⁶¹ Paget (164-5) quoted in Ives, “Anne C. 1500-1536),” *ODNB*.

and her linguistic abilities assisted in her ability to maintain a position abroad.⁶² She was a capable French linguist, and could both speak and write French poetry and music. As the daughter of a nobleman the purpose of Anne's training was less educational and more focused on improving her prospects on the marriage market, improving her family's social standings.

Sir Thomas More's daughter, Margaret More (1505-1544) is often referred to as being one of the most educated women in Tudor England. Although she received an advanced education for the period, it was still firmly structured by the subject of marriage, and the purpose of providing her with wifely virtues. Based on Plato's *Republic*, Moore believed women were able to be educated like men, as they were "quite capable of it, and their natures are closely relation to those of the men."⁶³ Therefore, he employed William Gonnell as a full-time tutor to educate his three daughters and son together. The curriculum designed by More consisted of daily Latin translations, writing of poetry and short Latin essays.⁶⁴ All the children practiced writing letters daily, through the exercise of writing to their father while he was away from home at court. It is evident More did not believe in an equal education for both sexes as his sons curriculum differed from his sisters as he receive a study in rhetoric as well, to assist in him mastering the art of "competitive audition" or public speaking.⁶⁵ John's letters to his father were also expected to be longer in length, and demonstrate a greater sense of elegance in writing style.⁶⁶ Eloquence of speech was a dignified way of demonstrating authority by a man;

⁶² Ives, "Anne C. 1500-1536)," *ODNB*.

⁶³ Plato, *Republic* trans in. John Guy, *A Daughter's Love: Thomas and Margaret More*, (London: Fourth Estate, 2008), 60.

⁶⁴ Guy, *A Daughter's Love*, 61.

⁶⁵ Guy, *A Daughter's Love*, 60.

⁶⁶ Smith, "Humanist Education and the Renaissance Concept of Woman," 22.

conversely, for a woman to be skilled in rhetoric it was interpreted as a sign of lax morals, sexual promiscuity, and impudence.⁶⁷ When Margaret wrote to her father requesting to publish her writing, he declined her permission. According to More it was “disreputable for a woman to seek recognition as a writer.”⁶⁸ Her father, despite his humanist *Utopia* beliefs, still practiced a distinction in gender and a woman’s ability as a scholar. Smith argued that the educational aspirations of More were challenged by his true goal of “domestic modesty” for his daughter.⁶⁹ Margaret later published translations anonymously, producing a great deal of writing even after her marriage in 1521. The education of Margaret Roper in some ways was similar to Elizabeth in the provisions of Latin studies, writing, and poetry, but Roper’s was lacking in the language skills, classical texts, and rhetoric development Elizabeth received.

Henry VIII’s sixth wife Kateryn Parr was trained in her youth according to humanist ideals for women. Agnes Strickland, Parr’s first biographer, attributed her as being “the admiration of the most learned men in Europe and the intellectual model of the ladies of England.”⁷⁰ Furthermore, she claimed Kateryn “received a learned education,” training her to be “both read and wrote [in] Latin with facility, possessed some knowledge of Greek, and was well versed in modern languages.”⁷¹ Earlier scholars on Kateryn, most likely building from Strickland, believed Kateryn to have been a well-educated, and perhaps one of the tutors to Elizabeth I. However, a close reading of Parr’s letters, as well as a more thorough researching

⁶⁷ Guy, *A Daughter’s Love*, 61.

⁶⁸ “Letter of Sir Thomas Moore to Meg in Guy,” *A Daughter’s Love*, 65.

⁶⁹ Smith, “Humanist Education and the Renaissance Concept of Woman,” 26.

⁷⁰ C. Fenno Hoffman Jr, “Catherine Parr as a Woman of Letters,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 23 (1960), 349.

⁷¹ Agnes Strickland, *Lives of the queens of England. From the Norman Conquest* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1867), 316.

into her biography clarify Parr was most certainly not exceptionally learned prior to her accession into Queenship. Her royal step-children most likely played a key role in developing her intellectual curiosity. She was born around 1512, to a gentry's father, Sir Thomas Parr of Kendal in Westmorland, and received a curriculum of Latin, French, Italian, arithmetic under the care of her mother.⁷² Kateryn's sister Anne Parr claimed her mother formulated their curriculum based on Sir Thomas More's advice on his own children's.⁷³ The earliest surviving documents of Kateryn's own writings are all in English, and prove her Latin and other languages were at a very basic understanding prior to her becoming queen.⁷⁴ Her handwriting was of the rudimentary "hybrid 'bastard'" style, similar to her mothers who likely had taught her daughter to write.⁷⁵ William Bercher wrote *the Nobility of Women* (1559) listing eight English families where the daughters were "notable not onely in learnenge but in all other vertues."⁷⁶ The work included Elizabeth and Mary Tudor, as well as Thomas More's daughters, but there is no inclusion of Kateryn. Bercher being a contemporary proves Parr's education was not noteworthy during the period.⁷⁷ She was educated, but not learned enough to be noteworthy by her contemporaries. Unlike her stepdaughter Elizabeth whose intellect and academic achievements have been noted repeatedly both in her contemporaries works and throughout historians analysis.

⁷² Janel Mueller, *Katherine Parr: Complete Works and Correspondence* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press), 4-6.

⁷³ Dakota Lee Hamilton, "The Household of Queen Katherine Parr," (DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 1992), 311-12, cited in Mueller, *Katherine Parr*, 6.

⁷⁴ See Mueller, *Katherine Parr*.

⁷⁵ Mueller, *Katherine Parr*, 6.

⁷⁶ William Bercher's *The Nobility of Women*, in Fenno Jr. "Catherine Parr as a Woman of Letters," 349.

⁷⁷ See David Loades, *Tudor Queens of England* (London and New York: Continuum, 2009), 133 for further support of Kateryn's lacking education.

Humanist Studies at Cambridge University

Alternative to the restrained humanist education Tudor noble women received, boys and men typically procured a humanist education largely based on the University of Cambridge and Oxford's curriculum. As early as 1475, the emergence of the “New Learning” in England was demonstrated by the anonymous author of *Book of Noblesse*, which required young men “descendid of noble bloode and borne to arms” to become engaged in “civile matiers,” a distinctly humanist sentiment.⁷⁸ By 1485, Humanism and the model of the “New Learning” were becoming well established in English curricula.⁷⁹ Joanna Martindale asserted that the central emphasis of the English humanist movement was literary in focus because “rhetoric was believed to hold the key to the good life.”⁸⁰ Specifically at Cambridge, reforms to embrace the humanist scholars began in 1495, by which time in order to obtain a Bachelor of Arts degree, two years of Terence, one year of dialectic, and one year of philosophy studies were required.⁸¹ Terence’s lectures were based on the Roman playwright’s works, which provided the foundations for grammar studies.⁸² Following this reform, attempts were made by the university to appoint three regent master positions lecturing specifically in grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy.⁸³

⁷⁸ *The Booke of Noblesse, Addressed to Edward IV on his Invasion of France in 1475*, ed. John Gough Nichols (London: Roxburgh Club, 1860), 77. Quoted in: Pollnitz, “Humanism and Court Culture,” 45.

⁷⁹ Roberto Weiss, *Humanism in England during the Fifteenth Century*, 3rd ed (London: Blackwell, 1967), 5-6.

⁸⁰ Joanna Martindale ed., *English Humanism: Wyatt to Cowley* (London: Croom Helm Ltd, 1985), 20.

⁸¹ James Heywood, ed., *Early Cambridge University and College Statutes* (London: 1855), 155.

⁸² D. R. Leader, *The University to 1546, vol. 1, A History of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 249.

⁸³ Heywood, ed., *Early Statutes*, 126.

The medieval curriculum at Cambridge was made up of three parts: “the *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric, and logic), the *Quadrivium* (arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy, and the *Philosophies* (natural, moral, and metaphysical)”.⁸⁴ Although some of these subjects were maintained at Cambridge, the “New Learning” applied a less theological understanding and instead was formed from the classical works of ancient Greek and Roman scholars. Reforms at Cambridge were heavily pushed starting around the turn of the sixteenth century, in part as a result of the rising familiarity with works by humanists such as Desiderius Erasmus and Juan Luis Vives. Both humanists wrote in the late fifteenth century that they were appalled by the existing court culture in England, which they said was shaped by the “chivalric education” traditional to English medieval court.⁸⁵ A statute in 1500 extended mathematics as being required part of both the bachelors and masters programs.⁸⁶ When Erasmus first visited Cambridge in 1506 with Henry VII, during a progress to the shrine of Our lady of Walsingham, he noted significant improvements at the institution and their approach to humanist studies.⁸⁷ Erasmus explained years later that “at Cambridge, about thirty years ago, [in the late fifteenth century,] nothing was taught but Alexander and the so-called ‘Small Logicals (*Parva Logicia*)’ and those ancient Aristotelian rules... [S]ubsequently, good letters were added and a knowledge of

⁸⁴ Anderson, *The Honorable Burden of Public Office*, 2.

⁸⁵ Aysha Pollnitz, “Humanism and Court Culture in the Education of Tudor Royal Children,” in *Tudor Court Culture*, ed. Thomas Betteridge and Anna Riehl (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 2010), 43.

⁸⁶ Trans. in James Heywood ed., *Collection of Statutes for the University and Colleges of Cambridge* (London: 1840), 153.

⁸⁷ James Hannam, “Teaching Natural Philosophy and Mathematics at Oxford and Cambridge 1500-1570,” (PhD Dissertation, Pembroke College, Cambridge University, 2008), 65.

mathematics and a new, or at least refurbished, Aristotle.”⁸⁸ In 1511, Erasmus joined the faculty at Cambridge as a lecturer in theology, Greek and mathematics. He was invited to join by faculty member John Fisher, future chancellor. He was the first Greek lecturer at Cambridge, and at times lectured in the subject of grammar using the works of Manuel Chrysoloras and Theodore of Gaza.⁸⁹ As a result of Erasmus’s mathematical teachings at Cambridge the subject was reformed to include arithmetic and music, geometry, perspective, and astronomy, all becoming a requirement for students to complete in order to obtain their degree.⁹⁰ Three years of lectures on both philosophy and mathematics was added as a requirement in order to obtain a bachelor’s degree.⁹¹ Upon his departure from Cambridge in 1513, Erasmus wrote that Cambridge had made great progression in “rivalling the leading modern schools.”⁹²

As chancellor from 1514-1535 Fisher made great strides in advancing the curriculum after Erasmus’s departure. His desire to reform theology to include ancient languages created new opportunities for scholarship and development of Hebrew and Greek studies. Reforms made at Cambridge were much greater than those of Oxford, largely owing to Fisher’s advancements made in his twenty years as chancellor. Erasmus overhauled the *trivium* to reflect his principles; however, Fisher enabled these changes to be sustained and ensured the addition of more

⁸⁸ Erasmus, “Letter 52-Erasmus to Henry Bullock (extract). Rochester, August, 1516,” in *Erasmus and Cambridge: The Cambridge Letters of Erasmus*, ed. H.C. Porter and D.F.S. Thomson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), 195.

⁸⁹ James McConica, “Erasmus, Desiderius (c. 1467-1536),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁹⁰ Paul Lawrence Rose, “Erasmians and Mathematicians at Cambridge in the Early Sixteenth Century,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 8 (1977), 49.

⁹¹ Heywood, ed., *Early Statutes*, 125.

⁹² Porter and Thomson, eds., *Cambridge Letters of Erasmus*, 195.

contemporary works brought in from Paris on the topics of natural philosophy.⁹³ After 1524, a salaried lecturer on the subject of philosophy was retained, and by the 1530s, Cambridge had a humanist natural philosophy syllabus, while Oxford did not.⁹⁴

The connection between Cambridge and the Tudor royal family began much prior to Elizabeth and Edward's tutors being selected from the institution. Lady Margaret Beaufort (1443-1509), Henry VIII's paternal grandmother was the principal patron for the rebuilding of the University Church, and founded Christ's College in 1505. Upon opening, it was Lady Beaufort who stipulated in *Early Statutes of Christ's College*, the curriculum to be followed and the conduct of students at Cambridge. She insisted that an Arts Baccalaureate was to be completed in the duration of four years, and that all attendees "shall always use the Latin language as long as they are within the bounds of the College."⁹⁵ Although the use of Latin was not a reform based on the *studia humanitatis*, the establishment of new facilities at Cambridge by Lady Beaufort were significant in expanding the space and class capacity in which "New Learning" could develop. Additionally, the patronage of Lady Beaufort began the link between the Tudor monarch and academia at Cambridge University.

Henry VIII continued his grandmother's reforms at the University, and through his relationship with humanists and state officials such as Sir Thomas More, Thomas Cromwell, and Desiderius Erasmus, he developed a strong interest in the *studia humanitatis*. These humanists highly valued the role of monarchy, and believed that education in England should be developed

⁹³ Hannam, "Teaching Natural Philosophy and Mathematics at Oxford and Cambridge 1500-1570," 65.

⁹⁴ Hannam, "Teaching Natural Philosophy and Mathematics at Oxford and Cambridge 1500-1570," 65.

⁹⁵ Margaret Beaufort, "Early Statutes of Christ's College, Cambridge," in *The Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance: An Anthology of Tudor Prose, 1481-1555*, ed. Elizabeth M. Nugent (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), 22.

to improve the common good.⁹⁶ The intention of humanist education in England was defined by Thomas and Brian D'Arcy as being the purpose of educating young men so they would grow up to worship their fathers, and become “masters of great families,” who are “virtuously instructed, guided, governed, and trained up in the fear of God.”⁹⁷ The first English monarch to receive an education with a curriculum highlighting humanist influences was Henry VIII. Reflecting the period in which he was educated he was a highly advanced scholar in the topic of theology. It was through his own academic understanding of scripture that he argued for an annulment of his marriage to Catherine of Aragon.⁹⁸ His education most likely began as early as the age of four, when his father bought for him a book “for my lord of York” for £1 in November, 1495. Starkey speculates that from this book Henry learned to read.⁹⁹ Henry’s childhood education as per tradition of the time had initially been overseen by his mother, Elizabeth of York, and he was accompanied by his sisters. However, once Henry VIII’s older brother Arthur passed, thus making him heir to the throne, he was removed from his mother’s household and his education was geared towards preparation for kingship. Erasmus presented to Henry VIII in 1517 a copy of his *Institutio principis Christiani* (1516), in which he argued a “good prince hangs on his proper education.”¹⁰⁰ The education of future monarchs had to be “managed all the more attentively, so that what has been lost with the right to vote is made up for by the care given to his

⁹⁶ Booth, *A Body Politic to Govern*, 4.

⁹⁷ Kate Aughterson, *Renaissance Woman: Constructions of Femininity in England* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 165.

⁹⁸ For examples of Henry VIII’s theology based education see Nugent, *The Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance: An Anthology of Tudor Prose*.

⁹⁹ David Starkey, *Henry: Virtuous Prince* (London: HarperPress, 2008), 118.

¹⁰⁰ Desiderius Erasmus, *Institutio principis Christiani* (1516), in Pollnitz, “Humanism and Court Culture,” 42.

upbringing.”¹⁰¹ The relationship Henry established with scholars such as More and Erasmus resulted in his training for monarch being heavily indebted to humanist studies.

Due in part to Henry’s interest in the *studia humanitatis* he granted a charter to the University of Cambridge on July 20, 1534, which significantly extended the institution’s subject matter and authority to produce and distribute printed books.¹⁰² The charter allowed for “either foreigners or natives” to produce the works, as long as they paid all their taxes and dues.¹⁰³ This was instrumental in expanding the subject matter to include international scholars and subjects being studied on the continent. Stationers or printers at Cambridge University were then able to participate “from time to time for their goods and merchandise to be exported from or imported into … [the] realm.”¹⁰⁴ The opening of a trade in humanist-oriented subject matter assisted in Cambridge being able to create revenue, as well as to expand their library and curriculum.

The charter was produced during the time of Henry’s religious reformation in England. At the helm of these reformations was Henry’s principal secretary and chief minister, Thomas Cromwell (1485–1540). Cromwell, although not a worldly academic, was pragmatic and driven to reform.¹⁰⁵ He believed it was necessary to employ academic theologians in order to obtain the King’s divorce in 1533, and afterwards he recognised the underutilized role academia could play

¹⁰¹ Erasmus, *Institutio principis Christiani* (1516), in Pollnitz, “Humanism and Court Culture,” 42.

¹⁰² David McKitterick, *A History of Cambridge University Press, Volume I: Printing and the Book Trade in Cambridge, 1534-1698* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 22.

¹⁰³ McKitterick, *A History of Cambridge University Press*, 35.

¹⁰⁴ Henry VIII, “Cambridge Charter granted on 20 July 1534,” in McKitterick, *A History of Cambridge University Press*, 37.

¹⁰⁵ Howard Leithead, “Cromwell, Thomas, earl of Essex (b. 148-15410), royal minister,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

in English political advancement.¹⁰⁶ Consistent with the Act of Supremacy in 1534, reforms were made to the curricula in England to separate from Roman Catholic influenced works. These reforms required that “students in arts should be instructed in logic, rhetoric, arithmetic, geography, music, and philosophy, and should read Aristotle, Rodulphus, Agricola, Melanchthon, Trapezuntius, and not the frivolous questions and obscure glosses of Scotus, Burleus, Anthony Trombet, Bricot, Bruliferius.”¹⁰⁷ Chancellor Fisher refused to take the Oath of Supremacy, and was executed in 1535 as a result. His replacement, although lacking in academic professional training, was Cromwell, who issued Injunctions in 1535 ordering that “the University is to swear to the succession by a writing under their common seal and signed with their hands, and to obey the laws made or to be made for the extirpation of papal usurpation.”¹⁰⁸ Included in his decree of limitations on subject, Cromwell ordered that “students should be permitted to read the Scriptures privately, and to attend lectures on them.”¹⁰⁹ The injunctions created a systematic reform to the earlier scholastic works, and replaced the Cambridge curriculum with a more progressive humanist structure.¹¹⁰ His reforms were vital in progressing Cambridge and its humanist curriculum, as he insisted on a mandatory inclusion of Greek

¹⁰⁶ Anthony Levi, *Renaissance and Reformation: The Intellectual Genesis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 335.

¹⁰⁷ Thomas Cromwell, “Cooper’s Annals of Cambridge, I. 375,” in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 9, August-December 1535*, ed. James Gairdner (London: 1886), 11-20, *British History Online*.

¹⁰⁸ Cromwell, “Cooper’s Annals of Cambridge, I. 375,” in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*.

¹⁰⁹ Cromwell, “Cooper’s Annals of Cambridge, I. 375,” in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*.

¹¹⁰ Hannam, “Teaching Natural Philosophy and Mathematics at Oxford and Cambridge 1500-1570,” 106.

curriculum and the inclusion of new textbooks to accompany the classical works of the likes of Aristotle.¹¹¹

John Cheke (1514–1557) was a prime reformer to the Cambridge syllabus. He was born and raised in Cambridge, and entered St John's College in 1524. In 1533, he completed his master's degree and went on to teach Greek at the University. He remained a teacher at Cambridge until 1544, when he was appointed as the royal tutor to Prince Edward. Cheke received many accolades during his academic career, and his later work as the first Regius Professor of Greek.¹¹² After completing his time as Edward's tutor, he returned to Cambridge to become the Provost of King's College, and, in 1549, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity. During Edward's reign he was appointed as his principal secretary based on his sincere dedication to bridging the influences of Humanism and government. The syllabus that Cheke introduced as Provost was intended to reflect his experiences as a tutor and teacher.¹¹³ He was deeply committed to providing students with the necessary skills to become valuable members of Protestant society. For the subject of philosophy he placed an emphasis on politics and ethics, and in mathematics he moved away from the logics (what is referred to as sums today) to a more practical calculation method believed to advance daily life.¹¹⁴ Hannam describes Cheke's "most radical idea," as being the introduction of geography to the bachelor's syllabus.¹¹⁵ Cheke's reforms to the Cambridge curriculum were intended to impart in his students skills applicable to

¹¹¹ Alistair Hamilton, "Humanists and the Bible," in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*, ed. Jill Kraye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 113.

¹¹² A testament to Henry VIII's commitment to humanist studies at the Universities was his creation, in 1540, of five regius professorships at each of Oxford and Cambridge. The chairs were in the subjects of Divinity, Physics, Hebrew, Greek, and Civil Law.

¹¹³ Hannam, "Teaching Natural Philosophy and Mathematics at Oxford and Cambridge 1500-1570," 10.

¹¹⁴ Hannam, "Teaching Natural Philosophy and Mathematics at Oxford and Cambridge 1500-1570," 10.

¹¹⁵ Hannam, "Teaching Natural Philosophy and Mathematics at Oxford and Cambridge 1500-1570," 102.

their working life post-graduation. In 1549 new Edwardian statutes were implemented, which stated the master's curriculum was to consist of "philosophy, perspective, astronomy and Greek. Behind this integration of mathematics into the new learning were Cheke, and Sir Thomas Smith."¹¹⁶ The texts included in this reform were Pomponius Mela, Pliny and Strabo for geography; Tunstall and Cardano for arithmetic; Euclid for geometry; and Ptolemy for astronomy.¹¹⁷ As late as the 1590s, Thomas Nashe asserted that John Cheke laid down a solid scholarly tradition at Cambridge.¹¹⁸ By the mid-sixteenth century Cambridge was a humanist institution with a strong Greek program, and requirements of male students to be learned in the subjects of geometry, astronomy, geography, music, mathematics, in addition to focus on rhetoric, grammar, poetry, and writing. These studies were based from the works of Cicero, Virgil, Terence, Homer, Plato, as well as many others referenced afore. Cheke was born and raised in Cambridge, and went through both the student and professional aspects of the institution, his move to the royal household created as close to possible of an extension of a Cambridge classroom for both Edward and Elizabeth.

The Bastard Elizabeth and Kat Astley

The concept of 'New Learning' and humanist studies although not always applied to the education of women, were in some ways beneficial in providing noble women with an improved curriculum. As outlined previously, the education Mary Tudor received was limited by her

¹¹⁶ Rose, "Erasmians and Mathematicians," 51.

¹¹⁷ Heywood, *Collection*, quoted in Rose, "Erasmians and Mathematicians," 51.

¹¹⁸ Quoted in Hannam, "Teaching Natural Philosophy and Mathematics at Oxford and Cambridge 1500-1570," 122.

gender, but because of her role in the line of succession she was exposed to some humanist tracts as prescribed by her tutor, Juan Luis Vives. Contrary to her sister, Elizabeth's childhood experiences were in stark contrast to those of Mary, who spent the first seventeen years of her life as the legitimate heir to the Tudor throne. J.L. McIntosh argued that the contrasting approach to household management by the princesses was a reflection of the differing training they receive in their childhood.¹¹⁹ Mary was seventeen years old when her half-sister Elizabeth was born, and took her place as heir to the Tudor throne. When Elizabeth was born September 7, 1533, Mary lost her title as princess, was deemed illegitimate and removed from the line of succession. Mary was moved in 1536 to Elizabeth's residence, and the two would remain in a shared household until 1544. In July 1536, shortly after Anne's death Mary reported to their father that "my sister Elizabeth is well ... and such a child toward, as I doubt not but your Highness shall have cause to rejoice of in time coming."¹²⁰ Spending the first ten years of Elizabeth's life in the same household as her sister resulted in Mary playing a key role in Elizabeth's exposure to courtly values. Mary's education mirrored the values of Castiglione's *The Courtier*, highlighting "courtly courtesies" such as gaming, flirtation, attention to dress, and behaviours that would "induce a desired impression in a chosen audience."¹²¹ Although the two princesses lived together in a shared household for ten years, Elizabeth's education branched off from the courtly courtesies of Mary's, and instead highlighted the values of the *studia humanitatis* being developed at English universities.

¹¹⁹ McIntosh, *From Heads of Household to Heads of State*.

¹²⁰ "Princess Mary to Henry VIII, 21 July, 1536," *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 11, July 1536-December 1536*, ed. James Gairdner (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1882), pp54-73, no 132, *British History Online*.

¹²¹ Linda Bradley Salamon, "The Courtier and The Scholemaster," *Comparative Literature* 25 (1973), 17.

The difference between the two princesses' education were certainly a reflection of Elizabeth being illegitimate for her early childhood years, in addition to there being little to no interest in a formal marriage arrangement. Many Catholic countries perceived her as a bastard child, and did not see her as a legitimate child to the king, favouring instead Mary. Mary received offers of marriage as early as the age of two; however, Elizabeth remained unbound to a potential husband throughout the remainder of her father's life. Outside of England, the birth of Elizabeth was not acknowledged, as she was referred to as the "bastard whom they call princess."¹²² Henry tried to overcome this with depicting his daughter in great favour by visiting her often in her early years. In the fall of 1534 Henry's diplomats drew up a document that sought to engage France in accepting the "validity of Henry VIII's marriages with Anne Boleyn and the legitimacy of the princess Elizabeth."¹²³ One year after Elizabeth's birth, foreign countries still refused to accept her role in the line of succession. Francis responded unwillingly, and instead proposed a marriage settlement between Mary, and his son the dauphin.¹²⁴ Francis's reason to counter the proposal was "that even if the King's first marriage were invalid, the Princess was still legitimate, and the succession belonged to her," Mary.¹²⁵ Following the execution of Anne in May 1536, a new Succession Act was produced in June, claiming Henry's existing daughters were illegitimate, and any heirs produced from his current marriage would be first in the line of succession. The ground for Elizabeth's atypical educational curriculum for a

¹²² "Chapuys to Charles V, 28 November 1534," *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 7, 1534*, ed. James Gairdner (London: 1883), 550-60, no. 1482, *British History Online*.

¹²³ "The Kings Marriages, October 1534," *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 7, 1534*, ed. James Gairdner (London: 1883), 502-16, no. 1348, *British History Online*.

¹²⁴ "Chapuys to Charles V, 28 November 1534," *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic*, 550-60.

¹²⁵ "Chapuys to Charles V, 28 November 1534," *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic*, 550-60.

young girl was developed from the lack of her having a mother to supervise her education, and influenced by the lack of marriage proposals requiring immediate preparation.

The early years in which Elizabeth was disinherited were vital years in laying the foundations of her educational curriculum. When her half-brother Edward VI was born on October 12, 1537, her governess Lady Bryan was moved once again to Edward's royal household, and thus Elizabeth was left in need of a replacement. The replacement selected was Katherine Champernowne (1502-1565), from Devonshire.¹²⁶ Kat, as she was fondly referred to by Elizabeth, had come to Elizabeth's household in October 1536 selected by Sir Thomas Cromwell, and his interest in creating a circle of educated humanist gentry.¹²⁷ Kat would remain in Elizabeth's service until her death in 1565. It is uncertain as to exactly when Champernowne became the formal governess to Elizabeth; however, it is speculated this role began in 1538 as most youths began their education around the age of five. Upon appointment she filled the important parental void in the princess's young life, and offered a great level of devotion and loyalty to the young girl.¹²⁸ Katherine's father had been a scholar with antiquarian interests, and as a result she received an education.¹²⁹ She was commended for her education, which was certainly above "most women of her class and generation."¹³⁰ Tudor expectations of a

¹²⁶ Later Katherine Astley after marrying John Astley in 1544.

¹²⁷ Loades, *Elizabeth I*, 41. See also, Nauert, *Humanism and the Culture of Renaissance Europe*, 185 regarding Cromwell. Nauert argued that Cromwell, although not a humanist trained individual, recognized the opportunities to come from a humanist reform at court, and sought to develop England on a path of political and intellectual power separate from Rome.

¹²⁸ Tracy Borman, *Elizabeth's Women: The Hidden Story of the Virgin Queen* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2009), 274.

¹²⁹ Loades, *Elizabeth I*, 41.

¹³⁰ Charlotte Merton, "Astley [nee Champernowne], Katherine (d. 1565), courtier," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

governess's training of a young woman were clearly outlined; however, Kat was unconventional in her approach as a governess. Girls were to be encouraged to play with other girls their own age, it is clear from Elizabeth's status, and the locations of her court she was rarely in the attendance of other girls her own age. Kat acted as the closest thing to a playmate and a role model for Elizabeth during her girlhood.¹³¹ Governesses were instructed to avoid displaying affection or care towards their charge.¹³² Judging by the closeness expressed by both Elizabeth and Kat, they most certainly were affectionate towards each other. Furthermore, a governess was to keep her female charge away from the influence of men, due to concern "love naturally continues towards those with whom we have passed our youth."¹³³ Kat was unconventional in her approach to the role of governess, and as a result created the foundation of a unique curriculum for Elizabeth. The education of Tudor women demonstrates that the approach to Elizabeth's early humanist studies led by Kat Astley were largely unprecedented.

Champernowne taught Elizabeth the alphabet, rudiments of grammar, reading and writing around the age of five. She did so using a parchment and a "hornbook."¹³⁴ The hornbook was a fifteenth century invention which consisted of a page with the letters of the alphabet both upper and lower case capitals, along with the Lord's Prayer and a cross. The book was mounted on wood, bone or leather, and would be covered with a protection of a thin sheet of transparent horn.¹³⁵ At around seven Elizabeth's education was expanded to include foreign languages such as Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish. Additionally, Kat provided Elizabeth with the basics of

¹³¹ Borman, *Elizabeth's Women*, 65.

¹³² William Camden, *The Elizabethan World*, 41, in Borman *Elizabeth's Women*, 65.

¹³³ William Camden, *The Elizabethan World*, 41, in Borman *Elizabeth's Women*, 65.

¹³⁴ Borman, *Elizabeth's Women* 77.

¹³⁵ Borman, *Elizabeth's Women* 77.

geography, history, and mathematics. She also taught Elizabeth the arts of needlework, dancing, embroidery (which she was quite skilled), and riding. In 1539, at the age of six Elizabeth sewed a New Year's gift for her brother of "a shirt of cambric of her own working."¹³⁶ The purpose of this gift was most likely to portray to both her brother and father her dutiful role as a sister, and as a woman demonstrating her early achievements in her studies of embroidery. Furthermore, it also shows the early relationship developing between the two siblings. The closeness of Elizabeth's relationship with Kat undoubtedly motivated her dedication to her studies, as it allowed for the pair to spend more time together. Lady Astley provided consistency throughout Elizabeth's childhood, and played an important role in Elizabeth's development as an almost orphaned child.

Lady Astley received great accolades from Cambridge scholar Roger Ascham (future tutor of Elizabeth) for her tutelage of the Lady Elizabeth. Ascham praised Astley for providing Elizabeth with an exceptional "judgement of the world," from the Plato works she had studied.¹³⁷ Ascham was becoming a leading educator in England, and through Mr. John Astley (Kat's husband), William Grindal, as well as Kat's in-law Sir Anthony Denny he was a familiar acquaintance of Elizabeth and her governess. He wrote in 1545 to "Gentle Mrs. Astley," offering to "express the thanks you have deserved of all true English hearts for that noble imp [Elizabeth] by your labour and wisdom, so flourishing in all godly godliness, ... [she is a] true trade of her

¹³⁶ Plowden, *The Young Elizabeth*, 68.

¹³⁷ Roger Ascham, "XXXI To The Princess Elizabeth (2, 21)," in *The Whole Works of Roger: Now First collected and Revised with a life of the Author*. Ed. Rev. Dr. Giles, Vol I, Part I, 76.

teaching.”¹³⁸ Furthermore, Ascham was surprised at the intense pace of Elizabeth’s educational regime, and warned that:

The younger, the more tender; the quicker, the easier to break. Blunt edges be dull, and dure much pain to little profit; the free edge is soon turned if it be not handled thereafter. If you pour much drink at once into a goblet, the most part will dash out and run over; if you pour it softly, you may fill it even to the top, and so her grace, I doubt’ not, by little and little, may be increased in learning, that at length greater cannot be required. And if you think not this, gentle Mrs. Astley, yet I trust you will take my words as spoken, although not of the greatest wisdom, yet not of the least good will.¹³⁹

The letter demonstrates the great tenacity and work ethic with which Kat approached the Lady Elizabeth’s earliest form of education and Elizabeth’s capabilities as a young student. Furthermore, it is evident the curriculum Kat provided was quite advanced for a young girl and heavily rooted in humanist classical works. The advice by Ascham portrays there was a curriculum developed, and a pretty intense one at that.

Elizabeth’s Earliest Letters and Translations

Although historians such as David Loades suggested the years before 1543 were “the lost years” of Elizabeth’s childhood, Elizabeth’s letters and translations written shortly after that time prove that this time was certainly not wasted. The foundation for her writing abilities, understanding of language, and interest in academic pursuits is clearly outlined in the years preceding 1543. There are three letters written to Queen Kateryn, and one to Henry VIII by Elizabeth from the ages of

¹³⁸ Ascham, “XXXIX- To Mrs. Astley (A, 18),” in *The Whole Works of Roger: Now First collected and Revised with a life of the Author*, ed. Rev. Dr. Giles, Vol I, Part I, 85.

¹³⁹ Ascham, “XXXIX-To Mrs. Astley,” 86.

ten to twelve, which demonstrate her advanced abilities in writing and linguistics. These letters reflect the advances that Elizabeth made in her informal education overseen by her governess Kat Astley. The first letter, dated July 31, 1544, to Katerny was written in Italian; the second dated December 30, 1545, to her father was written in Latin; and the third, dated December 30, 1545, was written in French to Queen Katerny.¹⁴⁰ The diversity of languages in each letter was an exercise of her schoolroom learnings, and demonstrates her earlier established proficiency and understanding of the language. She also wrote in the italic style of handwriting that Roger Ascham assisted in teaching her while she was under the care of Kat Astley.¹⁴¹ Scholars such as Janel Mueller, Joshua Scodel, and Ted Booth have all commented on the legibility of Elizabeth's penmanship, and though juvenile in style were quite advanced for her age.¹⁴² Elizabeth's early examples of translations depict a distinct form of handwriting, one which both her brother and she had learned from Ascham. Janel Mueller explained that Elizabeth and her siblings were the first royal children to be taught this style of writing, as Henry's penmanship was quite clumsy and challenging to read. The application of new teaching methods demonstrated according to Mueller "signaled openness to humanist influences and serves as a display mode for the 'New Learning' and its adherents."¹⁴³ Nauert explained the Italian humanists taught history and oratorical skills, as well as the classics in order for men to participate in politics.¹⁴⁴ Suggesting that Elizabeth's exposure to humanist tracts and the influences of Italian methods of study was

¹⁴⁰ Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose, ed., *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

¹⁴¹ Ascham, "XXXIX- To Mrs. Astley," 86.

¹⁴² Booth, *A Body Politic to Govern*, 19.

¹⁴³ Janel Mueller and Joshua Scodel, *Elizabeth I: Translations 1544-1589* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press), xiv.

¹⁴⁴ Nauert, *Humanism and the Culture of the Renaissance Europe*, 14.

an early exposé to a more male typical education. When exactly Elizabeth learned these languages is uncertain, it is clear she was well educated in them prior to moving into her stepmother's household in 1544 as her translations and letters were written shortly after her relocation.

Elizabeth's first large translation exercise was an English prose translation of Marguerite de Navarre's French composite of *Miroir de l'ame pecheresse* (*The glass of the Sinful Soul*) in December 1544. The translation was dedicated "to ovr moste noble and vertuous quene Katherin" wishing her "perpetual felicity and everlasting joy" in a letter that accompanied the work.¹⁴⁵ Where Elizabeth gained possession of the copy of the *Miroir* for her translation is unclear, and why she selected this specific text is also unknown.¹⁴⁶ Scholars have speculated it was copy given to Queen Anne Boleyn, Elizabeth's other, directly from Marguerite; however, there is no surviving manuscript or volume to support this claim.¹⁴⁷ Mueller and Scodel speculated the work came into her possession from her French tutor the Huguenot Jean Bellemain, as the children's handwriting at the time was indistinguishable from each other. Marguerite's *Mirror* was renowned for its "profound spiritual stirring" and ability to inflict an "overwhelming sense of sin and unworthiness, now by an equally enveloping sense of the honor, wroth, favour, and joy conferred on the soul through Christ's redemptive love and grace, enacted

¹⁴⁵ Elizabeth, "Princess Elizabeth's translation of Marguerite de Navarre's *Le Miroir de lame pecheresse*," 1544 (Original-spelling version) in Mueller and Scodel, *Elizabeth I: Translations*, 41.

¹⁴⁶ Mueller and Scodel, *Elizabeth I: Translations*, 41.

¹⁴⁷ For support of this argument see Percy W. Ames, introduction to *The Mirror of the Sinful Soul: A Prose Translation from the French of a Poem by Queen Margaret of Navarre, Made in 1544 by the Princess (Afterwards Queen Elizabeth, Then Eleven Years of Age, Reproduced in Fac Simile* (London, 1897), 31; Marc Shell, *Elizabeth's Glass, with "The Glass of the Sinful Soul" [1544] by Elizabeth I and "Epistle Dedicatory" and "Conclusion" [1548] by John Bale* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993); and Maureen Quilligan, *Incest and Agency in Elizabeth's England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 47-48.

in and assured by his death on the cross.”¹⁴⁸ Originally it was published by Reformist printers in Paris, France, in multiple editions throughout the 1530s. It advocated for the reading of Scripture in the reformist methods, and contains an abundance of Biblical citations, and is a reflection of the union with Christ in death.¹⁴⁹ The reformist views reflected the religious education Elizabeth began to receive in the 1540’s. Elizabeth wrote in her letter of dedication accompanying the work that “as the philosopher¹⁵⁰ saeyeth, euen as an instrument of yron or of other metayle waxeth soone rusty onles it be continuasly occupied, euen so shall the witte of a man, or woman, waxe dull, and vnapte to do, or vnderstand any thing perfittely, onles it be alwayes occupied vpon some manner of study.”¹⁵¹ The dedication demonstrates Elizabeth’s understanding and familiarity with Aristotle’s teachings, a major humanist tract. Additionally, it highlights her motivation and intrigue towards the large task of translation. In her letter she requests while Parr is reading it she may be free to “rubbe out, poloshe; and mende … the wordes, the wich i knowe in many places to be rude, and nothinge done as it shuld be.”¹⁵² Earlier scholars have mistakenly perceived this quote to mean Kateryn was a more senior scholar than the thirteen year old Elizabeth. Alternatively, it is more likely Elizabeth was following etiquette, demonstrating humility and was looking for both encouragement and support of her noble attempt at translation.

¹⁴⁸ Mueller and Scodel, *Elizabeth I: Translations*, 27-28.

¹⁴⁹ It is suggested that Marguerite’s inspiration for the work came as a result of the loss of her son shortly after child birth in 1530, and followed by her mother, Loiyise de Savoie in 1531. See Mueller and Scodel, *Elizabeth I: Translations*, 28-29

¹⁵⁰ Reference to Aristotle, a standard form in Tudor time. See Mueller and Scodel, *Elizabeth I: Translations*, 41 ft. 2.

¹⁵¹ Elizabeth, “Princess Elizabeth’s translation of Marguerite de Navarre’s *Le Miroir de lame pecheresse*,” 41.

¹⁵² Elizabeth, “Princess Elizabeth’s translation of Marguerite de Navarre’s *Le Miroir de lame pecheresse*,” 42.

Her second work of translation was a trilingual translation of Queen Kateryn's *Prayuers or Meditations*, which was dedicated to Henry VIII as a New Year gift, December 1545.

Elizabeth translated it into Latin, French and Italian. The piece demonstrated the twelve year old Elizabeth's excellence in all three languages. Although Elizabeth was moved in 1544 to share an education with her half-brother Edward, her language abilities were unlikely to have advanced rapidly enough in such a short time to accomplish the translation work. Therefore, it is most likely Kat Astley provided extensive linguistic studies in the young girl's curriculum. Furthermore, the translation served as a representation to her father of the proper humanist education she was receiving, and perhaps worked as an advocate to raise Henry's awareness to the duty and diligence which Elizabeth paid towards her training as a royal child. She addressed a prefatory letter in which she described Henry VIII as "matchless and most benevolent father."¹⁵³ Since returning to the line of succession, Elizabeth demonstrated through her gift she sought to "not only [be] an imitator of his virtues but indeed an inheritor of them" as well.¹⁵⁴ She explained "for nothing out to be more acceptable to a king, whom philosophers regard as a god on earth, than this labour of the soul, which raises us up to heaven and on earth makes us heavenly and divine in the flesh; and while we may be enveloped by continual and infinite miseries, even then it renders us blessed and happy."¹⁵⁵ From an early age Elizabeth sought to learn from her father's example as a humanist learned king. The translation is impressive for a

¹⁵³ Elizabeth, "Princess Elizabeth to King Henry VIII, Prefacing her trilingual translation of Queen Katheryn's *Prayers or Meditations*," December 30, 1545, in Elizabeth, *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, ed., Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 10.

¹⁵⁴ Elizabeth, "Princess Elizabeth to King Henry VIII," in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, 10.

¹⁵⁵ Elizabeth, "Princess Elizabeth to King Henry VIII," in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, 9.

twelve year old girl, but the letter is telling of the humanist learnings of Elizabeth in her enthusiastic approach to her informal education.

As a New Year's gift to her step-mother Kateryn in December 1545 she translated John Calvin's *Institution de la Religion Chrestienne (How We Ought to Know God)* (1541). Elizabeth wrote in her preface to her step-mother saying she was inspired to write the work and translate it "word for word, and not that it might be a perfect work, but assuring myself that your highness will pay more regard to the zeal and the desire that I have of pleasing you than you will to the capacity of my simple ability and knowledge."¹⁵⁶ Although the translation was intended as an exercise of developing Elizabeth's foreign language and writing skills, it was essential for her to also develop a companionship with her step-mother, and root it in a topic which they perhaps shared similar interest in, such as Calvin's Protestant teachings. Frye argued that the relationship created with Kateryn Parr was more intellectually and emotionally nurturing than "her dynastic ties to her father."¹⁵⁷ Overall these gifts were intended to remind her father, and demonstrate to her new step-mother, Elizabeth's presence and the level of dedication she had towards her education and improving herself. A child was esteemed to be an extension of their parent in this period; therefore, Elizabeth sought to be a strong minded and willing pupil, perhaps in hopes her father would take note and work towards obtaining a more permanent place for her in England or internationally with a marriage proposal.

¹⁵⁶ Elizabeth, "Princess Elizabeth to Queen Katherine, Prefacing her English translation of Chapter One of John Calvin's *Institution de la religion Christienne* (Geneva, 1541)," December 30, 1545, in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, 12.

¹⁵⁷ Susan Frye, "Elizabeth When a Princess," in Regina Schulte ed. *The Body of the Queen: Gender and Rule in the Courtly World 1500-2000* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2006), 47.

Gift giving in the Renaissance court has recently received developed scholarship from historians and anthropologists.¹⁵⁸ The purpose of a court gift was to represent the giver's "self-perceived place within the 'reciprocal expectations' of the court."¹⁵⁹ Frye argued that the writing of Elizabeth's translations and gifting them to both the queen and her father the king was an act to remind the court of her presence and an attempt to develop a return to court.¹⁶⁰ Noble mothers played a large role in overseeing and developing the educational abilities of their children. For Elizabeth gifting translations was an attempt on her part to demonstrate her academic pursuits, while seeking of approval from the recipient, Queen Kateryn. The works were bound with a cover elaborately embroidered by Elizabeth. The translations were an integration of typically learned and trained female skill embroidery with her translation exercises. They were an early representation by Elizabeth to blend the expectations of her female abilities, with her advanced intellect, something the period associated as a male quality. These practices of translation developed Elizabeth's ability to learn language and translate, but to intellectually engage with the works and develop critical thought and as well as an exercise in establishing Elizabeth's religious beliefs.¹⁶¹

Many early scholars have speculated it was Kateryn Parr's advocacy to the king that led to the reinstatement of both Elizabeth and Mary into the line of succession in the mid-1540s. Parr most certainly established a close relationship with both princesses, one so close with Mary that Chapuy's the Spanish Ambassador relayed in February 1544 that the "Queen does the Princess

¹⁵⁸ Frye, "Elizabeth When a Princess," 46.

¹⁵⁹ Frye, "Elizabeth When a Princess," 46.

¹⁶⁰ Frye, "Elizabeth When a Princess," 44.

¹⁶¹ Mueller and Scodel, *Elizabeth I: Translations*, 4.

all the favour she can” and was an advocate for the reinstatement of Mary as the “default of the Prince.”¹⁶² In the spring parliament of 1544 both Mary and Elizabeth (in that order) were restored to their place in the line of succession after their half-brother Edward. To celebrate the new arrangement Henry had a dinner with all of his children at Whitehall on June 26. The event was a sociable occasion with a large “void” reception in which wine and sweetmeats were served.¹⁶³ Starkey highlighted that the Queen Kateryn was not in attendance and argued that this absence was a representation of Henry having chosen to restore his daughters into the line of succession without motivation from his wife.¹⁶⁴ By June 1544 Henry was fifty three years old, and not in the greatest of health and his latest wife was still childless after almost a year of marriage. It is most likely that Henry began to realize having only one male heir was risky, and thus chose to reinstate his daughters in the idea that Mary would be the spare, and the likelihood of the succession ever reaching Elizabeth would be highly improbable. As Frye outlined to be at court was to be at the centre of the English political dialogue.¹⁶⁵ Elizabeth’s correspondence and gift exchange with her father, and step-mother were crucial attempts on her part to remind the court of her place, and spark conversations of succession and decisions on royal marriages. For Elizabeth, being reinstated into the line of succession meant there would be a clearer direction and method applied to her adolescent training and upbringing, something a young girl who had lived for 8 years in limbo would have most certainly longed for.

¹⁶² “Chapuy to Charles V, February 18 1544,” *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 19:1, January-July 1544*, ed. James Gairdner and R H Brodie (London: 1903), 60-71, no. 118, *British History Online*.

¹⁶³ Starkey, *Elizabeth I*, 31.

¹⁶⁴ Starkey, *Elizabeth I*, 31.

¹⁶⁵ Frye, “Elizabeth When a Princess,” 44.

Conclusion

The expectation and basic purpose for a Tudor noblewoman was to marry and procreate. Despite significant reformation to the humanist curriculum in England and at the universities, the traditional concepts and expectations of women were well maintained. Therefore, it is significant that Elizabeth, having no marriage prospects, was provided with an education that was not entirely structured upon the improvement of her prospects as a future wife. Kat Astley's familiarity with Cambridge scholars such as Roger Ascham suggests she was a woman engaged in elite intellectual groups allowing for the foundations of a strong humanist curriculum in Elizabeth's informal training. The examples of Elizabeth's earliest translation works and letters demonstrate a young woman dedicated to her humanist studies, and her engagement in the classical works admired by academic scholars of the period. As a result of the successful preparations made by Kat, Elizabeth was ready when the opportunity of a formal Cambridge education was provided for her upon her return to the line of succession. Although historians have speculated that the early years of Elizabeth's life were "lost" as far as sources, the letters and translations produced by Elizabeth certainly would not have been possible had she not received an extensive education under the supervision of Kat Astley in the subjects of Latin, French, Italian, and writing. Demonstrated by Ascham's surprise in Elizabeth's advanced abilities in humanist subject matter, the humanist studies provided by Governess Astley were atypical for young woman of the period.

CHAPTER TWO

ELIZABETH'S FORMAL EDUCATION, 1544-1558

The reinstatement of Elizabeth to the line of succession changed the attention she received educationally, as she was now a princess and third in succession to the throne. By 1544, when eleven-year-old Elizabeth was moved to Queen Katerny's home, she was already an advanced scholar in linguistics and the classics as represented in her early translation works and the letters of the Cambridge scholars. Elizabeth's education after this period was improved and individually tailored more specifically to her. Initially, she received a royal Cambridge-based education under John Cheke alongside her half-brother, Edward (1537-1553). Up until 1547 there were still limited marriage prospects for Elizabeth, and therefore, when Henry died in 1547, both his daughters were still unwed and uncommitted.¹ Due to the continued lacking interest in Elizabeth for marriage, the foundation of humanist education provided by Kat Astley progressed after 1546 in a more formal fashion. Her personalized formal education officially began in 1546 with the appointment of her personal Cambridge tutor, William Grindal. All of the formal tutoring Elizabeth received was led by prominent Cambridge scholars. The exposure to the likes of men such as Cheke, Grindal, and Ascham allowed for an extension of the Cambridge curriculum to happen within the royal children's households. Undoubtedly, this resulted in Elizabeth receiving

¹ In 1540 widowed Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor was rumored to have suggested taking Mary as a wife, and Elizabeth was to be promised to a “son of King Ferdinand.” However, nothing ever came to fruition. In April 1543 in order to obtain a treaty a proposal between the earl of Arran’s youngest son and Elizabeth was made, however, Henry obtained a treaty without needing to negotiate for his daughter’s marriage. In 1544 another attempted agreement for all three children between Charles the Holy Roman Emperor and Prince Philip of Spain was made. But nothing came of it, most likely because there was a clause including prince Edward, and Henry had intentions of the prince’s marriage to ‘be most advanced.’ See Loades, *Elizabeth I*, 53.

an education that was as close to a Cambridge curriculum as women in the period could obtain. This shift involved moving from the practice of languages, writing, and translation exercises, to that of a more thorough humanist curriculum focused on the works of classical writers. In 1550, Elizabeth's last formal tutor resigned from his position, and at this time Elizabeth was moved to her own household to manage. During the years managing her own household Elizabeth created an establishment that acted as an extension of her Cambridge humanist education. She continued to develop her humanist studies through her letter writing, poetry, and prayer writing. The humanist Cambridge-led studies of Elizabeth's formal education demonstrate that although nobody expected Elizabeth to become regnant queen, she was provided with an education mirroring closely that of her half-brother Edward, the heir to the throne. Elizabeth's education in the latter half of her childhood was vital in shaping her intellectual identity and prepared her for a humanist based approach to monarchy upon accession in 1558.

Influences of Kateryn Parr's Protestant Household

When Henry VIII married Kateryn of Parr, his sixth wife, in July 1543, Mary's chamber staff became part of the main court, and the joint household Elizabeth and Mary had lived in as girls was dissolved.² As a result, it was decided that Elizabeth should be “sent to be with the Prince” at Hatfield castle.³ In approximately 1544 she made the move to her stepmother's household, living alongside her brother. The relationship between Edward and Elizabeth played a critical

² Loades, *Elizabeth I*, 48.

³ “Chapuys to Charles V, 13 August 1543,” *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 18:2, August-December 1543*, ed. James Gairdner and R H Brodie (London: 1902), 16-30 , no. 39, *British History Online.*; Loades, *Elizabeth I*, 48.

role in Elizabeth's educational development. Because of the four years' age difference between the two, and their being raised in the same household for much of Edward's early childhood years, they formed a close relationship based largely on their similar interests in academia. The proximity to the heir to the English throne played to Elizabeth's advantage, as it enabled her to receive unprecedented training for a noble woman, exposing her to the same curriculum that of the male heir to the throne received in order to apprentice him for his future as a good humanist monarch.

In 1544, Edward and Elizabeth were moved into their step-mother's royal household together. Kateryn's household being Protestant in faith mirrored that of the scholars being trained at Cambridge. Kateryn was referred to after her death by Protestant admirers John Foxe (1516-1587) and John Strype (1643-1737) as a "Reformation heroine."⁴ Around the time of her marriage to Henry there are biblical verses inscribed by Kateryn in her personal volume in the vernacular. The inscription is as Mueller described a common practice for Kateryn of combining Biblical verses into new ensembles.⁵ Parr was intellectually curious, and participated in developing her knowledge with a "'fervent seal' towards 'all Godly Learning.'"⁶ Edward wrote to his stepmother on June 10, 1546 that "I see that you have really and truly applied diligence to Roman script[.] ... I also hear that your highness progress in Latin language and in good literature."⁷ Although Kateryn was educated in Latin, Mueller suggested that she had taken up the study of learning "romanis literis" the italic writing that both Edward and Elizabeth learned,

⁴ Fenno Jr. "Catherine Parr as a Woman of Letters," 349.

⁵ Mueller ed. *Katherine Parr*, 47.

⁶ Loades, *Elizabeth I*, 50.

⁷ Edward VI, "Prince Edward's Latin Letter to Queen Katherine," June 10, 1546, in Mueller ed. *Katherine Parr*, 117-118.

as well as reading the humanist-suggested Latin works in order to understand and encourage the education the young royal children were receiving.⁸ Queen Kateryn chose to develop the basic educational skills taught to her as a young girl, in order to support her step-children.

Katheryn's Protestant household was influential in Elizabeth's religious upbringing, in that her education was "based on a spirit of inquiry, a repudiation of ecclesiastical authority as the sole guide to truth, and the personal study and interpretation of the Bible."⁹ The Protestant focus on the reading of a vernacular Bible encouraged a private and individualized form of education. Aughterson argued Protestantism coupled with a humanist education enabled in some ways for women to participate in an education that previously had not been available to them.¹⁰ The Protestant household influenced Elizabeth's education, to develop inquisition, interpretation, and a greater segregation from religious texts of Mary's education and a further shift towards those of the humanist classical nature. Additionally, Protestant humanist educators from Cambridge at the time were beginning to educate male and female children together, deeming that there were no repercussions to this so long as their intellect was of the same level.¹¹

Although it was Queen Kateryn's household she was not solely responsible for the structuring of Edward's curriculum, nor did she take charge of Elizabeth's education.¹² Henry would have had the ultimate say in who was hired to educate his only heir to throne. Therefore, Elizabeth was exposed to the best scholars in England, such as Richard Cox, John Cheke, as well as Jean Belmain, Edward's French scholar. Cox was the headmaster of Eton, and was

⁸ Mueller ed. *Katherine Parr*, 118.

⁹ Paul Johnson, *Elizabeth I*, 17.

¹⁰ Aughterson, *Renaissance Women*, 9.

¹¹ Loades, *Elizabeth I*, 49

¹² See Loades, *Elizabeth I*, 50 for more on the historiography.

recommended by Bishop Goodrich of Ely to Henry VIII. There is little evidence of Richard Cox, Edward's first tutor helping to shape Elizabeth's education, as she still remained in Kat Astley's care at this time and being four years older than her brother, she was more advanced in her studies. Edward's scholars were selected as the top in the country and developed a selection of coursework and studies expected to provide the best apprenticeship for statesmanship. It is noted in records of the Prince and Princess as travelling from Ashridge, Hertford, and Hampton court together, it can be deduced that they usually shared a household together.¹³ Edward's tutors were Protestant and reformist leaning, meaning they were more open to the education of women than those scholars of the more classical forms. However, humanists in the period still stipulated that the intention of a woman's educational training was to cultivate virtue in order to assist in the development of strong housewifery abilities. Girls were educated on the avoidance of the sin of pride, and to honor their chastity, as their true purpose and function in life as a woman was to become first a wife and then a mother.¹⁴ Being educated in part-time alongside Edward meant that Elizabeth was exposed to a curriculum intended for males, and more significantly a male heir to the English throne.

Primary sources recording the exercises and studies of Edwards's curriculum are in great abundance, due to him being the heir to the Tudor throne. John Cheke, leading reformist educator from Cambridge was appointed in 1544 to Edward's educational training as a support to

¹³ Loades, *Elizabeth I*, 49.

¹⁴ See Aughterson, *Renaissance Woman*.

Richard Cox.¹⁵ On July 7, 1544 he was appointed to teach Edward “of tounges, of the scripture, of philosophie and all liberal sciences.”¹⁶ Cheke was a leading scholar in the practice of civic Humanism, the application of Humanism to politics at Cambridge.¹⁷ As the appointed tutor to Edward, he sought to introduce a reformed teaching method he had developed at St. John’s, and looked to move away from the prescribed philosophy of educating a monarch to be wise and courageous, instead focused heavily on works such as Cicero for their ability to guide genuine honour.¹⁸ He encouraged the readings of Aristotle and Plato, and educated his students in Latin and Greek, all languages in which he excelled. As part of the new humanist education, he also included the study of mathematics as the basis for philosophy.

Under John Cheke’s tutoring, Edward was assigned the works of Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Cicero, Homer, Sophocles, Euripides, Terence, and Virgil, similar to the studies received by students at Cambridge.¹⁹ The classics were of great importance when educating a monarch, because Cheke believed that they would “instill both personal or private morality and public virtue” in the education of monarchs.²⁰ The more polished a man’s intellect, the more capable they would be to provide good counsel to their subjects. By the age of six when Edward (during the period in which Elizabeth and Edward’s households were joined), the prince was

¹⁵ It is possible the recommendation of Cheke came from Queen Kateryn as John Cheke was the student to George Day, her personal almoner. See Susan James, *Catherine Parr: Henry VIII's Last Love* (Stroud: The History Press, 2009), vii.

¹⁶ “The Regency, A paper of resolutions..., July 7, 1544,” *Letters and Papers, Domestic and Foreign*, Henry VIII, Volume 19:1, January-July 1544, ed. James Gairdner and R. H. Brodie. London: 1903. pp 531-552 no. 864. *British History Online*.

¹⁷ Anderson, *The Honorable Burden of Public Office*, xi.

¹⁸ He chose to move away from Erasmus work *The Education of A Christian Prince* (1516) for Prince Charles (later the Habsburg Emperor Charles V), as described in J. M Anderson’s *The Honorable Burden of Public Office*, 15; page 21 for choices on Cicero.

¹⁹ Anderson, *The Honorable Burden of Public Office*, 16.

²⁰ Anderson, *The Honorable Burden of Public Office*, 17.

competent in Latin, and was taught the language through proverbs, and a classical curriculum consisting of Homer, Sophocles, Euophiles, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Isocrates, Plato, and Aristotle. Therefore, it can be assumed Elizabeth was also familiar with many of these works and well versed in these topics derived from a Cambridge curriculum. The classics were taught in Cheke's preferred method of double-translation. Edward was educated by 1548, around the age of ten the moral lessons of Cicero, through the application of the double translation method of his works *De officis*, *Der amicitia*, and *Tusculanae disputationes*²¹. Disciplined humanist students such as Prince Edward, and Elizabeth were expected to participate in the double translation method one to two times a week, for two to three years until they learned a language in completion.²² First they would translate the classical work into English, and then into Latin, and sometimes a third time from Latin back to the original language.²³ Cicero was particularly used for this because he wrote on the topics of duty and virtue, subjects humanists believed to be of the highest value to monarchs. Cicero argued that "no part of man's life, neither in common, nor private affairs, neither in matters abroad, nor at home, may be without duty."²⁴ He wrote that duty was dependent upon virtue, and thus Cheke applied it as a method to teach Edward on how he should live and rule as a monarch. Furthermore, Cheke thought the most important aspect of a humanist education was its intention to provide practical wisdom, enabling monarchs to have the tools to be good rulers. He advised "political wisdom came from many heads, and a wise prince

²¹ Anderson, *The Honorable Burden of Public Office*, 19.

²² Anderson, *The Honorable Burden of Public Office*, 19-20.

²³ Anderson, *The Honorable Burden of Public Office*, 19.

²⁴ Trans. in Anderson, *The Honorable Burden to Public Office*, 20.

surrounded himself with men who gave good counsel and chose the right course of action.”²⁵

The Cambridge and humanist teachings of the duty of a wise prince were lessons Elizabeth was exposed to, unlike any other female heir prior. Many of these lessons in Cicero were further developed by Elizabeth’s later scholars.

From 1544-1546 the royal children were educated together at Hatfield castle in Hertfordshire.²⁶ Evidence supporting Elizabeth and Edward being privy to the same classroom lessons are found in the similarity between their handwriting during this period, which were almost identical.²⁷ In addition to learning calligraphy with Ascham, Elizabeth also shared Edward’s French tutor, Jean Belmain, who assisted in her French language development.²⁸ As a result of her studying under the guidance of John Cheke, he informed Kateryn Parr that Elizabeth’s talent and intellect would benefit from a private tutor. Roger Ascham, Cheke’s leading pupil suggested the appointment of William Grindal, who became Elizabeth’s first personal tutor in 1546.

Elizabeth’s Private Tutors: William Grindal and Roger Ascham

In 1546, Elizabeth’s and Edward’s households were separated, resulting in the appointment of Elizabeth’s first private tutor, William Grindal. Grindal was the pupil of Roger Ascham, as well as John Cheke at Cambridge. It is through the education of these three Cambridge scholars that

²⁵ Anderson, *The Honorable Burden o Public Office*, 21.

²⁶ Starkey, *Elizabeth I*, 27.

²⁷ Starkey, *Elizabeth I*, 27.

²⁸ Starkey, *Elizabeth I*, 27 and 87.

historians such as Paul Johnson came to refer to Elizabeth as being the first “Cambridge girl.”²⁹ Johnson coins Elizabeth with this term purely based upon the training of her tutors. The education Elizabeth received from these three gentlemen largely reflected the education they received and taught at Cambridge University for men. Although Elizabeth being a woman was unable to attend a university, she received a similar education focused on the same works, practices, and subjects that men at Cambridge studied and under the instruction of some of their most prominent professors. Grindal, Elizabeth’s first tutor, had been nominated in 1544 for a Greek readership in the college, and supported by his peers as being the “worthiest” fellow for the role.³⁰ Although passed over for the role at Cambridge, Ascham with the assistant of Cheke, helped to secure the placement of Grindal in the office of tutor to Princess Elizabeth.³¹ He was esteemed as an excellent tutor to Elizabeth; however, it was short lived as Grindal died in 1548 from the plague. Ascham questioned “to what degree of skill in Latin and Greek [Elizabeth] might arrive, if she shall proceed in that course of [the] study [of Greek] wherein she hath begun by the guidance of Grindal.”³² In 1547, Elizabeth wrote a translation of Bernardino Ochino’s “che cosa e christo,” an Italian sermon she translated into Latin.³³ The work was dedicated to her brother most likely for a New Year’s gift in 1548. Mueller and Scodel suggested given Edward’s level of Latin comprehension at this age, the work was an excellent choice as a gift as it demonstrated Elizabeth’s advanced “succinct Latin sentence structure.”³⁴ The choice of

²⁹ Johnson, *Elizabeth I*, 17.

³⁰ Lawrence V. Ryan, *Roger Ascham* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1963), 42.

³¹ Ryan, *Roger Ascham*, 42.

³² Stephen Wright, “Grindal, William (d. 1548),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

³³ Elizabeth, *Translations*, 298.

³⁴ Elizabeth, *Translations*, 293.

subject reflected the Cambridge reformist education that both royal children received, Ochino was a leading Italian reformist in theology.³⁵ Ascham describes from reading of Elizabeth's work during her time with Grindal that e was unsure "whether to admire more the wit of her who learned, or the diligence of him who taught"; demonstrating the excellent pairing of the tutor and student.³⁶ Elizabeth's Latin in the work is described as being an almost perfect study of "Latin syntax and classical vulgate Latin diction."³⁷ It can be assumed that Elizabeth's Latin improved greatly during her time under Grindal's personalized Cambridge based instruction. Due to the shortness of their time together the specifics of what Grindal used to develop Elizabeth's humanist studies are unclear; however, his appointment as her private teacher demonstrates awareness for her need of a personal tutor and her aptitude for scholarship.

Roger Ascham wrote a letter on January 22, 1548 to Elizabeth regarding Grindal, expressing his grief for her loss.³⁸ He assured Elizabeth that a new tutor of great ability would be proposed and suggested a kinsman of Grindal as his replacement.³⁹ Elizabeth was not interested in the recommendation. Elizabeth wanted Ascham to be her personal tutor, and would not accept anyone else. Ascham and Elizabeth agreed she deserved the best tutor available, and although he could "say nothing of himself, yet am I brought to this hope, that although I am inept and of no account in almost all matters, still I can surely be of some use in teaching her the Greek and

³⁵ Elizabeth, *Translations*, 295-296.

³⁶ Wright, "Grindal, William," *ODNB*.

³⁷ Elizabeth, *Translations*, 296.

³⁸ Wright, "Grindal, William," *ODNB*.

³⁹ Ascham, "LXXXIV- To The Princess Elizabeth (2,38)," *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham*, Vol 1.1, 158. Trans. in Ryan, *Roger Ascham*, 102.

Latin tongues and in a functioning as her secretary.”⁴⁰ Elizabeth had been corresponding with Ascham since as early as 1545, and received occasional lessons from Ascham on calligraphy while in her brother’s schoolroom. After Henry’s death Elizabeth’s Step-mother, Kateryn, and her new husband Lord Thomas Seymour became her guardians. They preferred to replace Grindal with a man named Goldsmith. Ascham encouraged Elizabeth to “fall in with their wishes,” and to seek Cheke’s judgement on the subject.⁴¹ Elizabeth travelled to London to discuss with her stepparents her request, and in alliance with Cheke managed to persuade them to get her choice.⁴² The advocating and selection made on the part of Elizabeth suggests a great level of authority for a fifteen-year-old young woman, and also her stubborn priorities in regards to personally managing her studies.

Roger Ascham (1514/15-1568) was another leading scholar in humanist studies at Cambridge. He was born at Kirby Wiske, near Northallerton in Yorkshire to John and Margaret Ascham. Ascham attended grammar school in Kirby Wiske, and was most likely also taught by the local vicar, Robert Wensley. His parents encouraged his educational development and in his early teens placed him in the household of Humphry Wingfield. Under the direction of Wingfield Ascham received an education in Latin and Greek, taught by Robert Bond, and became very well educated on the works of Geoffrey Chaucer and Thomas Malory. Ascham became a student at the University of Cambridge’s St. John’s College in 1530.⁴³ During his time at Cambridge his

⁴⁰ Ascham, “LXXXV.-To Sir J. Cheke (2,40),” in *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham*, Vol 1.1, 161. trans. in Ryan, *Roger Ascham*, 102.

⁴¹ Ascham, “LXXXV.- To Sir J. Cheke...,” 160-162, trans. Ryan, *Roger Ascham*, 103.

⁴² Ryan, *Roger Ascham*, 103.

⁴³ Rosemary O’Day, “Ascham, Roger (1514/1515-1568), author and royal tutor,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

love of Greek was developed under the supervision of his professor John Cheke. Additionally, he learned and penned his own unique calligraphy style based on the Italian style of Italics. In 1535 the environment at Cambridge became more congenial to Humanism as a result of the reformist Thomas Cromwell being appointed as chancellor.⁴⁴ During the reform of the institution Ascham received a curriculum based on Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero, as well as the other required classical works.⁴⁵ He received his Master's in 1537 and began the early stages of his teaching career. It was through his relationship with Cheke that in the early 1540s Ascham became friends with John, fellow St. John's Cambridge classmate,⁴⁶ and Kat Astley's and Ann Parr (Kateryn Parr's sister). As a result of these relationships Ascham at times would be invited to court to assist Cheke, and he became acquainted with Princess Elizabeth. Ascham maintained regular correspondence with his court contacts, providing many of them with copies of *De Officiis*, a work he esteemed as Cicero's most excellent writing. This is how Cambridge trained Ascham became known at court as a representation of the early stages of the English Renaissance. Being an instructor of mathematics and Greek at Cambridge, in addition to his formal training there, he was part of the first group of young men to experience the reforms of Cheke and Cromwell's revisions to the institution's curriculum in the style of the 'New Learning.' Therefore, when he later moved on as Elizabeth's royal tutor he provided her with studies based on his experiences at Cambridge, especially focused on Greek and Isocrates.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Cromwell, "Cooper's Annals of Cambridge, I. 375," in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*.

⁴⁵ O'Day, "Ascham, Roger (1514/1515-1568)," *ONDB*.

⁴⁶ O'Day, "Ascham, Roger (1514/1515-1568)," *ONDB*.

⁴⁷ O'Day, "Ascham, Roger (1514/1515-1568)," *ONDB*.

Numerous works of scholarship on Ascham have been produced, first starting with the collection of Ascham's Latin epistles by Edward Grant in 1576.⁴⁸ Lawrence V. Ryan, Ascham's most prominent biographer, suggested that contemporary interest in Ascham can be assumed as Grant completed further editions in 1578, 1581, and 1590, the later editions had the epistles of Johannes Sturm (1507-1589) and others added.⁴⁹ The editions were later printed abroad in continental Europe in Hannover in 1602 and 1610 and in Geneva in 1611. They were then edited and recompiled into a four volume collection in 1864 by Reverend Dr. Giles, and an annotated print of *The Schoolmaster* was reprinted in 1967 by Ryan. Because of the extent to which Ascham corresponded with scholars in his life and his personal efforts of preservation there is a large collection if primary sources available on Ascham and his teaching practices. However, as Ryan outlined, Ascham was not a renowned scholar in his period in the way that later periods have attributed him. He has been "immortalized" among historians of education as result of Ascham's use of the vernacular and due to the close relationship he had with Elizabeth I.⁵⁰ Two areas in which Ryan attributed Ascham as receiving due praises are in his development of "mature expository prose style in English," and for his quality of writing Latin epistles.⁵¹ However, Ryan's extensive biography somewhat overlooks is the role that Ascham's surviving documents provide insight into Elizabeth's Cambridge directed humanist studies as a young girl, and the role that played in her development towards becoming a regnant female monarch.

⁴⁸ Ryan, *Roger Ascham*, 3.

⁴⁹ Johannes Sturm was a German-French educator most well-known for his development of the humanist model inspired by the Reformed Church, and instituted all over Europe.

⁵⁰ Ryan, *Roger Ascham*, 2.

⁵¹ Ryan, *Roger Ascham*, 7.

Ascham regarded with great pleasure and surprises the zeal and capacity for learning that fifteen-year-old Elizabeth exhibited when they first began their formal relationship as master and student in 1548.⁵² Elizabeth was instructed on the basic rules of declension and conjugation through the examples of the classics. Every day she practiced exercises of double translation of something like Demosthenes or Isocrates into English, and then back into Greek.⁵³ Elizabeth was already fluent and an accomplished linguist in Italian, French and Latin, she had very basic understanding of Greek at this time. For Latin she was tasked with the double translation of Cicero, “learning almost the whole of Cicero, and a great part of Livy.”⁵⁴ The choice of topics and works were based on the concept of Aristotelian natural virtue. Inspired by Cheke’s curriculum for Edward, Ascham selected these pieces along with readings of the Bible and patristic writings, as they were believed to instill true Christian piety and the proper educating on how to be a competent monarch and leader.⁵⁵ Ascham believed the finest thoughts belonged to the works of Homer, Plato, Sophocles, Demosthenes, and Cicero. Not simply because of their virtuous teachings but because they provided lessons and principles for human conduct, and a method through which one could model their ability to express higher thoughts. The intended result was that by the conclusion of Elizabeth’s education she would be an educated woman with “the fashioning of a learned and pious adult,” one who as a result had the capabilities to lead a country with her carefully blended understanding of the classics and Christian studies.⁵⁶ Furthermore, the texts included in the 1549 reform of the Cambridge Curriculum, such as Pliny,

⁵² Ryan, *Roger Ascham*, 105.

⁵³ Ryan, *Roger Ascham*, 106.

⁵⁴ Starkey, *Elizabeth I*, 81.

⁵⁵ Ryan, *Roger Ascham*, 106.

⁵⁶ Ryan, *Roger Ascham*, 106.

Strabo, and Euclid were also included in Ascham's curriculum for Elizabeth supporting that the princess received an extension of a Cambridge education.⁵⁷

Ascham not only encouraged the development of learning in the classroom, but being a keen archer and hunter himself, he wrote great instructional works in this area as well. Elizabeth was fond of hunting, and enjoyed riding and time spent in the outdoors. In 1545 Ascham published his first work *Toxophilus, the schoole of shootinge conteyned in two booke*s. He gifted copies of the works to Edward, the Prince of Wales, William Parr (brother of Queen Catherine), and many other prominent male courtiers.⁵⁸ The work is most notable from an intellectual history perspective for its early application of the English vernacular in a mid-sixteenth century instruction book. It is divided into two books, and is a “Ciceronian dialog between the scholars Philogus, lover of study, and Toxophiuls, lover of the bow.”⁵⁹ Ascham cited various modern and classical examples in attempt to demonstrates that nations of worth and “the most highly civilized” are the ones in which emphasis and value has been placed upon archery.⁶⁰ Throughout the work there are digressions in which Ascham introduces his ideals of politics, morality, and education. He expressed his concerns with the growth of vice within Tudor society, the lack of development of music in Tudor schools, and the desirability to unite England and Scotland.⁶¹ Some of the digressions and subjectivity within the work can be read as a bit of a prologue to *The Scholemaster*. Ryan esteemed the greatest successes of the work are due to its use of the

⁵⁷ Heywood, *Collection*, quoted in Rose, “Erasmians and Mathematicians,” 51.

⁵⁸ O’Day, “Ascham, Roger (1514/1515-1568),” *ONDB*.

⁵⁹ Ryan, *Roger Ascham*, 50.

⁶⁰ Ryan, *Roger Ascham*, 50.

⁶¹ Ryan, *Roger Ascham*, 52.

English language, and the “excellence” of its structure.⁶² It was an attempt by Ascham to demonstrate to English writers that literature in the vernacular could be successful and effective for teaching if done in an appropriate manner. The publication date of 1545 suggests that the approach outlined by Ascham in the text was most likely applied to Elizabeth’s curriculum. It was not typical for a woman to receive an education in hunting and archery, such as the one Ascham provided for Elizabeth. It was regarded in Castiglione’s Renaissance text *Courtier* that it was “unbecoming” for a woman to have an education in physical activities such as riding and handling of weapons.⁶³ These were activities that she would continue to pursue in her reign, demonstrating that her training in her youth was more similar to that of a male student.

Through the vigorous program provided by Ascham he explained in a letter that after two years Elizabeth had developed a “prodigious knowledge of both languages, had become an accurate judge of what constituted true eloquence, whether in Greek, Latin, or English, and had evolved an excellent prose style of her own.”⁶⁴ Every morning Elizabeth would study Greek with her tutor, usually passages from the Greek New Testament, later they would read the tragedies of Sophocles and various orations from Isocrates and Demosthenes.⁶⁵ In the afternoon they would study Latin. And after dinner Elizabeth would return to reading Cicero, and by the end of their short curriculum she had completed most of Livy.⁶⁶ The relationship of master and student came to an end sometime in late 1549 or early 1550; it is unclear whether this was as a result of

⁶² Ryan, *Roger Ascham*, 60.

⁶³ Castiglione *Courtier* quoted in Joan Kelly’s “Did Women Really have a Renaissance?,” 186.

⁶⁴ Ascham, *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham*, Vol 3, 180.

⁶⁵ Starkey, *Elizabeth I*, 80.

⁶⁶ Ascham, “XCIX.- To Sturm (1,2), in *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham*, Vol 1, 191-192. Trans. Ryan, *Roger Ascham*, 105.

Ascham's resigning, or dismissal. During these years Elizabeth was under great stress and potential social disgrace due to the inappropriate behaviour of Thomas Seymour, Kateryn Parr's second husband, Elizabeth's step-father. Ascham most likely bore witness to some of the inappropriate advances by Seymour towards Elizabeth, as Ascham was quite often in Elizabeth's attendance. Unfortunately no correspondence from him in 1549 exists. All that is written on the subject from Ascham's perspective is found in a letter dated January 28, 1550 in which he wrote to Cheke from Cambridge explaining that he was 'shipwrecked' in a storm of the 'recent violence and injury at court,' and as a result was no longer in the service of the princess.⁶⁷ During his time at court he was impressed by the great zeal for learning that the English aristocracy demonstrated, especially in regards to Edward, the Brandon's, the daughters of Sir Thomas More, and of course, Elizabeth.⁶⁸ He returned to Cambridge in 1550, but kept in touch with Elizabeth in letters, helping her to practice Latin writing.

Ascham's *The Scholemaster*

One of the greatest pedagogical contributions Ascham made was his work *The Scholemaster*, which outlines and reflects his experiences as a tutor and educator during the mid-sixteenth century. In 1570 Ascham's widow arranged for the publication of his most prominent work, *The Scholemaster*, in order to provide for her orphaned children. The work was not entirely complete, as evident by the abrupt ending of part two, but it is an excellent source from the standpoint of literary history not only for the tutelage of Tudor-era children, but additionally of the

⁶⁷ Ascham, "XCIV.- To Sir J. Cheke," in *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham*, Vol 1, 174-176. Trans. Ryan, *Roger Ascham*, 112.

⁶⁸ Ryan, *Roger Ascham*, 117.

development of English vernacular texts.⁶⁹ *The Scholemaster* is an instructional conduct narrative based on a reworking of ideas developed by Erasmus, Juan Luis Vives, Johannes Sturm, Sir Thomas Elyot, John Cheke, and other humanist scholars who had adapted their style of pedagogy based on the classics.⁷⁰ This style of work was not uncommon during the Tudor era where it was a respected practice to create works of imitation.⁷¹ The intention of the work was demonstrated in the descriptive title:

*The Scholemaster, Or plaine and perfite way of teachyng chidren, to understand, write and speake, the Latine tong, but specially purposed for the private brynging up of youth in Ientlemen and Noble mens houses, and commodious also for all such, as have forgot the Latin tonge, and would by themselves, without a Scholemaster, in short tyme, and with small paines, recover a sufficient habilitie, to understand, write, and speake Latin.*⁷²

Within the work Ascham outlines his pedagogical theories of the proper way to teach young men through cogent example, and practical exercise as opposed to memorization.⁷³ It is more than just a script on the educational on the practices of teaching Latin to students; it reflects largely the experiences and opinions of Ascham on many shortcomings of typical English educational practices at the time.

Ascham's teaching style and his gentle character are reflected in the instruction of *The Scholemaster*. Numerous anecdotes fill the pages, demonstrating the character of Ascham as well as his humanist ethical and educational theory.⁷⁴ The work came to fruition from a conversation

⁶⁹ Ryan, *Roger Ascham*, 250.

⁷⁰ Ryan, *Roger Ascham*, 6.

⁷¹ Ryan, *Roger Ascham*, 6.

⁷² Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (London: Printed by John Day, dwelling over Aldersgate, 1570). In *The Schoolmaster* (1570), ed. Lawrence V. Ryan (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1967), 1.

⁷³ Ryan, *Roger Ascham*, 251.

⁷⁴ Ryan, *Roger Ascham*, 251.

had at Windsor Castle on December 10, 1563 when court had removed itself from London as a result of the plague. The conversation took place between Ascham and those who Cecil had gathered to dine in his chamber. Those in attendance were “Petre, the secretary of state; Sir John Mason, diplomat and chancellor the University of Oxford; Dr. Nicholas Wotton … ; Sir Richard Sackville; Sir Walter Mildmay, future chancellor of the Exchequer and founder of Emmanuel College, Cambridge; Walter Haddon; John Astley; Bernard Hampton, clerk of the privy council; and Nicasius Yetswaert, … an agent for the queen in Flemish affairs.”⁷⁵ The conversation began with the discussion of masters, such as the Eton school director, beating their students due to a poor performance.⁷⁶ This sparked a lively debate, one that helped to inspire Ascham to write his response to the matter.⁷⁷ Days after the discussion took place Sackville approached Ascham while he was doing his customary afternoon reading of Greek with the Queen in her chambers. Sackville told Ascham of a master who had scared him so much from the love of scholarship because of the “threat of the rod.”⁷⁸ As a result Ascham explained in his writing that a discussion of children, and gentlemen that they observed having “too much liberty to live as they lust; of their letting loose too soon to overmuch experience of ill, contrary to the good order of many good old commonwealths of the Persians and Greeks; of wit gathered, and good fortune gotten by some, only by experience without learning. And lastly, he required of me very earnestly to

⁷⁵ Ryan, *Roger Ascham*, 252.

⁷⁶ There is historical debate around whom the headmaster of Eton regarded as the “best schoolmaster” and “greatest beater.” It could be Nicholas Udall, Bishop John Bale, or Richard Cox, who had been master of Eton during Haddon’s time there as a student. See Ryan, *Roger Ascham*, 252 and 331 for further details.

⁷⁷ Ryan, *Roger Ascham*, 252.

⁷⁸ After Ascham expressed great empathy on the matter, Sackville requested Ascham appoint a tutor of a gentle manner for his grandson Robert, future Earl of Dorset. Ryan, *Roger Ascham*, 252.

show what I thought of the common going of Englishmen into Italy.”⁷⁹ These are the main topics of the first book of *The Scholemaster*.

The Scholemaster is divided into two parts; the first section is title “The first book for the youth,” is “ethical for the greater part.”⁸⁰ And the second chapter is “concerned with method,” titled “The Ready Way to the Latin Tongue.”⁸¹ The work is described by Ascham as being an attempt to focus on the truth of religion, honesty in living, and the right order in learning.⁸² Written during Elizabeth’s reign it has a couple references to the great student her majesty was as a child, providing insight into the potential approach to her curriculum under Ascham’s instruction. Instructions to masters within *The Scholemaster* always refer to the pupil using male pronouns, demonstrating that the work was not advocating for the educating of females, Elizabeth was the exception to the norm. Ascham’s described approach to teaching was to “teach the child, cheerfully and plainly, the cause and matter of the letter; then let him construe it into English so oft as the child may easily carry away the understanding of it; lastly, parse it over perfectly.”⁸³ He regarded that Queen Elizabeth as a child learned Greek and Latin grammar by way of:

double translating of Demosthenes and Isocrates daily without missing every forenoon, and likewise some part of Tully every afternoon, for the space of a year or two, haith attained to such a perfect understating in both the tongues and to such a ready utterance of the Latin, and that with such judgement as they be few

⁷⁹ Ascham, *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham*, Vol III, 82-83.

⁸⁰ Ascham, “XCIX-Ascham to Sturm (1,1),” in *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham*, Vol II, 176. Trans. in Ryan, *Roger Ascham*, 254.

⁸¹ Ascham, “XCIX-Ascham to Sturm (1,1),” in *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham*, Vol II, 176. Trans. in Ryan, *Roger Ascham*, 254.

⁸² Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, 11.

⁸³ Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, 14.

in number in both the universities, or elsewhere in England, that be
in both tongues comparable with Her Majesty.⁸⁴

Whether or not the queen was the most competent in both languages as any throughout England is most likely untrue, but the intensity of her daily studies demonstrated the level of commitment Elizabeth paid towards her education in her youth. Walter J. Ong explained that the learning of Latin for a young man was a puberty right, and an assent into adulthood and independence. Latin was the preparation of the schoolboy, for “adult life by communicating to him the heritage of a past in a setting which toughened him and thus guaranteed his guarding the heritage for the future.”⁸⁵ Furthermore, Ong argued that Elizabeth was one of the few Renaissance women who was learned and taught in the subject of Latin. Reflecting that the education that Ascham built on for Elizabeth was one that was to pass her into adulthood and prepare her to be able to interact with the learned world, which was a “Latin-writing, Latin-speaking, an even Latin-thinking world.”⁸⁶ The emphasis that Ascham placed on speaking, and double translation also was adverse to that of the typical education received by women. Women were to be seen and not heard, except for when it came to flirtatious and cultural discussions in a courtly setting. However, Ascham was extremely encouraging of Elizabeth’s development as a linguist, and her vocabulary. Her ability to speak, as well as write with great eloquence were two skills that largely enabled her to rule with great ability in regards to Parliamentary addresses, courtly discussions, speeches, and various other writing and speaking tasks expected of a monarch.

⁸⁴ Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, 87.

⁸⁵ Walter J. Ong, *Rhetoric, Romance, and Technology: Studies in the Interaction of Expression and Culture* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell Press, 1971), 140.

⁸⁶ Ong, *Rhetoric, Romance, and Technology*, 120.

Because of the lessons Elizabeth received she was much better equipped for ruling than Mary had been.⁸⁷

Ascham saw little gain in the drilling of grammar, and despite Erasmus's instructions on Latin sentence preparation, he spared his student of the practice, believing it better to learn both the language and eloquence of thoughts produced by the classical works at the same time.⁸⁸ Elizabeth would have been familiar and quite well versed on the works of Tully, Terence, Caesar and Livy as these are the writers who Ascham thought most useful for obtaining a new tongue.⁸⁹ This method of double translation was how Ascham thought best to encourage the learning of a new language, versus dictation practice.⁹⁰ Ascham preferred for students not to learn to speak a new language first because as Cicero instructs ‘*lo wueno, male loqui discunt* (By speaking, they learn to speak badly.)’⁹¹ He believed that first good wit and understanding needs to be developed in a student, and then once they understand the language well enough the “brain doth govern the tongue” better.⁹² He selected the works of the classics because those who “can neither like Aristotle in logic and philosophy, nor Tully in rhetoric and eloquence will, from these steps, likely enough presume by like pride to mount higher to the misliking of greater matters; that is either in religion to have dissentious head or in the commonwealth to have a factitious heart.”⁹³

⁸⁷ For further development on the emphasis on the Oral education and the contradicting educational texts used for both Princess Mary and Princess Elizabeth see Kathi Vosevich’s “The Education of a Prince(ss).”

⁸⁸ Ryan, *Roger Ascham*, 106.

⁸⁹ Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, 82.

⁹⁰ Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, 16.

⁹¹ Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, 16.

⁹² Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, 17-18.

⁹³ Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, 84.

Furthermore, the double translation was an exercise for a student learning a new tongue, in addition to a study in valued humanist classical works subjectivity.

Ascham's approach as an educator is outlined in great detail throughout *The Scholemaster*. He explained his methodology is developed from Plato and Socrates, who stated "No learning ought to be learned with bondage," and a master should "bring not up your children in learning by compulsion and fear, but by playing and pleasure."⁹⁴ He provided an example of a dialogue exchanged between him and the late Lady Jane Grey who was avoiding sewing, playing, and dancing because her parents were so severe, and quick to be sharp in their judgement that she felt discouraged in those pursuits. Instead, she sought refuge in her studies through reading Plato, because her schoolmaster was encouraging of her, and developmental in deliverance of any critique.⁹⁵ Alternatively, Ascham believes that a master should neither "frown nor chide ... if the child have done his diligence" and still made an error, believing children learned more from "two faults gently warned of than of four things rightly hit."⁹⁶ The issue for why strict and forceful means were needed to be taken by educators, according to Ascham was as a result of children who were inept to study was selected for academia. In an attempt to reform the issue's that Ascham saw in English society's approach to academia he offered seven points drawn from Plato's *Republic* to identify "a good wit in a child for learning."⁹⁷ These seven points are developed out of Ascham's own experience as a tutor, and the successes he experienced in his pupils, such as Elizabeth, who demonstrated the various traits. These traits were first a

⁹⁴ Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, 32.

⁹⁵ Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, 36.

⁹⁶ Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, 15.

⁹⁷ Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, 27.

“goodness of wit … and will to learning” in a child, in addition to having the skill of a “good of memory”⁹⁸ Furthermore, he believed based from an Isocrates statement that “if thou lovest learning, thou shalt attain to much learning,” and in a fashion that demonstrates “a lust to labor and a will to take pains” in order to be a successful student.⁹⁹ From Socrates, Ascham found another trait necessary of a good student being that he is open to “hear and learn of another[’s]” successes and missteps, while being “naturally bold to ask any question, desirous to search out any doubt.”¹⁰⁰ The seventh and final trait was that “he that loveth to be praised for well-doing at father’s or master’s hand,” as a pupil will labour more earnestly in learning because they are searching for approval as a reward.¹⁰¹ These were the abilities necessary to have a successful student, based on Ascham’s experience of tutoring of Elizabeth and other young Cambridge men. It is evident that Elizabeth was ideal for learning as she often demonstrated as a young girl a sense of curiosity, and in her letters practicing translations to her step-mother she often sought approval and development from others in her academic pursuits.

Ascham believed that England was at an academic crisis of sorts at the time of his writing *The Scholemaster*. He hypothesized that if “King Edward had lived a little longer his only example [would have] bred such a race of worthy learned gentlemen as this realm never yet did afford.”¹⁰² For Edward, much like Elizabeth had received a humanist education highlighting the role that a gentle approach to academia could provide. The close relationship between Ascham and Edward’s scholars during his youth meant that both students received an education in

⁹⁸ Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, 27-31.

⁹⁹ Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, 27-31.

¹⁰⁰ Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, 27-31.

¹⁰¹ Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, 27-31.

¹⁰² Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, 55.

accordance to Aristotelian concepts of virtue.¹⁰³ Ascham argued that “learning teacheth more in one year than experience in twenty,” and as a result of this Elizabeth, much like Edward would have received an education that influenced their approach to monarchy in a way unpredicted by prior English kings. Erasmus explained and Ascham explained “experience is the common schoolhouse of fools and ill men.”¹⁰⁴ Despite Ascham and Elizabeth’s short time together in her youth as her formal teacher, it is certain that during that period great heed was taken in the development of her knowledge; one that Ascham believed was irreplaceable with experience. Ascham scolds the ill men of the English nobility saying “it is your shame (I speak to you all, you young gentlemen of England) that one maid, [Queen Elizabeth,] should go beyond you all in excellency of learning and knowledge of diverse tongues.”¹⁰⁵ Unlike contemporaries of Ascham, such as Juan Luis Vives who saw women as being a ‘blabber’ who spoke too much, Ascham praised his pupil for her speaking ability.¹⁰⁶ At court Ascham saw a lack of priority on the development of knowledge, and that most do not spend nearly as much time as the Queen herself does on her continued commitment to intellectual growth.¹⁰⁷ He praised Elizabeth saying that her example “if the rest of our nobility would follow, then might England be, for learning and wisdom in nobility, a spectacle to all the world.”¹⁰⁸ Of course, as the current monarch at the time of writing, Ascham would be somewhat obliged to provide Elizabeth with accolades; however, the works that Elizabeth produced, alongside with letters from her childhood reviewing her

¹⁰³ Ryan, *Roger Ascham*, 106.

¹⁰⁴ Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, 50-51.

¹⁰⁵ Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, 56.

¹⁰⁶ Juan Luis Vives, in Kathi Vosevich “The Education of a Princess,” 69.

¹⁰⁷ Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, 56.

¹⁰⁸ Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, 56-57.

intellectual abilities support Ascham in saying that the level of education and attention Elizabeth paid to her academic development was unprecedented and certainly one that many other nobles could learn from.

Elizabeth under Ascham's training would have received a balanced education. One that sought to develop "good wit" which was not obtainable by an education too focused on math, sciences, music, arithmetic, or geometry. Ascham believed that too much focus on one subject developed an individual who was "unfit to live with others, and [were] ... unapt to serve in the world."¹⁰⁹ Elizabeth was well trained in Latin and Greek, and other tongues, she also received an education in music, needlework, dance, as well as hunting and shooting under the care of Ascham. The diversity of her training is what Ascham believed would lead an individual to being a competent leader. Although only Elizabeth's official tutor for two years in her adolescence, the two would develop a relationship that would last for twenty years. Ascham believed that "love is fitter than fear, gentleness better than beating to bring up a child rightly in learning."¹¹⁰ It was through his tender approach, and commitment to finding the ideal student of "hard and rough" wit that developed the relationship between him and Elizabeth. As both her girlhood tutor, and later during her reign, her Latin secretary, the two developed a close bond. A bond so close, that upon hearing of the death of Ascham in 1568, Elizabeth is attributed as remarking: "I would rather have cast £10,000 in the sea than be parted with my Ascham."¹¹¹ A translation of *Opera Ominia* the epigram written for Ascham read "The native Muses join with those of Greece / And

¹⁰⁹ Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, 23.

¹¹⁰ Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, 20.

¹¹¹ Edward Grant, "De Vita et Obitu Rogeri Aschami, ac Eius Scriptionis Laudibus" trans. in Ryan, *Roger Ascham*, 1.

mighty Rome, in pious grief for Ascham, / Whom Princes valued, and his friends beloved; / With little wealth he lived, and spotless fame.”¹¹² Despite Ascham having reached little fame and accord during his lifetime, his role within the development of Elizabeth’s education was certainly influential. Furthermore, his works *Toxophilus* and *The Scholemaster* exemplify the Cambridge humanist studies which Elizabeth was exposed to and participated in under his very influential years as her tutor.

Elizabeth’s Personal Households: Hatfield House and Somerset House

The formal years of Elizabeth’s intellectual training provided her with the skills necessary to lead, manage, and run her own private household. After the allegations in 1548-1549 that Katherine Parr’s husband, Lord High Admiral Thomas Seymour, was becoming too intimate with Princess Elizabeth, she moved to her own personal residency at Hatfield House.¹¹³ As the head of the household, Elizabeth was responsible for the management as well as the organization and decor of the property. The home became a place of retreat for Elizabeth during the tumultuous times of her siblings reign, and within these walls she formed a university-like setting in which she could further advance the formal Cambridge humanist training she received in her adolescence. Kat Astley’s husband, John Astley was a kinsman to Elizabeth during this time. He described the household of “her grace” as being a place of “pleasant studies in reading together Aristotle’s *Rhetoric*, Cicero and Livy; our free talk mingled always with honest mirth; our trim conferences of the present world, and too true judgments of the troublesome time that

¹¹² Hartley Coleridge, *Biographia Borealis*, p. 333 in Ryan, *Roger Ascham*, 331.

¹¹³ Starkey, *Elizabeth I*, 79.

followed.”¹¹⁴ In 1551 a settlement for her estates was reached with the Edwardian government and Elizabeth was provided with Somerset House, the Protector’s former palace. The way Elizabeth chose to decorate her modern home was in the Italian style, including the first symmetrical classical facade in England.¹¹⁵

When Henry VIII died January 1547, his will demonstrated a clear division of his material goods between his three children. Being neither the heir nor the spare, and a woman, Elizabeth was provided significantly less land and possessions than that of her brother, and less than her half-sister Mary I. According to Henry’s will both the princesses were to receive £3,000 “to lyve on [in] mone plate jewelz and household stufte.”¹¹⁶ The items of household things were not bequeathed onto the princesses but instead were received as a loan from the household goods and storehouses of Henry VIII. Mary’s selections of cloths of estate and royal tapestries demonstrate, as argued by McIntosh, an attempt to show her right to inheritance, and her “reclaimed position as heir to the throne.”¹¹⁷ Elizabeth made her selections from her fathers possessions based on what she valued most, her humanist education. She selected a “Tapestrie of the Triumphes” a demonstration of the attributes and exploits of the Greco-Roman gods subjects Ascham heavily instructed, as well as one illustrating Christine de Pizan’s “Citié of Ladies.”¹¹⁸ Elizabeth’s household demonstrated an “appreciation for Italian artistic forms,” reflecting the values of the Italian classical works such as Cicero’s and Petrarch instilled in her from her

¹¹⁴ John Astley, “John Astley to Roger Ascham 1552,” in A.J. Collins, *Inventory of the Jewels and Plate of Queen Elizabeth I*, (London: British Library, 1955), 202.

¹¹⁵ Starkey, *Elizabeth I*, 84.

¹¹⁶ Transcript of Henry VIII’s will in *Fæderæ*, Vol. III, pp 145, trans. McIntosh, *From Heads of Household to Heads of State*, 49.

¹¹⁷ McIntosh, *From Heads of Household to Heads of State*, 54.

¹¹⁸ McIntosh, *From Heads of Household to Heads of State*, 55.

Cambridge founded education.¹¹⁹ The selection of this tapestry was Elizabeth's intentional adornment of her house used as a visual representation reflecting of her humanist studies. Elizabeth was educated with a similar curriculum to that of her brother Edward by Ascham whose intention was to provide Elizabeth with the greatest intellectual virtues.¹²⁰ Edward also selected a tapestry titled "Citiie of Ladies" from their father's possessions, reflecting his humanist and education background being the same work as his sister Elizabeth.¹²¹ Cheke and Ascham both believed Roman classical author Cicero had produced the best works to teach their young pupils about civil politics, but they also highlighted the poetry and literature of Petrarch. De Pizan is regarded as being a writer of equal calibre to that of Petrarch, in her ability to persistently critique and evaluate the "social and political lives of their societies."¹²²

Christine de Pizan (1364-1430) was potentially the most prominent female author in the fifteenth century, and she wrote about themes of virtue and vice as a theme.¹²³ She was esteemed by scholars Jacqueline Broad and Karen Green in their work as being one of the first women to "suggest a claim to female citizenship not generally articulated until the eighteenth century."¹²⁴ Her Venetian father Tomasso di Benvenuto de Pizzano was regarded as a contemporary of Francesco Petrarch, and held positions as a physician, court astrologer, and a councillor of the

¹¹⁹ McIntosh, *From Heads of Household to Heads of State*, 98.

¹²⁰ Jacqueline Broad and Karen Green, *A History of Women's Political Thought in Europe, 1400-1700*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 108.

¹²¹ British Library, MS Harley 1419, fol. 384r: "Item: Six peces of Tapestry of the citie of ladies," quoted in Susan Groag Bell, *The Lost Tapestries of the City of Ladies: Christine de Pizan's Renaissance Legacy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004), 183.

¹²² McLeod, *Christine de Pizan*, xi.

¹²³ Other works by de Pizan include: *Letter of Othea* (1400); *The Book of the Three Virtues; The Long Path of Learning* (1402); *The Book of the Mutation of Fortune* (1403); *The Feats and mores of the Good King Charles V of that Name* (1404); *The Book of the Body Politic* (1407); and *The book of Peace* (1412–1414).

¹²⁴ Broad and Green, *A History of Women's Political Thought in Europe* 12.

Republic of Venice.¹²⁵ De Pizan was educated and raised in the court of Charles V of France, and was taught a humanist education, because her father believed educating women “would do more good than harm.”¹²⁶ In 1389, at the age of twenty-five she became a writer, producing both poetry and prose as an allegorical base for her political and social opinions.¹²⁷ De Pizan has been historically viewed as being an advocate for independent female sovereigns; throughout her work there are examples of widows from ancient history, and French queens governing their countries successfully.¹²⁸ She believed that the more active a woman is in society, the more a women will become godly, virtuous, and stronger of character. Her works were popularly applied as conduct books for educating noblewomen on “infidelity and the dangers the courtly ideal of love posed for women who try to implement it in real life.”¹²⁹ The ‘supreme virtue in women’ of chastity was heavily preached in de Pizan’s works, and for this reason Wayne argued her work was commonly selected for Renaissance educated women to read.¹³⁰

Multiple works of de Pizan can be found in the royal library records during the Tudor dynasty. As early as Edward IV’s reign (r. 1461-1470), two copies of de Pizan’s *L’Epistre d’OThea*, and a copy of the original french version of *Livre de la Cite des Dames (The Book of the City of Ladies)* was recorded in the library.¹³¹ Margaret of Anjou, Henry VI’s wife had been

¹²⁵ Broad and Green, *A History of Women’s Political Thought in Europe* 10.

¹²⁶ Bell, *The Lost Tapestries of the City of Ladies*, 12.

¹²⁷ Broad and Green, *A History of Women’s Political Thought in Europe*, 10.

¹²⁸ Groag Bell, *The Lost Tapestries of the City of Ladies* 28.

¹²⁹ Glenda K. McLeod, *Christine de Pizan: Christine’s Vision*, (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc, 1993), xiv.

¹³⁰ Valerie Wayne, “Advice for women from mothers and patriarchs,” in *Women and Literature in Britain, 1500-1700*, ed. By Helen Wilcox, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 66.

¹³¹ Now British Library, London, MS Royal 14 E ii and MS Royal 17 E iv, cited in Jacqueline Broad and Karen Green, *A History of Women’s Political Thought in Europe, 1400-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 107.

presented de Pizan's *Fais d'armes et chevallerie* as a wedding present.¹³² During Henry VII's reign he translated this work into English and titled it *The Book of Battles and Military Arts*.¹³³ *The Book of the City of Ladies* was translated into English, and brought to court by courtier Bryan Anslay who had it printed in 1521 by Henry Pepwell, and given as a gift to Catherine of Aragon for her and her daughter the heiress.¹³⁴ In that same year an English translation of Christine's *Book of the Body Politic* was also printed and recorded in the royal library records.¹³⁵ Broad and Green argued that since Elizabeth was educated, unlike Mary, to possess "the intellectual virtues and eloquence of a prince" these works by de Pizan would have been considered the most appropriate choice.¹³⁶ The regular exercise of double translation utilized by Kat Astley, Ascham, and Cheke in Elizabeth's curriculum likely was applied to de Pizan's French works as study material for Elizabeth.¹³⁷ The subject matter of de Pizan's works would have been intriguing to Elizabeth, additionally the quantity of the works accessible suggests it is likely she was educated using *The Book of the City of Ladies* and de Pizan's other work.

It is unknown what scene or subject from *The Book of the City of Ladies* was depicted in the tapestry selected by Elizabeth; it was simply outlined in the inventory that it was six panels. Historians have speculated that it most likely depicted in panels "six worthy ladies" described in

¹³² Broad and Green, *History of Women's Political Thought in Europe*, 107.

¹³³ Groag Bell, *The Lost Tapestries of the City of Ladies*, 26.

¹³⁴ Stephanie Downes, "Fashioning Christine de Pizan in Tudor Defences of Women," *Parergon*, 23:1 (2006): 72; Groag Bell, *The Lost Tapestries of the City of Ladies*, 33.

¹³⁵ Christine de Pizan, *The Boke of the body of Polucue*, (London: John Skot, 1521); Broad and Green, *A History of Women's Political Thought in Europe*, 107.

¹³⁶ Broad and Green, *History of Women's Political Thought in Europe*, 108.

¹³⁷ Groag Bell, *The Lost Tapestries of the City of Ladies*, 35.

Pizan's work.¹³⁸ The work structures around six main characters of Reason, Chivalry, and Justice, Reason, Righteousness and Justice, likely the "Six Worthy Ladys" depicted in Elizabeth's tapestry panels. *The Book of the City of Ladies* is a "un nouvel royaume de Femenie," a new kingdom of womanhood, which was intended by Christine to "replace the old 'royaume et la seigneurie des femmes, [kingdom and dominion of women].'"¹³⁹ This new realm of de Pizan's was based on Reason and is governed entirely by women demonstrating their capacity for government through their prudence. Each of these women planned the streets and structure of the city itself. Her argument was when women as well as men participate in the development and structure of a city, the structure flourishes.¹⁴⁰ Elizabeth's tutors potentially selected the study of de Pizan's literature in order to provide for her a female equivalent to the conduct works of Cicero for male governing. Ascham's curriculum was an extension of the Cambridge training he had received, and was intended to provide Elizabeth with a humanist education that would enable her to be an effective member of society. De Pizan's works was ideal for this, as it outlined very specifically for women the virtues and conduct necessary for them to be an educated and virtuous humanist woman.

Furthermore, reflections of Elizabeth's familiarity with Christine de Pizan's works can be found in the application of similar uses of metaphors in Elizabeth's speech to that of de Pizan's writing. Elizabeth's speeches and writings argued that God ordained her to rule. In both de

¹³⁸ Groag Bell, *The Lost Tapestries of the City of Ladies*, 148. Groag Bell explained that the 1649 royal inventories no longer have a recording of the "Citie of Ladies" tapestry, but instead have "Six pieces of Worhty Ladys" and "Six pieces of Ladys." Bell speculates that these could be regarded as the final appearance and reference to the tapestries in the royal catalogues.

¹³⁹ Broad and Green, *History of Women's Political Thought in Europe*, 27.

¹⁴⁰ Pizan, Christine de. *The Book of the City of Ladies*. Trans. Earl Jeffrey Richards. New York: Persea Books, 1982.

Pizan's *Christine's Vision* (1405) and *The Body Politic* (1407), she uses a metaphor of how society should be organized like that of a human body, a theory based on medieval philosopher John of Salisbury and Giles of Rome.¹⁴¹ Elizabeth's familiarity with de Pizan's writing can be found in her invocation of a metaphor similar to de Pizan, as the realm being a single human body, depicting the monarchy as the head of the body politic, and the feet, subservient at the bottom of the body, a representation of parliament. In 1566, Elizabeth addressed parliament stating "a strange thing that the foot should direct the head in so weighty a cause, which cause hath been so diligently weighted by us that it toucheth us more than them."¹⁴² Concluding, that "it is monstrous that the feet should [try to] direct the head."¹⁴³ Later in 1567 she addressed the House of Commons, saying "as to liberties, who is so simple that doubts whether a prince that is head of all the body may not command the feet not to stray when they would slip? God forbid that your liberty should make my nonage or that your lawful liberties should any ways have been infringed."¹⁴⁴ Roger Ascham equipped Elizabeth with a Cambridge education which was intended to enable her to succeed in a role of state leadership.¹⁴⁵ Therefore, it is quite likely she was educated on the writing of de Pizan, especially considering her use of the metaphor so similar in language to de Pizan, and hers and Edwards intentional selection of the tapestries.

¹⁴¹ Christine de Pizan, *Christine's Vision*, in *Christine de Pizan: Christine's vision*, trans. by Glenda K. McLeod, (New York and London, Garland Publishing, Inc., 1993); Stephen H. Rigby, "The Body Politic in the Social and Political Thought of Christine de Pizan (Unabridged Version) Reciprocity, Hierarchy and Political Authority," 561.

¹⁴² Elizabeth, "Queen Elizabeth's Speech to a Joint Delegation of Lords and Commons," 5 November 1566, in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, 96.

¹⁴³ Elizabeth, "Queen Elizabeth's Speech," 5 November 1566, 98.

¹⁴⁴ Elizabeth, "Elizabeth's speech dissolving Parliament," 2 January 1567, in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, 105.

¹⁴⁵ O'Day, "Ascham, Roger (1514/1515-1568)," *ONDB*.

McIntosh argued that during the 1550's, Elizabeth's household largely functioned as a "campaign headquarters," in which Elizabeth used this time to polish her humanist studies on governing, and social duties.¹⁴⁶ Once Elizabeth was provided the autonomy to govern her own household in the 1550s she intentionally chose to decorate her home as a reflection of the Italian intellectual culture she had been exposed to in her youth.¹⁴⁷ Therefore, works such as de Pizan's, highlighting women's sovereignty, their ability to lead and function as an equal citizen certainly would have been of great interest to Elizabeth and her tutors. Due to the numerous records of de Pizan's manuscripts in the Tudor Royal Library, in addition to both Edward and Elizabeth's selection of the tapestry and Elizabeth's application of metaphors in de Pizan's writing it seems likely that the author played a role in advancing Elizabeth's humanist studies. Especially considering that de Pizan's writing was one of the leading conduct works in the period for how to raise proper noble women, it would be essential for Elizabeth to be familiar with the work. Elizabeth's private home can be reviewed as an extension of her education, reflecting the humanist tracts she engaged with, as well as her keen interest in the Italian culture.

Elizabeth's Humanist Writing during the Reigns of Siblings Edward VI and Mary I

After the departure of Ascham, Elizabeth's writing and translation exercises were her main forms of humanist studies during the period of 1550-1558. Obtaining a personal household enabled Elizabeth to construct an environment in which she was able to manage the governing of her home, in addition to the cultural and religious focus within it. Thus, under her own roof

¹⁴⁶ McIntosh, *From Heads of Household to Heads of State*, 3.

¹⁴⁷ McIntosh, *From Heads of Household to Heads of State*, 98.

Elizabeth continued to develop her Cambridge humanist education through the practice of correspondence, poetry writing and translation exercises. Edward continued to be a close alliance for Elizabeth, an individual who through correspondence acted as a classmate and a peer to discuss humanist tracts with. It is during the reigns of both her siblings that Elizabeth's letters begin to depict a young woman preparing herself for potential stateship, and reflecting the humanist education she received providing her with the skills necessary to be a contributing member of English society.

During Elizabeth's brother's reign from 1547-1553, correspondence with Edward demonstrates the maintained close and scholarly relationship developed in their childhood. Edward wrote to his sister in 1546 when their households separated that the "change of place in fact, did not vex me so much, dearest sister, as your going from me."¹⁴⁸ Within the letter Edward expresses that it was Elizabeth who "challenged" him to write, he claims to strive to "surpass, [or] at least to equal" her in her abilities. The letter's vocabulary and language demonstrates the closeness the two developed while being educated together, "of your love towards me no numerous or illustrious proofs can be given."¹⁴⁹ In her letter dated February 2, 1548 she referenced "the words of Cicero taken from Ennius."¹⁵⁰ The references to Cicero by Elizabeth demonstrate her intimate understanding of the classical author's instruction on statesmanship; a work Edward's tutors exposed him to believing it to be a critical piece of his apprenticeship.

¹⁴⁸ Edward VI, "Prince Edward to his Sister Elizabeth," 5th December, 1546, in James Orchard Halliwell-Philipps, *Letters of the Kings of England: Now First Collected from the Originals In Royal Archives, and from other Authentic Sources, Private as Well as Public*, vol. II (London: Henry Colburn Publisher, 1846), 21.

¹⁴⁹ Elizabeth, "Princess Elizabeth to King Edward VI," February 2, 1548, *Elizabeth I: Collected Work*, 15.

¹⁵⁰ Elizabeth, "Princess Elizabeth to King Edward VI," February 2, 1548, 17.

Elizabeth used classical quotations and allusions at times in her letters to Edward, writing a letter in Latin in 1547 when her brother was ill saying “*Nihil aequa incertum aut minus diuturnum quam vita hominis nimiri qui Pindari testimonio nihil sit aliud, quam vmbrae somnium.*” [“Nothing, likewise, is as uncertain or less lasting than the life of a man, without doubt, who by the testimony of Pindar, is nothing more than a dream of a shadow.”]¹⁵¹ Furthermore, she goes on to wish that she was more often in the king’s presence and until they meet again, she will follow “this saying of Horace, *Feras non culpes quod vitari non potest.*” [“You must endure, not blame, what cannot be altered”]¹⁵² Elizabeth demonstrated her great proficiency and development in Greek and Latin by inserting them interchangeably to make use of puns, and a play on words.¹⁵³ The relationship between the two half-siblings provided Elizabeth with an intellectual peer to exchange and develop scholarly ideas with. May 15, 1549 Elizabeth wrote to her brother a letter to accompany a portrait in which she explained “for the face, I grant, I might well blush to offer, but the mind I shall never be ashamed to present.”¹⁵⁴ The portrait she had commissioned for Edward was painted in 1546, and is titled “Elizabeth when a Princess.”¹⁵⁵ An inventory of Edward VI’s at his accession in 1547 states that “A table with the picture of the ladye Elizabeth her grace with a booke in her hande her gowne like crymsen clothe of golde with workes.”¹⁵⁶ The painting depicts Elizabeth dressed in her best clothing, most likely from the

¹⁵¹ Translated in Elizabeth, “Princess Elizabeth to King Edward VI upon his Recovery from Sickness,” September 20, 1547, in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, 15.

¹⁵² Elizabeth “Princess Elizabeth to King Edward VI,” May 15, 1549, *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, 36.

¹⁵³ Booth, *A Body Politic to Govern: The Political Humanism of Elizabeth I*, 31.

¹⁵⁴ Elizabeth, “Princess Elizabeth to King Edward VI,” May 15, 1549, 35.

¹⁵⁵ See photograph in Appendix A.

¹⁵⁶ Quoted from Henry VIII’s Will in Susan Frye’s “Elizabeth When a Princess: Early Self-representations in a Portrait and a Letter,” in *The Body of the Queen: Gender and Rule in the Courtly World, 1500-2000*, ed. Regina Schulte (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2006), 50.

money she received from her father's passing. She is holding a small book in her hands, and slightly behind her another book is shown open. Frye speculates that the folio in the background is the Old Testament, and the smaller one in Elizabeth's hand, held closest to her, was the New Testament.¹⁵⁷ The two books demonstrate Elizabeth's attempt to remind her brother not only of her intellectual abilities, but also her religious dedication.

Due to their shared household during their humanist curriculum Elizabeth and Edward shared common religious beliefs. After Edward's *Act of Uniformity of 1549*, it was mandated that all services, prayers and songs in English Churches had to be conducted in the vernacular, not Latin.¹⁵⁸ Scholar Ted Booth argued that Elizabeth's choice to write in the vernacular is a "strong clue" as to her thoughts on religion, especially when placed in the context of her education and the timing of her brother's reign.¹⁵⁹ Although Elizabeth was heavily educated in Latin, and was quite capable of writing in it, from 1549 forward she wrote in the vernacular in letters with her brother. She also did not write a formal Latin letter again for about fifteen years, including after Mary was queen, and had reinstated the state religion as Roman Catholic. Similarly, Edward also abandoned Latin writing as his primary medium after 1549, demonstrating a close allegiance both educationally, and perhaps as well politically and religiously. Her Cambridge based educators were often at work writing about the need to develop English literature, especially Roger Ascham who was a strong advocate for the need to develop the written aspects of the English language. Elizabeth's switch to English writing in correspondence could be a reflection

¹⁵⁷ Frye, "Elizabeth When a Princess," 53.

¹⁵⁸ Booth, *A Body Politic to Govern*, 33.

¹⁵⁹ Booth, *A Body Politic to Govern*, 32-33.

not only of her brother, and their shared religion but also of the curriculum Ascham provided her with.

Contrasting to the letters exchanged between Elizabeth and Edward, in the few letters between the two princesses there is less familiarity and a more formal etiquette. There is little reference to the classics, or Latin mixed in, suggesting the two princesses did not engage in intellectual discussion in the same manner which Edward and Elizabeth did. In a letter written to Mary by Elizabeth on October 27th, 1552 Elizabeth describes that “I have more occasions to render you my hearty thanks for your gentle writing, which how painful it is to you, I may well guess by myself. And you may well see by my writing so oft, how pleasant it is to me.”¹⁶⁰ Elizabeth’s handwriting was notably neater and clearer, demonstrating greater practice at it, a study encouraged by Italian humanists.

Throughout Mary’s reign there was a great deal of tension between the two sisters as Elizabeth was often placed as the counter-point to her sister the Catholic Queen. Mary reclaimed the crown in 1553 after the coup of Lady Jane Grey; she placed Elizabeth in The Tower believing she had been a contributor in the Grey plot. In 1556 Mary accused Elizabeth to colluding with the Wyatt rebellion, and plotting with “the last surviving Plantagenet,” Edward Courtenay for marriage in an attempt to seize the throne from Mary.¹⁶¹ When she left the tower this time she had been imprisoned for two years, and was released for house arrest at Woodstock. Mary and her Catholic supporters feared a Protestant coup, with Elizabeth at the head. Throughout Mary’s short reign of five years, Elizabeth spent over two years of it in the Tower,

¹⁶⁰ Elizabeth, “Princess Elizabeth to Princess Mary,” October 27, 1552, in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, 17.

¹⁶¹ Frye, “Elizabeth When a Princess,” 46.

and under house arrest. The night before being sent to the tower, Elizabeth wrote a letter to her sister beseeching her sister that she was innocent and loyal to her. The letter demonstrates Elizabeth's sound understanding of English royal law, suggesting she had developed an education in the subjects of law and politics.¹⁶² She explained "my last demaunde that I be not condemned without answer and due profe wiche it semes that now I am for that without cause proud I am by your counsel from you commanded to go vnto the tower a place more wonted for a false traitor, than a tru subject."¹⁶³ Elizabeth wrote to her sister claiming that she had made a promise to provide Elizabeth with a chance to verify and first speak with Mary without condemnation. She explained "If any euer did try this ole saynge that a kinges worde was more than a nother mans other..." drawing on a historical reference to the Old Testament verse 'a king's word hath power' in an attempt to bind Mary to her word.¹⁶⁴ During her time in the Tower that Elizabeth is attributed as authoring one of her first prayers. Although not published until 1582, it was accompanied by another prayer which was recorded as having been written in a time when 'she was in great fear and doubt of death by murder.'¹⁶⁵ After her release, Elizabeth was placed under house-arrest at Woodstock, with limited communications to those outside of her own private household. During this time at Woodstock Elizabeth is attributed as having authored three poems. Ascham explained in his work *The Scholemaster* that poetry was "seldom found in English and doth also rather stumble than stand upon," he attributed this to the current lack of

¹⁶² Booth, *A Body Politic to Govern*, 39.

¹⁶³ Elizabeth, "Princess Elizabeth to Queen Mary," March 16, 1554, in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, 41.

¹⁶⁴ Elizabeth, "Princess Elizabeth to Queen Mary," 41.

¹⁶⁵ Thomas Bentley, *The Monument of Matrons* (London: Printed by H. Denham, 1582), in Booth, *A Body Politic to Govern*, 40.

development of the English tongues vernacular ability to rhyme.¹⁶⁶ Elizabeth's time in confinement allowed her an opportunity to immerse herself further in her humanist studies. She defines her time in imprisonment as unjust in that it "caused the guiltless to be reserved, /And freed those that death had well deserved."¹⁶⁷ Her works of poetry describe her fears of what would happen to her, and exemplify her understanding of the English language through skilled rhymes. Mary's precautions and stipulations on Elizabeth's freedoms allowed for Elizabeth to participate in little other than to keep her nose safe and protected in her books, working on the development of her Cambridge based humanist studies.

Conclusion

The return to the line of succession in 1543, and the placement in her Protestant stepmother's home in 1544 provided an opportunity for Elizabeth to receive a more structured education than she had experienced in her younger years as a bastard child. As third in line to the throne there were social practices and conduct that were necessary to be taught to her in order for her to reach the highest status for a noble woman of the period as a proper and morally guided Christian wife. However, the challenges to traditional scholarship by humanist studies and reforms at Cambridge institution enabled the progression of scholars to see value in educating women, although to a lesser degree, of that of their male counterpart. Although four years separated Elizabeth and Edward the two were close enough in age to share a classroom which was instrumental in allowing Elizabeth to receive a Cambridge humanist apprenticeship for monarchy. Elizabeth

¹⁶⁶ Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, 146.

¹⁶⁷ Elizabeth I, "Written on a Window Frame at Woodstock," 1555, in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, lines 7-8, page 46.

proved herself capable and competent within the classroom, in many ways proving to the progressive Cambridge scholar that despite her gender she had the capacity to engage with humanist works to a similar degree as her brother. Despite there being limited sources outlining the specifics of her curriculum, knowing she was often in attendance to her brothers well recorded studies demonstrates the classical humanist works she was exposed to during her teenage years. As a result of her advanced abilities in her brother's classroom, she earned the privilege to have her own private scholar focused solely on exposing her to a Cambridge humanist program. Although she did not receive the same education as that of male Cambridge students, she certainly received a more thorough education than other noble woman of the period, and it was provided and shaped by Cambridge studied scholars. The influences of her humanist studies in her youth are demonstrated in her later correspondence to her siblings, and throughout Mary's reign motivated her to return to her academic training in an effort to advance herself past the period's belief of her genders abilities. These years of Elizabeth's childhood were her apprenticeship to regency, and were highly formative in shaping her decision-making skills, approach to leadership, and ability to communicate with her male academically trained counterparts at court.

CONCLUSION

Although Humanism came to England in the late fifteenth century, it was not until well into the early sixteenth century that the movement began to flourish. With this meant a renewed interest in the classics, literature, and the moralistic lessons to be learned outside of the church's teachings. However, as demonstrated in Chapter One, it was highly unusual for the rigours of the *studia humanitatis* to be accessible to women, due to the socially accepted construction that it was immoral for a woman to learn and it had little purpose for advancing her ability to be a good mother and wife. Protestant John Knox infamously wrote in *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (published in 1558) that "to promote a woman to beare rule... is repugnant to nature, ... [and] is the subversion of good order."¹ In the early modern period, women were believed to be by nature "weake, fraile, impacient, feble and foolish: and experience hath declared them to be unconstant, variable, cruell and lacking the spirit of counsel and regiment."² Court life was an anomaly to this in some regards being more lenient to teaching women to read, write, and understand Latin in order to occupy their time away from vice and to improve their prospects on the marriage market. Therefore, if a woman was of little interest on the marriage market, it is questionable what the purpose of educating her would be. By contrast, for much of her youth Elizabeth was a woman who, certainly up until her father's death in 1547, was of low interest in noble and foreign marriage. As a result, she

¹ John Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (Geneva: J. Poullain and A. Rebul, 1558; New York: Da Capo Press, 1972), 9.

² Knox, *The First Blast*, 10.

received an atypical education for women of the period, as she was able to dedicate much greater time to her studies than most women could afford.

The education Elizabeth received was certainly different than that of her Catholic, older sister, Mary I. Mary's household exemplified the courtly values of chivalry, games, entertainment, and practices of social wit. This household's priorities were based on the education she received derived from her Spanish humanist education proposed by Juan Luis Vives. Furthermore, as a result of Elizabeth's education being focused on the works of Socrates, Isocrates, Cicero, she was able to prepare herself both for nobility and governing her household in the form similar to gentlemen. As gentlemen of the period were 'so grounded in judgment of learning, so founded in love of honesty, as when they should be called forth to the execution of great affairs in service of their prince and country, they might be able to ... order all experiences ... according to... wisdom, learning, and virtue.'³ Elizabeth chose to lead her household in an Italian humanist influenced method. She was capable to manage her home and deal with the legalities included because she was literate and could read and write in Latin as well. Many women were incapable of being landowners because they lacked the education necessary for the administration side. She signed all the pages of her account book herself, and provided happily for the travel, burials, and health costs of her servant.⁴ Elizabeth immersed herself in her humanist education, spending money on subjects of study rather than courtly fashions such as valentines, cards, games or the same types of entertainment her half-sister Mary had participated

³ Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, 52.

⁴ McIntosh, *From Heads of Households*, 100.

in.⁵ Instead Elizabeth chose to assist in the spread of humanist education through patronizing booksellers. She funded the “Skollars of Cambridge” and “to a pore Skollar of Oxforde.”⁶ Elizabeth’s humanist education mirrored that of her half-brother Edward’s much more closely, as they shared a classroom together for two years, as well as scholars who were produced from the same Cambridge method of tutelage.

The differences in Mary’s and Elizabeth’s educational training were quite significant, and demonstrate the advancements of Humanism in England during the first half of the sixteenth century. Queen Mary felt she had minimal governing knowledge provided in her education, and therefore she leaned heavily on the Spanish Ambassador, Simon Renard for advice. Mary wrote to her cousin Charles, the Holy Roman Emperor, praising Renard’s council stating that “his presence is and shall always be very acceptable to us.”⁷ As one of Mary’s most trusted advisors, he provided the advice that Mary should immediately summon parliament, and encouraged her to try and “win the favor of those who attend, and with the participation of parliament do whatever the state and realm might allow” her to do as a female monarch.⁸ Venitian Ambassador Giovanni Michieli stated during Mary’s reign that the councillors were “the lords of the kingdom ... Respecting the government and public business she is compelled (being of a sex which cannot becomingly take more than a moderate part in them, ... to refer many matters to her councillors

⁵ McIntosh, *From Heads of Households*, 100.

⁶ McIntosh, *From Heads of Households*, 100.

⁷ “Mary I to the Emperor, 22 September 1553,” *Calendar State Papers, Spain, Volume 11, 1553*, ed. Royall Tyler (London: 1916), 250-161, *British History Online*.

⁸ Kelsey, *Philip of Spain, King of England: The Forgotten Sovereign*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 51.

and ministers.”⁹ Both Michieli and Renard demonstrate the expectations of the period in regards to female regency, and Mary was perceived to have gone along quite willingly with the guidance of her male parliament, husband, and Spanish ambassador. However, Elizabeth demonstrates in her reign a strict opposition to the gendered concepts of female regency. She argued in her 1566 parliament that, “It is said I am no divine. Indeed, I studied nothing else but divinity till I came to the crown, and then I gave myself to the study of that which was meet for government, and am not ignorant of stories wherein appeareth what hath fallen out for ambition of kingdoms, as in Spain, Naples, Portugal, and at home.”¹⁰ Elizabeth was renowned for her great rhetoric abilities at court, exhibiting a keen understanding of word play and how to manipulate her speeches and arguments in order to serve the purpose of her audience. These skills were largely developed under Ascham who explained that he tutored Elizabeth in “Saint Cyprian and Melanchthon’s *Common Places*... as best suited, after the holy Scriptures, to teach her the foundations of religion, together with elegant language and sound doctrine.”¹¹ Elizabeth was provided with an education that shaped her knowledge and understanding both of statesmanship, her divine right to rule, government procedures, as well as Royal Prerogatives.

Lisa Jardine compiled a book list of the titles that appear more than 150 times between 1535 and 1590 on the inventories of the Cambridge University book lists. On this list are included: Aristotle’s Ethics, Cicero’s *De Officiis*, Quintilian, Virgil, Terence, Plautus, Ovid, Lucian’s *Dialogues*, Aesop’s *Fables*, A work of Homer, A work of Euripides, A work of Plato,

⁹ Michieli, cited in David Loades, *The Reign of Mary Tudor: Politics, Government and Religion in England, 1553-1558* (London: Longman, 1991), 316.

¹⁰ Elizabeth, “Queen Elizabeth’s Speech to a Joint Delegation of Lords and Commons,” November 5, 1566, in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, 96-97.

¹¹ Ascham, “Ascham to Sturm,” in Ted Booth *The Body Politic*, 10.

Erasmus' *Paraphrases*, *Enchridion*, *Adagia*, *De copia*, *Colloquii*, Valla's *Elegantiae*, Horace, Pultarch, Sallust, Titus Livus, Caesar's Commentaries, Justinus Historicus, Valerius Maximus, Aulus Gellius, A work of Vives, Rudolph Agricola's *De inventione dialectica*, Ceproini's Greek Grammar, An Arithmetic primer, Peter Lombard's Sentences, Calepinus' dictionary, and A Greek and Latin Lexicon and Greek New Testament.¹² Searching the letters, and works of translation produced by Elizabeth, in addition to Roger Ascham's *The Scholemaster*, suggests that Elizabeth was exposed to at least half of these works. Keeping in mind the list includes works up to 1590, past Elizabeth's formal tutoring in her youth, the number of works referenced in Elizabeth and her tutors ideal curriculum suggests Elizabeth was receiving an advanced humanist education comparable to that of which was being taught at Cambridge in the mid-sixteenth century.

During her reign it is clear Elizabeth was committed to her educational development, and continued to build on the foundation her tutors and governess's had provided her with in her youth. The collection of Elizabeth I's translations by Janel Mueller and Joshua Scodel ranges in years from 1544-1589. These years demonstrate that well into Elizabeth's reign and adult years she continued to challenge herself in the act of double-translations taught to her by her humanist education. In 1563 Roger Ascham wrote that Elizabeth was "renewing [her studies] with great intensioness, under the care and inspection of her school-master Mr. Ascham."¹³ Ascham was appointed in the early 1560s as Elizabeth's Secretary of Latin, and thus moved back into court and remained in Elizabeth's company until his death in 1568. It was during this time that

¹² Lisa Jardine, "Humanism and the Sixteenth Century Cambridge Arts Course," *Journal of the History of Education Society* 4 (1975), 16-17.

¹³ Ballard, *Memoirs of several ladies of Great Britain*, 218.

Ascham began to write his work *The Scholemaster*. Throughout the 1560s, Ascham and Elizabeth would meet to discuss and develop her Latin and Greek language skills, as well as her understanding and application of the classical works. She continued to read “Cicero, Pliny, Livy and others, with so much care, that she came (as [mid seventeenth century historian] Mr. [Edmund] Bohun observes) the mistress of even, beautiful, pure, unmixed and truly Princely style, which she could speak with elegance and facility.”¹⁴ The footings established by her tutors in her young age set forward a woman keen in the pursuit of lifelong learning, and with an education that equipped her to rule as a regent female monarch. Elizabeth throughout her reign intelligently applied the use of language and gender manipulation to apply traditional female attributes when a more nurturing and motherly role was needed, and a more androgynous title when acting within traditional male dominates spheres such as parliament and in times of war. The application of Elizabeth’s education can be seen throughout her speeches in parliament, her letter writing, and within her engagement and role in developing the “Cult of Elizabeth” in English Renaissance works.

During Elizabeth’s reign she made three visits to the Universities. These visits were most likely “to do honor to the University, and encourage learning.”¹⁵ Her first visit was to Cambridge on August 5, 1564. During her visit to the university she stayed in the housing of the Provost of Kings College, and engaged in a variety of academic activities. The college provided her with entertainment in the form of “comedies, tragedies, orations, disputations, and other academic

¹⁴ Ballard, *Memoirs of several ladies of Great Britain*, 219.

¹⁵ Ballard, *Memoirs of several ladies of Great Britain*, 222.

exercises.”¹⁶ Upon her departure she gave a Latin oration to the academics expressing humility in her Latin abilities starting with “although my feminine modesty might deter me from making a speech and uttering these rude, off-hand remarks in so great an assembly of my most learned men, nevertheless the intercession of my nobles and my own goodwill toward the University have prevailed upon me to say something.”¹⁷ She continued on to explain why she is motivated to speak despite her being perhaps out of her league in regards to her Latin abilities, one is the improvement of her Latin through exercise, as well that there was an expectation from the university that she would and could engage with them.¹⁸ It is suspected that Elizabeth most likely spoke extemporaneously when giving this speech and it is recorded that she needed some encouragement as she initially would have preferred to “speak her mind in English.”¹⁹ It is impressive that Elizabeth was able to speak fluently in Latin in such an academic setting without notes. On September 5, 1566 Elizabeth paid her first visit to Oxford. During this seven day visit she was once again entertained by the University and greeted with streets filled with prominent Oxford scholars such as Bocardo and Carfax.²⁰ She attended lectures, disputations, public exercises and various forms of theatrical performances.²¹ Again she closed her visit with an oration in which she expressed that she has “applied my effort for some time to good disciplines and even longer in learning;” however, she explained that this has proven to be unfruitful as she believed her academic abilities fall short of expressing herself in worthy enough language of her

¹⁶ Ballard, *Memoirs of several ladies of Great Britain*, 222.

¹⁷ Elizabeth, “Queen Elizabeth’s Latin Oration at Cambridge University,” August 7, 1564, in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, 87.

¹⁸ Elizabeth, “Queen Elizabeth’s Latin Oration at Cambridge University,” 87-88.

¹⁹ Elizabeth, “Queen Elizabeth’s Latin Oration at Cambridge University,” 87.

²⁰ Ballard, *Memoirs of several ladies of Great Britain*, 223.

²¹ Ballard, *Memoirs of several ladies of Great Britain*, 223.

audience.²² Clearly impressed by the visits she had, Elizabeth chose to return again in September 22, 1592. Even as Elizabeth was nearing sixty years old she still enjoyed attending the University of Oxford where she experienced a philosophical “act prepared for her entertainment,” which proved to be quite satisfactory to the queen as she expressed “Imo probet, si potest” encouraging the performance to continue.²³ Oxford and Cambridge did not allow women to attend until the nineteenth century. Elizabeth’s attendance at Cambridge and Oxford University was enabled because she was Queen. Her interest in visiting was inspired by her Cambridge humanist education in her childhood, and her well-developed capability to understand Latin and engage in a scholastically inclined environment. Although she was not as well educated in all subject matter as the academic young men at the institutions, her capabilities in Latin and classical subject matter was unprecedented for an English monarch, especially being a woman.

Elizabeth’s lifelong pursuit of educational development played a critical role in how she approached her role as regent Queen of England. She presided over the golden age of Elizabethan literature, and a period in which English culture flourished. Under Elizabeth’s rule art, literature and culture flourished, becoming what is now referred to as the English Renaissance. Her love of music, and interest in writing her own poetry unquestionably played a key role in encouraging her courtiers to participate in the development of literature in the English vernacular. The historiography on Elizabeth I has largely overlooked the question of how she got to be a capable woman to rule as England’s first unmarried regnant female monarch. Throughout Elizabeth’s speeches, letters, and her addresses to academic individuals it is clear that her

²² Elizabeth, “Queen Elizabeth’s Latin Oration at Oxford University,” September 5, 1566, in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, 91.

²³ Ballard, *Memoirs of several ladies of Great Britain*, 223.

training and curriculum as a young girl played a role in developing her approach to her position as Queen, and head of England. Although she may not have been of the same caliber of intellect as those of a trained Oxford or Cambridge education she was esteemed by her contemporaries as having “natural gifts of mind and body, wherein she either matched or excelled all the princes of her time.”²⁴ Her education in her youth, and through her observations in her half-sibling’s reigns provided her with an understanding on how to approach the role of monarchy, and the intellectual skills to be confident in her role as Queen in a male dominated world. Her understanding of Plato, Cicero and other classical works instilled her with the virtues necessary for an early modern monarch to represent the image of a “just and moderate prince, accomplished with all those endowments which the great Socrates had set forth, for living well and happy.”²⁵

²⁴ John Clapham, “Certain Observations Concerning the Life and Reign of Queen Elizabeth” (ca. 1603), in *Sources and Debates in English History 1485-1714*, ed. By Newton Key and Robert Bucholz (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 103.

²⁵ Ballard, *Memoirs of several ladies of Great Britain*, 220.

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APPENDIX A



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