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in Honor of John Watkins

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CHAPTER 1

“SAD STORIES OF THE DEATH OF QUEENS”

Elizabethan Beginnings and Endings

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“SAD STORIES OF THE DEATH OF QUEENS”

Elizabethan Beginnings and Endings¹

Helen Hackett

In 1988, Stephen Greenblatt declared his “desire to speak with the dead,” initiating complex discussions about how such dialogue might work and for what purposes.² Should historicist cultural criticism immerse itself in the world of its period of study, listening strenuously but passively to its voices? Or should it take literally Greenblatt’s concept of “speaking *with* the dead” to explore not only how “then” talks to “now” but also how “now” shapes and instrumentalizes our perceptions of the past? Since Greenblatt’s statement, our conceptualization of dialogues between past and present has become increasingly sophisticated, recognizing that each past moment was once its own present and that such moments spoke to one another as well as speaking to us today. One outcome has been study of the evolving afterlives of cultural icons across spans of history as exemplified by John Watkins’s *Representing Elizabeth in Stuart England*,³ a seminal work which illuminated Elizabeth I’s shifting and contested reputation through the century following her death. Watkins not only examined how Elizabeth’s image was adapted and appropriated by different interest-groups during key phases of the turbulent seventeenth century but also traced the emergence of “the ‘modern’ Elizabeth” who still looms large in the twenty-first-century imagination “as the bourgeois fantasy of what absolute sovereigns had once been in all their magnificence and in all their excess.”⁴

This chapter similarly traces connections between some crucial early modern moments in the representation of queenship and their recent legacy. Adapting the injunction of Shakespeare’s Richard II to “tell sad stories of the death of kings,”⁵ it compares responses to the deaths of Mary I, Elizabeth I, and Elizabeth II. Looking beyond official commemorations, it draws on more spontaneous and improvised first-hand accounts by ordinary Londoners such

as Henry Machyn, a parish clerk and funeral provisioner, whose diary for 1558 records:

The xvij day of november be twyn v & vj in ye morning ded quen mare ye vj yere of here grace Rayne the wyche jhū haue mercy on her soll amen.

Or, in modernized form:

The seventeenth day of November between five and six in the morning died Queen Mary, the sixth year of Her Grace's reign, the which Jesus have mercy on her soul. Amen.⁶

He continued: "The same day between eleven and twelve before noon the Lady Elizabeth was proclaimed Queen of England, France, and Ireland" (1046). Nearly 45 years later, John Manningham, a law student, noted Elizabeth I's own death in his diary for 24 March 1603:

This morning about 3 at clocke hir Majestie departed this lyfe, mildly like a lambe, easily like a ripe apple from the tree [...] About 10 at clocke the Counsell and diverse noblemen, having bin a while in consultacion, proclaymed James the 6, K[ing] of Scots, the King of England, Fraunce, and Irland.⁷

Comparisons between these diaries of the start and end of the Elizabethan period illuminate the cultural and psychological effects of regime change—especially when placed alongside responses to the death of Elizabeth II on 8 September 2022. All three events highlighted the intensity of feeling evoked by female monarchs, and how even a peaceful transfer of royal power could be surrounded by uncertainty and unease. These historic moments stood in complex relation to time: simultaneously ruptures between one era and another, pauses when time seemed briefly to stand still, and overlaps between time-periods which combined mourning for the old monarch with celebration of the new. Time could even seem to loop back on itself, as the ending of a reign recalled its beginning, and as mourning for a queen in the present followed patterns set for her predecessors in the past.

Two Elizabethan diarists: Machyn and Manningham

Born in the 1490s in Leicestershire, Henry Machyn moved to London in his youth and became a parish clerk and provisioner of funeral accessories such as escutcheons and hearse-cloths.⁸ In 1550, he began a document named in his will as "my Cronacle":⁹ initially an inventory of funerals, but increasingly also a record of public events, modeled partly on chronicles like that of Edward Hall (1548), and partly on parish registers.¹⁰ Primarily a factual

record of public matters, it gives little personal information on Machyn and implies opinions rather than stating them. It covers part of the reign of Edward VI, the whole reign of Mary, and Elizabeth's reign up to 1563, breaking off during a plague outbreak which probably ended Machyn's life.¹¹

Our second diarist, John Manningham, was born around 1575 in Cambridgeshire. He was educated at Cambridge and then the Middle Temple, where he kept a diary from January 1602 until April 1603. Unlike Machyn's "Cronacle," this is more of a miscellany or commonplace book, mingling records of public events with sermon-notes, anecdotes, aphorisms, jokes, gossip, and poems. As a day-by-day record, it will be referred to here as a "journal." Manningham proceeded to marriage, children, and a successful legal career and died in 1622.¹²

As synchronic slices across the start and end of Elizabeth I's reign, Machyn's chronicle and Manningham's journal give unusually direct evidence of what her subjects were thinking, feeling, and talking about. Reflecting their authors' differences in age, education, and social milieu, the documents differ in genre and tone: Machyn's chronicle is serious, impersonal, and reticent, while Manningham's journal is miscellaneous, gregarious, and playful. Yet they invite comparison as day-by-day accounts of turbulent times by relatively ordinary Londoners: not courtiers, professional writers, or preachers with causes to serve, but simply observers of events. They offer vivid glimpses of what Elizabethan Londoners were interested in, what they gossiped and worried and argued about, and how they tried to make sense of the historic events they were living through.

"Marvels throughout London": Machyn on 1558–59

Elizabeth I's accession was less eventful than those of Edward VI and Mary I, which Machyn had experienced, yet it was not unattended by tensions. Five days before Mary's death, Machyn reports that "There was a woman set on the pillory for saying that the Queen was dead, and Her Grace was not dead then" (1044). Evidently, rumor and speculation about the queen's state of health were rife, creating an intense mood of communal alertness.

The tension broke on 17 November. After recording the public declarations of Mary's death and Elizabeth's accession, as quoted at the opening of this chapter, Machyn describes an abrupt shift from mourning to celebration:

The same day at afternoon all the churches in London did ring, and at night did make bonfires and set tables in the street and did eat and drink and made merry for the new Queen Elizabeth, Queen Mary's sister.

(1047)

Over subsequent days, both queens, the living and the dead, moved conspicuously around London. On 28 November, Elizabeth processed in splendor

through the City of London to the Tower of London, then on 5 December, she “removed by water under the bridge unto Somerset place with trumpets playing – and melody and joy – and comfort to all true English men and women and to all people” (1060, 1061). Although Machyn rarely expressed opinions, his entries during Mary’s reign suggest support of her regime, so his acclaim of Elizabeth for bringing “joy – and comfort” may be more conventional than sincere. Eight days later,

the corpse of the late Queen Mary was brought from St. James’s, where she died, in a chariot with the picture of images like her person adorned with crimson velvet and her crown on her head.

The corpse was “covered with cloth of gold, the cross silver” and accompanied by standard-bearers and “a great company of mourners,” including monks and bishops, as it processed in state to Westminster Abbey (1072). On 14 December, Machyn recounts the splendid funeral Mass, referring to Mary throughout as “the Queen” and “her Grace,” and thus suggesting the temporary co-existence of two queens in one realm (1074). In the same month, he records the erection of scaffolds in the streets for Elizabeth’s coronation (1085). For an interim period, England was simultaneously Marian and Elizabethan, Catholic and Protestant.

January saw Elizabeth process from Whitehall by river to the Tower of London, then through the City of London, followed by the coronation itself and jousts; yet the stability affirmed by pageantry and ritual was counteracted by other events. Through following months, Machyn recorded how Catholic bishops were sent to the Tower of London and replaced by “new bishops come from beyond the sea” (1130, 1131, 1174); how services in the queen’s chapel began to be said in English (1153); and, most troublingly for Machyn because of his profession, how the lavish ceremonies of Catholic funerals began to be suppressed. On 7 April, he describes with some bemusement a funeral in the new Protestant style, with “neither priest nor clerks present, but instead went the new preachers in their gowns like laymen,” with prayers in English and “of a new fashion” (1133).

The new queen continued to be the focus of festivities and spectacles, including, in June, an evening water-pageant on the Thames and a performance at Greenwich Palace involving the Nine Worthies, Saint George and the Dragon, a Morris dance, and Robin Hood (1171, 1176). Two days later, writes Machyn,

was deprived of their bishoprics the bishop of Winchester and the bishop of Lincoln at Mr. Hawes, the King’s sheriff, in Mincing Lane. And the bishop of Winchester to the Tower again and the bishop of Lincoln delivered away.
(1180)

The summer of 1559 proceeds, in Machyn's narrative, as an unsettling counterpoint of royal celebrations and religious upheaval. The royal spectacles were both assertions of the "joy – and comfort" supposedly brought by Elizabeth's accession and, it seems, strategic distractions from ongoing religious disruption and controversy. Iconoclasm began:

The fifteenth day of August was the rood in Paul's [taken] down and the high altar and other things spoiled. [...] against Ironmonger Lane and against St. Thomas of Acon two great bonfires of roods and of Marys and Johns and other images. There they were burned with great wonder. [...] The time before Bartholomew tide and after was all the roods and Marys and Johns and many others of the church goods—both cope, crosses, censers, altar cloth, rood cloth, books, banners, books, and banner stays, wainscot with much other gear about London.

(1214, 1220, 1226)

While characteristically restrained, Machyn's phrase "they were burned with great wonder" implies a communal sense of shock. What had been heresy just months before, punishable by death, was now the state religion. Whatever his religious views, Machyn must have feared the consequences for his business in funeral equipment; yet, as recorded in earlier sections of his chronicle, he had lived through the previous iconoclasm of Edward VI's reign and the restoration of church furnishings under Mary (965). It must have seemed entirely possible to him and his neighbors that this new regime would also be short-lived and that the whirligig of time would bring another restoration of Catholic artifacts and practices.

Machyn conveys mounting unease, as in the entry for 5 September 1559:

The same day at noon was such a thundering as was never heard before the time [...] at All Hallows in Bread Street that killed a water spaniel at the church side and felled a man (one of the beadsmen of the Salters – his name is Harry ...) and sexton of the same church and moreover that cracked the steeple above the battlement, all of stone, that some of the stone flew out in pieces, that many people resorted thither to see that marvels throughout London. I pray God help.

(1230)

He is always cautious about passing comments, but the juxtaposition of entries implies that the recent religious upheavals have provoked divine displeasure, and an undertone of disquiet and disapproval continues through subsequent entries. Machyn may well have been a religious conservative,¹³ but he may also have been simply weary of the incessant changes of the last twelve years, affecting not just high-level politics but the daily texture of

urban life.¹⁴ This unsettlingly rapid sequence of political switchbacks and crises has been echoed recently in the years preceding the death of Elizabeth II, which featured Brexit and the Covid pandemic, and in the months surrounding her death, which brought Britain three prime ministers. Our recent experiences of unrelenting instability give transhistorical resonance to Machyn's terse but trenchant records of the impact of regime change.

"Greate expectacion, and silent joye": Manningham on 1603

By Manningham's time, Elizabeth I had transmuted from disruptive new monarch to mythologized personification of constancy. On the first page of his journal, a "Song to the Queene at the Maske at Court" from November 1602 epitomizes late Elizabethan panegyric. Elizabeth was a "Blessed Goddess" possessing "True beauties face" and had vanquished time:

Victorious Queene, soe shall you live
 Till tyme it selfe must dye,
 Since noe tyme ever can deprive
 You of such memory.

(29)

This prevalent late Elizabethan myth—that by repudiating the desires of the flesh, the Virgin Queen had also conquered the decay of the flesh and was ever-young—expressed otherwise unspeakable anxieties about the queen's mortality. It had dominated panegyric for over a decade of suspense as the reality of the queen's death loomed ever closer, yet seemed to be endlessly deferred.

At last, though, in March 1603, Elizabeth was known to be ill. Manningham received bulletins from the royal sickroom from his friend Dr Henry Parry, chaplain to the queen. Manningham writes on Wednesday, 23 March 1603:

I was at the Court at Richemond, to heare Dr. Parry one of hir Majesties chapeins preache, and to be assured whether the Queene were living or dead. I heard him, and was assured shee was then living.

(205–6)

Like Machyn's report of the woman pilloried for speaking of Queen Mary's death too early, Manningham evokes London on tenterhooks awaiting news. That evening, dining with Dr Parry and other churchmen in the Privy Chamber, he heard of Elizabeth's melancholy and her refusal to accept medicine, eat, or go to bed. He concluded sententiously, "A royall majesty is noe privileged against death"—directly contradicting that song on his journal's opening page (208).

The next day, 24 March, the tension broke. Manningham recorded the news with due solemnity—"This morning about 3 at clocke hir Majestie departed this lyfe, mildly like a lambe, easily like a ripe apple from the tree" (208)—but also described general uncertainty and anxiety: "There was a diligent watch and ward kept at every gate and street, day and night, by householders, to prevent garboiles" (208). As the moment passed without foreign invasion or civil disorder, suspense was succeeded by relief:

The proclamacion [of James as king] was heard with greate expectacion, and silent joye, noe great shouting. I thinke the sorrowe for hir Majesties departure was soe deep in many heartes they could not soe suddenly shewe anie great joy, though it could not be lesse then exceeding greate for the succession of soe worthy a king. And at night they shewed it by bonefires, and ringing.

(209)

The communal emotions described here are complex and conflicting: sorrow mingled with joy, silence followed by celebrations. Despite the momentous change, life goes on:

Noe tumult, noe contradicion, noe disorder in the city; every man went about his busines, as readylie, as peaceably, as securely, as though there had bin noe change, nor any newes ever heard of competitors. God be thanked, our king hath his right.

(209)

Unlike Elizabeth at her own accession, the new monarch could not rush to show himself around London, being far away in Scotland. Nevertheless, thoughts rapidly turned toward the future:

The people is full of expectacion, and great with hope of his worthines, of our nations future greatnes; every one promises himselfe a share in some famous action to be hereafter performed, for his prince and Country.

(209)

Here, Manningham implicitly aligns himself with recent critiques by the Essex faction of Elizabeth's foreign policy as over-cautious (though any excitement felt by him and his young male friends at the prospect of bold chivalric exploits under a male monarch would soon be frustrated by James's treaty with Spain and self-promotion as *rex pacificus*). Indeed, within Manningham's entries for the day of her death the late queen already becomes the target of forthright criticism. He reports talk of "howe much indebted shee died to the commons, notwithstanding all those charges layed upon them"

(209), whereas “all long to see our newe king” (210). Over the following days, he offers a fractured and fragmentary picture of Elizabeth and of the feelings of his social group toward her. At one point, she is the subject of an amusing anecdote:

Mr. Francis Curle told me howe one Dr. Bullein, the Q[ueenes] kinsman, had a dog which he doted one, soe much that the Q[ueene], understanding of it, requested he would graunt hir one desyre, and he should have what-soever he would aske. Shee demaunded his dogge: he gave it, and “Nowe, Madame,” q[uoth] he, “you promised to give me my desyre.” “I will,” q[uoth] she. “Then I pray you give me my dog againe.”

(210)

Here, the queen is a character in irreverent urban myth; yet the next day, Manningham records a sermon at Whitehall which elevated her in sacred typology: “Soe there are two excellent women, one that bare Christ and an other that blessed Christ; to these may wee joyne a third, that bare and blessed him both” (215). Observations circulate about providential patterns in Elizabeth’s life-cycle: “Mr. Rous said that the Q[ueene] began hir raigne in the fall and ended in the spring of the leafe”; yet these in turn prompt a quip from another Inns of Court man: “‘Soe shee did but turne over a leafe,’ said B[enjamin] Rudyerd” (218). Manningham oscillates between praise and blame of Elizabeth and between doleful grief and witty jesting. Machyn had taken a few months to move from Elizabeth as a “joy – and comfort to all true English men and women” to “I pray God help,” but Manningham records intermingled and contradictory feelings about Elizabeth in the hours and days following her death.

“That strange out-landish word Change”: Understanding the deaths of queens

The journalist Susie Lau became a twenty-first-century successor to Manningham and Machyn when her column of 23 September 2022 for *ES* magazine recounted how she received news of the death of Queen Elizabeth II on 8 September. While shopping on Oxford Street, she received an alert on her phone, creating a strange experience of seeming for a few moments to be the only person in the know, then visibly observing the spread of the news in the shocked faces of others checking their phones. General uncertainty about what to do and how to behave was followed by a silent resumption of shopping, then a rising tide of gossip about when exactly the Queen might have died and who might have been with her. Lau’s narrative resonates with Manningham’s journal: a pause to absorb the shock of the news, then continuation of life as normal, then lively and curious discussion.¹⁵

There were obvious differences between the first and second Queen Elizabeths: Elizabeth II was merely a constitutional monarch; Elizabeth I was the Virgin Queen, while her successor was a wife and mother; and the former notoriously refused to name an heir, whereas the latter's son was in place as successor for seven decades. The two queens also lived in eras of vastly different public media; yet there were some striking similarities in responses to their deaths. The sense conveyed in Machyn's chronicle and Manningham's journal of everyone anxiously waiting for news, fearful of either jumping the gun or missing the crucial moment, also dominated the media in the days and hours leading up to the death of Elizabeth II. Journalists meticulously observed the movements of the royal family, and the passing of notes in the House of Commons; television presenters carefully judged the right moment to change into black clothing.

Most subjects of both Elizabeth I and Elizabeth II had only known one monarch, and both queens had become symbols of constancy during periods of social and political upheaval. In 1603, Thomas Dekker described Elizabeth I's England as:

a nation that was almost begotten and borne under her; that never shouted any other Ave than for her name, never sawe the face of any Prince but her selfe, never understoode what that strange out-landish word Change signified.¹⁶

The first Elizabeth was supposedly *semper eadem*, always the same. In September 2022, Liz Truss eulogized Elizabeth II—less than 48 hours after the late Queen had appointed Truss as her 15th Prime Minister—as “the rock on which modern Britain was built,” who “Through thick and thin [...] provided us with the stability and the strength that we needed.”¹⁷ Mounting heaps of handwritten tributes by members of the public left outside Buckingham Palace, then displayed in Green Park, uncannily echoed elegies for Elizabeth I in 1603 in praising their queen as a national mother-figure and paragon of virtue who had ascended to heaven. Drawing on a transhistorical reserve of conventional images, these documents were simultaneously improvised yet scripted. One tribute was a handmade photomontage comparing the late Queen with the maker's recently deceased mother, typifying the hybridity of these mourning messages as public yet private, communal yet individual. When a queen dies, we learned, everyone has lost someone they feel they know yet don't know at all.

The deaths of Elizabeth I and Elizabeth II also created similar impulses to loop back to the beginning of the reign. Dendrochronology dates the Coronation Portrait of Elizabeth I to around 1603, the year she gained her crown in heaven (Figure 1.1).¹⁸ Similarly, the front pages of *The Guardian* and *The Times* on the day following the death of Elizabeth II were emblazoned with



FIGURE 1.1 Unknown English artist, *Queen Elizabeth I (The Coronation Portrait)*, c.1600. © National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 5175.

Cecil Beaton's 1953 photograph of her enthroned and in full coronation regalia (Figure 1.2). Just as Dekker's play *If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody* (c.1604) recounted the first Elizabeth's youthful ordeals, so much media coverage after the second Elizabeth's death revisited the trials and tribulations of her early life.

Machyn experienced the strange interlude between the death of Mary I and the coronation of Elizabeth I as an overlap between eras, as the old and new queens both moved ostentatiously around London. Manningham's experience was different: his personal contacts almost brought him into the presence of the dead queen, but the new king was far away—almost



FIGURE 1.2 Cecil Beaton, *Queen Elizabeth II in Coronation Robes*, photo, England 1953. © Cecil Beaton/Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

an imaginary figure—in Scotland. Elizabeth II’s death brought different choreography again as her body made an extended progress southwards from Scotland for its obsequies, while the new monarch displayed himself in ceremonies of succession in London. Yet all three deaths involved a temporary and disorientating sense of two rulers in one land and of looking forward into an uncertain future. Machyn’s statement that Elizabeth I brought “joy – and comfort” looked increasingly like wishful thinking as the first weeks and months of her reign unfolded, while the predictions of Manningham and his friends about what kind of king James I might be were echoed by avid speculation in September 2022 about the likely monarchical style of Charles III.

Though Mary I was not a long-reigning monarch, for Machyn, she had represented the restoration of the old religion, making the re-imposition of

Protestantism by her successor feel like violent change. For Manningham, as for modern Britons, the death of Queen Elizabeth was paradoxically both long-expected and, through its ongoing deferral over many years, a profound shock. All three deaths provoked a complex whirlwind of emotions. The crowds outside Buckingham Palace in the days following the death of Elizabeth II were by no means universally grief-stricken; some were chatting and smiling. Perhaps some came to express heartfelt grief for a symbolic mother or grandmother; others to pay respects to a dignified, dutiful public figure; others to participate in a historic and exciting communal experience; others again to witness the scene as detached observers. Many may have experienced a bewildering combination of these emotions, like the fluctuating sorrow and expectation, veneration and flippancy expressed by Manningham.

Machyn's chronicle of Elizabeth I's accession, Manningham's journal of Elizabeth I's death, and responses to the death of Elizabeth II all place the death of a queen in complex relation to time and history. It may seem like a moment of stillness and suspense outside time when, as T. S. Eliot puts it, "History is now and England."¹⁹ Paradoxically, it may be simultaneously experienced as a fracture in time that creates profound insecurities, even if the succession has been peacefully effected. It may be a moment of disorientating overlap between time-periods, with one monarch not yet buried and another not yet crowned; and a moment when time loops back on itself, as a queen's ending revives memories of her beginning; and a moment when disparate historical eras connect and resonate with one another, as the death of one queen recalls the deaths of her predecessors.

Our recent experience teaches us that the death of a long-reigning queen provokes reflection by both communities and individuals on time past and time to come, gains and losses, hopes and fears. Meanwhile, history tells us that most royal figures provoke complex, conflicting feelings in their subjects, and that royal females particularly attract multiple symbolic roles which reflect diverse ideological, cultural, and psychological needs (as illuminated in Watkins's work). Hence, the deaths of queens offer particularly rich materials for exploring intersections between different moments on the continuum of history and for developing a historicist methodology which consciously places multiple pasts and presents in active dialogue with one another.

Notes

- 1 I am grateful to Karen Hearn and the Tudor and Stuart Seminar (Institute of Historical Research, University of London) for feedback on versions of this chapter.
- 2 Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), 1.
- 3 John Watkins, *Representing Elizabeth in Stuart England: Literature, History, Sovereignty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- 4 Watkins, 13.
- 5 William Shakespeare, *King Richard II*, ed. Charles R. Forker (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2002), 3.2.156.

- 6 Henry Machyn, *A London Provisioner's Chronicle, 1550–1563*, eds. Richard W. Bailey, Marilyn Miller, and Colette Moore, Michigan Publishing, entry 1045, 1558-11-17, f.94r, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/machyn/>. Further quotations from Machyn are from this edition, in modernized form, with parenthetical references by entry number.
- 7 John Manningham, *The Diary of John Manningham*, ed. Robert Parker Sorlien (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1976), 208 (f.111v). Further quotations from Manningham are from this edition, with parenthetical references by page number.
- 8 Ian Mortimer, “Machyn [Machin], Henry (1496/1498–1563),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 3 Jan. 2008, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17531>.
- 9 Ian Mortimer, “Tudor Chronicler or Sixteenth-Century Diarist? Henry Machyn and the Nature of His Manuscript,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 33, no. 4 (Winter 2002): 986, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4144118>.
- 10 Mortimer, “Tudor Chronicler?”
- 11 The original manuscript, Cotton Vitellius MS E.v, British Library, London, was damaged by fire in 1731. Extensive transcriptions made around 30 years earlier by John Strype have been used by editors to supply missing portions. Preceding the edition used in the present essay is *The Diary of Henry Machyn*, ed. John Gough Nichols (London: Camden Society, 1848).
- 12 P. J. Finkelpearl, “Manningham, John (c. 1575–1622),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 Sept. 2004, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17981>. The journal is Harley MS 5353, British Library, London. Preceding the edition used in the present essay is *Diary of John Manningham*, ed. John Bruce (London: Camden Society, 1868).
- 13 Mortimer, “Tudor Chronicler?,” 994–95; Andrew Gordon, *Writing Early Modern London: Memory, Text and Community* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 47–48, 58–59.
- 14 Gordon, 39.
- 15 Susie Lau, “Bubble Rap,” *ES Magazine*, 23 Sept. 2022, 8.
- 16 Thomas Dekker, *The Wonderfull Yeaere* (London, 1603), B2r.
- 17 “Liz Truss’s Statement,” *The Times*, 9 Sept. 2022, 6.
- 18 Roy Strong, *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987), 163.
- 19 T. S. Eliot, “Little Gidding,” line 237, in *Four Quartets* (London: Faber, 1944).

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- . "Tudor Chronicler or Sixteenth-Century Diarist? Henry Machyn and the Nature of His Manuscript." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 33, no. 4 (2002): 981–98. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4144118>.
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