

Queen Elizabeth and Sir Walter Scott's *Kenilworth*

ERZSÉBET STRÓBL

DOI: 10.53720/MGXX8926

Abstract: The historical romance of Kenilworth (1821) by Sir Walter Scott redefined, for his own generation, the cultic image of Queen Elizabeth I of the previous centuries. The Scottish author moulded the famous Virgin Queen of English history into a British icon by referencing the common English-language literary heritage shared by all subjects living on the British Isles. Scott based his plot upon the contemporary antiquarian accounts of the 1575 Kenilworth visit of Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Leicester. While he handled historical chronology in a rather loose manner, in his descriptions of detail, he followed the sixteenth-century sources about the events that were collected and published by John Nichols between 1788 and 1821. Utilising the Romantic interest in such antiquarian reports, Scott filled up the gaps of grand history about the private life of the Queen by quoting exact details from these contemporary documents. Scott's writing in the new genre of the historical novel was persuasive through its material authenticity, which justified the fictitious elements that explored the feminine aspects of the Queen's personality. Scott also utilised the Romantic interest of his age in the picturesque countryside through which he depicted Queen Elizabeth's character, both as a public monarch and a private woman. Furthermore, by choosing a peaceful reception rather than a military victory, Scott could promote a new and modern understanding of monarchy. For him, royal festivity bridged the differences between national groups that lived on a common land inherited by all layers of society. Thus, Kenilworth established a new interpretation of the cultic figure of Queen Elizabeth that rested on the glories of the English past but catered for the needs of a newly formed United Kingdom of the nineteenth century.

Sir Walter Scott's novel *Kenilworth* (1821) created for his generation one of the most compelling images about Queen Elizabeth I and her age. Issued anonymously

as another work of the “author of *Waverly* and *Ivanhoe*,” it became one of Scott’s most successful novels with 10,000 copies selling within the first week of its publication, and with a second edition six weeks later (Arata 99).¹ Its format—published as a small sextodecimo (10x17 cm) edition in three volumes—with its price determined at 10s. 6d. per volume, set a standard for popular novels both in form and in price for the rest of the century (Mays 16). It belonged to the new genre of the historical novel, and it was highly regarded on the Continent by fellow authors such as Balzac, who called it “the grandest, most complete, most extraordinary of all; the book is a masterpiece” (373). Although *Kenilworth* receives less critical attention today, it offers an important insight about the Romantic depiction of “Elizabethan England,” a phrase coined by the early nineteenth century to denote the time of Shakespeare, and a new reappraisal of its Queen, Elizabeth Tudor.

Coleridge mirrored the sentiments of his age when in his lecture delivered in 1818, he described the reign of Elizabeth as “interesting on many accounts ... because it furnished circumstances so favourable to the existence, and to the full development of the powers of Shakespeare” (Coleridge 408). In his lecture on Milton, he underlined the unique splendour of the court of Elizabeth as a meeting place of the best wits of its day:

... the constellation at the court of Elizabeth ... can only be paralleled by Greece in her brightest moment, when the titles of the poet, the philosopher, the historian, the statesman, and the general not seldom formed a garland round the same head, as in the instances of our Sidneys and Raleighs. (Coleridge 281)

In Scott’s novel, Queen Elizabeth is surrounded by a similar group of great statesmen and men of letters, illuminating not the military achievements of the last Tudor monarch, but her court’s intellectual accomplishments. The choice of the topic for the book reflects Scott’s shift of emphasis. Against the explicit request of his publisher, Archibald Constable, to use the theme of the victory over the Spanish Armada

1 It was also published in the same year in the US and Paris, catering for an international audience and spreading the fame of its author and the interest in the new genre of the historical novel. Ample evidence of the popularity of Scott within Europe is provided by the copy printed in Paris—now part of the collection of the Metropolitan Ervin Szabó Library, Budapest—purchased by István Károlyi, diplomat of the Habsburg Monarchy in Paris who retired from active service and returned to his country house at Fót in 1821.

for his new work, Scott's plot is placed against the backdrop of an Elizabethan courtly entertainment, the Princely Pleasures at Kenilworth Castle (Henderson 91). Chronologically, *Kenilworth* follows Scott's previous work *The Abbot* (1820), which is set just six years earlier in Scotland and ends on the note of Mary, Queen of Scots, fleeing to England with words trusting her "sister's [Queen Elizabeth's] good faith" and hospitality (Scott ch. 38). Yet Scott avoided discussing how Elizabeth's court thwarted the hope of Mary, as it was an instance of English history that could have pitted the Scottish sentiments against the English. Instead, the novel focuses on Queen Elizabeth's court as a place where the people of different national origin and social standing come together to celebrate their monarch, and where poets and artists are mutually admired by all political factions. For Scott, the gesture of ceremony became a new mode that could forge national unity. At a time when the country was looking forward to the lavish coronation of a new king, George IV—scheduled for the summer of 1821—Scott's choice of subject matter highlighted his interpretation of a royal festivity as an occasion of bringing people together. His belief that modern monarchs should be the central figures of national celebration influenced his choice to mastermind and organise the ceremonies during the visit of George IV to Edinburgh in 1822 (McCracken-Flesher 83–84).² Francis Jeffery's review of Scott's *Kenilworth* highlighted this particular aspect of the novel, claiming that "the great charm and glory of the piece ... consists in the magnificence and vivacity of the description ... and we have at this moment as lively and distinct an impression of the whole scene, as we shall have in a few weeks of a similar Joyous Entry" (Jeffrey 92, vol. 3).

The plot of *Kenilworth* is based on historical events; yet, the novel captivates the reader not with its accuracy of historical chronology and facts—which are very loosely handled—but with its description of an England both romanticised with its rustic detail and particularised by the strict adherence to antiquarian sources. This mixed handling of history creates a vision about a past that is rooted in history yet embellished with fiction. It constructs a myth that, on the one hand, draws upon the antiquarian method of cataloguing accurate details, and, on the other hand, is inspired by the Romantic interest in the picturesque countryside with its memorials and relics of bygone eras. By selecting the Castle of Kenilworth as the backdrop to characterise Elizabeth's reign, Walter Scott updated the figure of Queen

2 Having been regent for nearly nine years, George IV became king on 29 January 1820 and was crowned at Westminster Abbey on 19 July 1821.

QUEEN ELIZABETH AND SIR WALTER SCOTT'S KENILWORTH

Elizabeth for his age. As an iconic ruler, she assimilated the glories of the English past with the needs of the newly formed United Kingdom where a shared countryside, a common intellectual heritage, and the occasions of popular celebration united its various subjects.

REMEMBERING THE QUEEN AND KENILWORTH THROUGH CENTURIES

The plot of the novel culminates in the description of Queen Elizabeth's entertainment at Kenilworth in 1575. Scott based his story about the royal visit on sixteenth-century accounts reprinted by John Nichols in 1788. Entitled *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, Nichols's collection was the first modern edition of the texts about the Queen's travels, public and private entertainments, and intimate records of her life. They allowed a broad readership for the first time to enjoy an abundance of colourful information about the iconic Virgin Queen of English history. In many memorable scenes of his book, Scott closely followed the details printed in Nichols's edition with regard to locations, furnishings, and pageants, which served also as an inspiration for the author to comment and characterise the Queen.

In 1575, Queen Elizabeth I paid the grandest visit to a private home in her 45-year reign. Although, as a Queen, she visited four hundred private hosts and civic communities during her customary summer progresses, her stay at the home of her favourite courtier, Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester, between 9 and 27 of July was the most sumptuous and expensive ever witnessed. The occasion was remarkable also with regard to the diversity of entertainments staged. It brought together pageantry and shows featuring the rustic mirth of the countryside, the traditions of the Morris dance and hobbyhorse, the refined taste of poetic entertainments, popular stories about King Arthur, gods and goddesses of antique mythology, and the elements of medieval civic drama in the form of Coventry's traditional Hock Tuesday play. Furthermore, it was the first private entertainment published in three different contemporary accounts, making the occasion widely known and immensely popular in the sixteenth century.

The memory of the occasion was most probably fresh even twenty years after the visit, as William Shakespeare referred to it in his play, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. References to the exquisite fireworks, to the performance of a singer seated on a floating dolphin in the middle of the lake, and to the maiden Queen refusing the courtship

of his favourite were all images that alluded to the Kenilworth entertainments in the lines of Oberon to Puck:

... Thou rememberest
 Since once I sat upon a promontory
 And heard a mermaid on a dolphin's back
 Uttering such dulcet and harmonious breath
 That the rude sea grew civil at her song
 And certain stars shot madly from their spheres
 To hear the seamaid's music? ...
 That very time I saw ...
 ...
 Cupid all armed: a certain aim he took
 At a fair vestal throned by the west,
 ...
 But I might see young Cupid's fiery shaft
 Quenched in the chaste beams of the watery moon;
 And the imperial votress passed on
 In maiden meditation, fancy-free. (2.1.148–155, 157–158, 161–164)

The Shakespearean passage illustrates that the cult formation of the Queen had already started during her lifetime and that the events at Kenilworth served as a focal point in this development. Furthermore—though marriage negotiations were still going on in 1575—the occasion was perceived—as Shakespeare's lines bear witness to it—as a turning point leading to her veneration as a Virgin Queen in the last two decades of her reign.

Queen Elizabeth's death in 1603 did not mean the end of her celebration, as—within ten years—her memory was revived and used as a political stance in opposing the autocratic rule of the new Stuart dynasty. By the late seventeenth century, the Queen emerged as the symbol of the Protestant cause within the national struggles against foreign Catholic influence. Her Accession Day (17 November) and her statue at Ludgate became the focus of anti-Popish demonstrations well into the reign of George I (Thornbury). Starting during the Exclusion Crisis of 1679–1681, mock processions of priest, friars, bishops carried the figure of the Pope on this day to Ludgate, where amid singing and cheering the effigy of the Pope was hurled

into a bonfire. During the occasion, the statue of the Queen “was Adorned with a Crown of Gilded Laurel, in Her hand a Golden Shield, with this Motto Incribed, *THE PROTESTANT RELIGION, MAGNA CHARTA*” (*The Solemn Mock Procession*). By the late seventeenth century, Queen Elizabeth was remembered as the protector of the ancient privileges of the English people and was conflated with the liberal principles of the rights of citizens within a Europe of autocratic monarchs.

As popular movements exploited Queen Elizabeth's historical authority for direct political aims, the details of her private life as a woman served as a rich source for the sensational stage of the Restoration period, and later for the sentimental theatre of the eighteenth century. Whereas in her formal official role she became an “honorary man” and a static icon, the plays relished in stories and gossip of dubious origin to explore her “affective femininity” that contemporary curiosity so much valued (Dobson and Watson 79–115). This paradoxical treatment of the memory of the Queen became, for instance, the butt of the pen of Richard Brinsley Sheridan's *The Critic, or a Tragedy Rehearsed* (1779), where an amateur playwright's work about the Spanish Armada exposed the shallowness of the bombastic phrases of patriotism and the melodramatic love plot connected to Queen Elizabeth.

Publishing his novel more than forty years later, Sir Walter Scott chose a line from Sheridan's play to serve as the motto of his work. “No scandal about Queen Elizabeth, I hope?” appears on the front page under the title of the book, pointing to Scott's similarly critical view of the eighteenth-century reception of the Queen's cult (Sheridan 48). However, this reference to Sheridan's play also signals his agreement with the playwright about the mode of adapting history to the stage or page. In Sheridan's work, the character of the playwright, Mr. Puff explains how grand history needs to be complemented by fictitious details:

... when history, and particularly the history of our own country, furnishes any thing like a case in point, to the time in which an author writes, if he knows his own interest, he will take advantage of it; ...

... where history gives you a good heroic out-line for a play, you may fill up with a little love at your own discretion; in doing which, nine times out of ten,

you only make up a deficiency in the private
history of the times. (2.1.5–9, 17–22)

Mr. Puff underlines two important further aspects of creating a plot featuring Queen Elizabeth: the storyline's patriotic overtone, and its interest in "private history" that is always connected with female characters. Scott's novel ventures to depict both themes but, as opposed to Sheridan's play, it rejects engagement with the heroic discourse of a military victory, and so it refashions the idea of patriotism as a peaceful and inclusive phenomenon.

To construct the "private history" of the Elizabethan court, Scott relied on documentary sources published within the antiquarian tradition. By the early eighteenth century, a notable distinction emerged between the antiquarian and the academic approach to history. While the former sought to collect surviving evidence of the past, the latter carefully selected its sources and constructed comprehensive narratives (Sweet, *Antiquaries* 8–15). The superiority of this latter approach was emphasised by Francis Bacon in his essay, "The Advancement of Learning," already in 1605. According to Bacon, this type of inquiry was "Perfect History" that extracted from historical events "estimation and glory," "profit and use," and "verity and sincerity" (Bacon 41). In contrast, Bacon regarded "Antiquities" as "imperfect" or "defaced History," representing only "some remnants of history which have casually escaped the shipwreck of time" (Bacon 41). However, by the end of the eighteenth century, antiquarianism became a scholarly pursuit with rigorous standards, systematically collecting and ordering materials for a wide readership. Meticulous attention to accuracy and exact detail became the most important measure of the trade, and Richard Gough, the most prominent antiquary of the late eighteenth century, vehemently defended the importance of antiquarianism in enhancing historical knowledge (Sweet, "Antiquaries and Antiquities" 183–189). While historians emphasised comprehensiveness and reasoning to draw conclusions for the present, antiquarians focused on the specificity of surviving fragments of the past. Consequently, antiquarian collections were often accompanied by extensive footnotes, in contrast to historical works that contained very little or none. This aspect of the antiquarian movement set a new precedent by the early nineteenth century, which led to the development of the systematic study especially of local history and archaeology. Scott's novel also followed this trend, not only by focusing on localities and local histories, but by extensively drawing on such antiquarian materials.

QUEEN ELIZABETH AND SIR WALTER SCOTT'S KENILWORTH

In the late 1770s, people's curiosity about the relics of the past was widely recognised by publishers, such as John Nichols, a friend of Gough and editor of *The Gentleman's Magazine*. Nichols became the centre of a network of correspondence that provided him with privately owned documents from the past, as well as the works of intellectuals seeking help to publish their own compilations (Sweet, *Antiquaries* 63–64). This “social milieu” enabled Nichols to compile and edit two volumes about Queen Elizabeth's progresses around England in 1788 (Goldring ed., *John Nichols's The Progresses 9, vol. 1*). The first book of *The Progresses, and Public Processions, of Queen Elizabeth* published two accounts of the visit to Kenilworth. One was the compilation by the court poet George Gascoigne, which exclusively comprised his own devices and texts specifically prepared for the occasion. The other account was a letter written by a London mercer named Robert Laneham—or Langham, according to recent research—addressed to a fellow merchant. Laneham's letter covers a wide array of topics, exhibiting his enthusiastic effort to please his reader (Goldring, “A mercer ye wot az we be” 245–269). In Nichols's collection, these accounts of the Kenilworth visit of the Queen were the longest, and—with regard to the range of programs—the most exuberant.

In the introduction to the *Progresses*, Nichols explains that the aim of his enterprise is to provide information about the “manners” of the Elizabethans that was missing from official history, in order to give “a view into the interior of the noble families, display their state in house-keeping, and other articles, and set before our eyes their magnificent mansions long since gone to decay” (*xxiv, vol. 1*). Nichols argued that the varied nature of the collected material could enrich the understanding of history; as he stated, “some are of a graver, some of a looser kind; some odd or humorous, some learned, witty or instructive; all marking a period” (“Progresses” 133). During the seventeen-year hiatus between the publication of the first two and the third volume of the *Progresses*, Nichols printed a further foray into the details of the life of past centuries, the *Illustrations of the Manners and Expenses of Ancient Times in England* (1797). In 1805, the third volume of the *Progresses* came out with newly obtained material and the results of fresh archival research. In its preface, Nichols used for the first time the phrase “ELIZABETHAN æra,” which Coleridge still found so bizarre in his notes to his lectures from the years 1808–1819: “Elizabetho-Jacobæan age— (Mercy on me! what a phrase for ‘the writers during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I!’)” (Nichols vii, vol. 3; Coleridge 200).

Scott made use of Nichols's three volumes for the purpose of getting a more detailed vision about the Elizabethan Age, especially about the more intimate aspects of the private life of the Queen. By 10 September 1820, he was close reading Nichols's volumes—making “progress” in acquainting himself with the age—and demanding further resources from his publisher, Archibald Constable. His letter is worth quoting at length, as it also attests to the contemporary renown of the 1575 Kenilworth visit of the Queen, as Scott is anxious to warn Constable not to give away the title of his new book:

The Progresses are doing me yeoman's service, for I am in progress myself. I have a question to ask you, which pray answer as soon as you can. What was the name of Dudley Earl of Leicester's first wife, whom he was supposed to have murdered at Cumnor Hall in Berkshire? I know it occurs in the Sidney Papers, and probably in the common genealogies, but I have no book here which contains the information. In Lyson's *Magna Britannia*, or some such name, there is something about this same Cumnor Hall. I wish you would have it copied out for me, and should like indeed to know anything that occurs to you about the village of Cumnor, its situation, etc. I like to be as minutely local as I can. Please not to say a word about Kenilworth. The very name explains so much, that some knowing fellow might anticipate the subject. (Grierson ed. 265–266, vol. 4).

Scott's antiquarian predilection for the treatment of history is an important addition to the nineteenth-century image of the Queen. Several direct references to the accounts of the *Progresses* form the basis of the novel's third part which is set in Kenilworth, and which contains most of the scenes with the Queen. He even used footnotes to explain certain events or characters within the novel, and so followed the technique of antiquarian history writing. Furthermore, to enhance the accuracy of historical detail, in the *Magnum Opus* edition of the novel in 1831, he appended some further historical notes and published the Kenilworth inventory of 1584 that he acquired in the meantime, which contained a list of furniture, hangings, tapestries, and other fittings of the castle.

However, the above letter also shows that four months before finishing his novel, Scott was not even familiar with the name of Leicester's wife, Amy Robsart,

the hero of the book. For Scott, the material details carried the real significance, the colours, lines, shades, and accidents of life in Elizabethan England, rather than the bare facts about the year 1575. For his adaptation of history, these small incidents mattered more in recreating the “spirit of the age”—another term gaining popularity in the era—than the chronology of military or political events.³ This resulted in an achronological treatment of the historical facts within the novel, which earned him criticism. While truthful to the material culture of the Elizabethan Age, Scott took huge liberties with history, among which the most notable touched upon the main plot, Amy Robsart's death, which happened fifteen years before the Queen's visit to Kenilworth Castle.

The last volume of Nichols's *Progresses* appeared on 14 February 1821, just a month after the publication of Scott's *Kenilworth* on 13 January, and it seems to have been a direct reaction to Scott's novel. Compared to the thickness of the first three volumes, it was a mere booklet, and it contained very little new material. However, it reprinted a selection of previously published material on the Queen's various visits to Kenilworth, and a list of New Year's Gifts to the Queen by Leicester, demonstrating the enhanced interest in her figure sparked by the novel.⁴ Nichols even alludes to Scott's work in his foreword and claims that some less well-known details are reissued as “public attention having lately been re-called to the ‘Princely Pleasures of Kenilworth,’ by Miss Aikin's entertaining ‘Annals of Queen Elizabeth;’ and again, more forcibly, by the necromantic pen of Sir Walter Scott, in the popular Romance of ‘Kenilworth’” (52, vol. 4). Although Nichols's remark about Scott's work is slightly degrading, his lines draw attention to the huge influence exerted by the novel. Certainly, it was not Lucy Aikin's *Memoirs of the Court of Elizabeth* (1818) that popularised the Kenilworth visit with its matter-of-fact manner of listing the programs and dedicating a mere page-and-a-half to its description within a work of more than a thousand pages. Yet, it was Aikin's version that Nichols praised as “entertaining” as opposed to Scott's treatment of the sources, which he deemed “necromantic.” Nichols's discontent with Scott's way of handling history signals that a new

3 See William Hazlitt's *The Spirit of the Age* portraying famous people of his generation in his essays of 1824–1825, and the growing influence after the French Revolution of the immediacy of the concept of Hegel's “Zeitgeist.”

4 In previous volumes, the lists for New Year's Gifts were published according to their original format, that is, it was arranged by year. A cross section of these gift rolls featuring only the Earl of Leicester's presents indicate the special effort of the editor to cater for the public interest in the figure of Leicester.

era of imaging Queen Elizabeth was born, in which Scott's novel provided a new prototype for the interpretation of the last Tudor monarch.

THE CELEBRATION OF QUEEN ELIZABETH IN SIR WALTER SCOTT'S *KENILWORTH*

The shift between the understanding of the Elizabethan Age by John Nichols and Miss Aikin, on the one hand, and Coleridge and Scott, on the other, can be best seen by looking at their divergent opinions about the Elizabethan Age in general, and about the Queen and her court in particular. For Nichols, the Elizabethan Age was a period when “men were emerging from the barbarity and ignorance wherein they had long been held,” claiming that “they had not at that time passed far beyond the dawns of real knowledge and science” (v, vol. 3). Miss Aikin's view is rather disparaging as well, as she speaks about the taste of the *Kenilworth* revels:

The “princely pleasures of Kennelworth,” were famed in their day as the quintessence of all courtly delight, and very long and very pompous descriptions of these festive devices have come down to our times. They were conducted on a scale of grandeur and expense which may still surprise; but taste as yet was in its infancy, and the whole was characterised by the unmerciful tediousness, the ludicrous incongruities, and the operose pedantry of a semi-barbarous age. (Aikin 44–45, vol. 2)

However, Scott's *Kenilworth* conveys exactly the opposite sentiments, and it highlights culture, learning, discernment, and elegance, aspects for which Coleridge also praised Elizabeth's court. Yet, for Coleridge the Queen's celebrations—and with it her progress narratives—were vulgar, and the direct association between the literary achievements of the late sixteenth century and the monarch was odious. While admiring the intellects, he condemned the monarch:

The difference between the state of mind in the reign of Elizabeth, and in that of Charles I is astonishing. In the former period there was an amazing development of power, but all connected with prudential purposes—an attempt to reconcile the moral feeling with the full exercise of the powers of the mind, and the accomplishment of certain

practical ends. Then lived Bacon, Burghley, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Philip Sidney, and a galaxy of great men, statesmen, lawyers, politicians, philosophers, and poets; and it is lamentable that they should have degraded their mighty powers to such base designs and purposes, dissolving the rich pearls of their great faculties in a worthless acid, to be drunken by a harlot. What was seeking the favour of the Queen, to a man like Bacon, but the mere courtship of harlotry? (Coleridge 408–409)

The words of Coleridge are profoundly disparaging of Queen Elizabeth with their biblical allusion to casting “pearls before swine” (KJV Matthew 7:6). While Coleridge duly acknowledges the excellence of great men within the Queen’s court, he criticises both the increase of royal power in her realm stemming from the “transference of the papal authority to the crown,” and the Queen’s personal character, the “unfixed state of Elizabeth’s own opinions, whose inclinations were as popish as her interests were protestant” (Coleridge 281). His words echo historical misogynist rhetoric concerning the febleness and capriciousness of women, and their societal stigmatisation as “harlots” when ascending into positions of power surpassing those held by men.

In the face of such views, Sir Walter Scott’s *Kenilworth* introduced a new interpretation of Queen Elizabeth, representing her as the focal point in a mythical Golden Age and portraying her as a Virgin Queen. Scott mitigated the notions of the “semi-barbarity” of the epoch by depicting the court as a meeting place of the best minds of the latter part of Queen Elizabeth’s reign, regardless of their actual age and position during the year 1575. In the first scene set in the court of the Queen, every character is directly connected to poetic achievements, thereby highlighting the intellectual brilliance of the period. The rival factions of the court, represented by the Earls of Sussex and Leicester, are united in admiring the same literary talents and offering them their patronage. In the home of Sussex, the reader is introduced to Sir Walter Raleigh, who quotes from Edmund Spenser’s *Mutability Cantos* to console his friend Tressilian, the former lover of Amy Robsart (Scott, *Kenilworth* 28, vol. 2). Nevertheless, the Earl of Leicester also recognises Spenser’s muse. He personally addresses him and invites him to his lodging to discuss a petition about Ireland (Scott, *Kenilworth* 114, vol. 2). Furthermore, Leicester is associated with Philip Sidney, his nephew, and William Shakespeare, whose *Venus and Adonis* supposedly inspired

Sidney's works. Consequently, a mutual admiration for literary genius suppresses the rivalry and political tensions at court: an aspect that the early nineteenth-century audience could readily identify with.

Posterity often criticised Scott's twisting of history. Spenser's *Mutability Cantos* were not written for another two decades, Shakespeare was a child of eleven in 1575, and his narrative poem, *Venus and Adonis*, was published seven years after Sidney's death in 1586. These misrepresentations of facts by Scott were meant to substantiate the author's vision of the Elizabethans as unique, and to create a common cultural denominator for all English-speaking peoples. Shakespeare's cult as a genius of English literature gained wide ceremonial acknowledgement with the first Shakespeare Jubilee of 1769, and Scott also utilised it to enhance the reputation of Queen Elizabeth. The novel's scene about the meeting of Leicester and the playwright, the powerful Earl and the simple "player," underlines this vision: "The *player* bowed, and the Earl nodded and passed on—so that age would have told the tale; in ours, perhaps, we might say the immortal had done homage to the mortal" (Scott, *Kenilworth* 114, vol. 2). Shakespeare's presence within the plot identifies the age as magnificent, and while censuring the "mortal" peculiarities of the story, it also highlights its "immortal" character.

Furthermore, within the novel, the English literary canon bridges the gap between the different English-speaking nations, whose understanding of their national past was otherwise conflicting. Scott references this issue in his preface to the Magnum Opus edition of *Kenilworth* that starts with his open declaration of the discrepancy between his Scottish identity and the novel's English plotline. Scott confesses that, while working on his novel, he "felt the prejudices with which a Scottishman is tempted to regard the subject" about the "sister" and "foe" of Mary Queen of Scots ("Introduction," 1831 edition). However, portraying Queen Elizabeth as the patron of the best representatives of the writers in English provided a sufficient excuse to celebrate her as the British Queen of all speakers of English.

Scott not only characterises the circle of courtiers with linking them to Shakespeare, but the Queen herself is also shown quoting lines from him as she complains about his "toys" that "come into [her] head when [she] should think of other matters" (Scott, *Kenilworth* 101, vol. 2). The Queen also seemingly becomes responsible for the flourishing of late sixteenth century drama when she makes the far-sighted decision to protect the rights of the newly established playhouses on the Bankside in face of the complaint voiced by the bear-gardens. Scott even lets

the Queen become the mouthpiece for his own views about the merits of historical fiction when she praises Shakespeare for his “new undertaking of his Chronicles” which “may entertain, with honest mirth, mingled with useful instruction, not only our subjects, but even the generation which may succeed to us” (Scott, *Kenilworth* 132, vol. 2; McGann 122).

While describing the outstanding representatives of literary achievement as the associates of the court of Elizabeth, Scott is cautious to distance the Queen and her circle from the mediocrity of the age with which his contemporaries associated the texts of the *Progresses*. He introduces Master Robert Laneham, the writer of the more copious description about the Kenilworth entertainment within Nichols's *Progresses*, as a member of the crowd surrounding the Queen, and he is depicted in sharp contrast to Raleigh, Spenser, Sidney, and Shakespeare. Laneham is characterised by his appearance—his “enormous ruff; stiffened to the extremity of the absurd taste of the times”—which stands as a symbol of the self-importance of a small office holder (Scott, *Kenilworth* 115, vol. 2). Scott inserts notes of mockery about Laneham and his style of “intolerable affectation, both in point of composition and orthography”; however, he is conspicuously not using the alternative text of George Gascoigne written with literary aspirations (Note 7, 1831 edition). For Scott, Laneham's accounts of all the programs renders a more rounded and picturesque image of the Elizabethan court, through which he could emphasise the diversity and inclusiveness of its nature, where people from all walks of life participated in honouring their monarch. Laneham's account of the Kenilworth entertainment contains not only those speeches and songs which were written by men of letters, but also those performed by the common people. A case in point is the account of the traditional Hock Tuesday Play of the people of Coventry, in which they tell the story of the local women who defended their town against the invading Danes. While Gascoigne ignored this enterprise as unworthy of mention, Laneham provided a full and detailed account of it seemingly enjoying the description of the “great throng and vnruliness of the peopl” of the players and their leader, the elderly mason Captain Cox (Goldring ed., *John Nichols's The Progresses* 259, vol. 2).

Scott's novel presents the show as a burlesque: a bridge collapses into the pond, and the disillusioned actors are picked up by a nearby boat; however, he also relishes every minute of the performance in spite of the following apology to his readers:

These rough, rural gambols may not altogether agree with the reader's preconceived idea of an entertainment presented before Elizabeth, in whose reign letters revived with such brilliancy, and whose court, governed by a female whose sense of propriety was equal to her strength of mind, was no less distinguished for delicacy and refinement than her councils for wisdom and fortitude. But whether from the political wish to seem interested in popular sports, or whether from a spark of old Henry's rough, masculine spirit, which Elizabeth sometimes displayed, it is certain the Queen laughed heartily at the imitation, or rather burlesque, of chivalry which was presented in the Coventry play. (Scott, *Kenilworth* 278, vol. 2)

Scott's explanation transforms the vulgar event into a humorous and innocent episode that the reader is also invited to share in. He praises Elizabeth's rare political instinct to engage with her simple subjects, an issue highly topical in the aftermath of the Peterloo Massacre of 1819 and the ever more prominent campaign for the broadening of voting rights in the 1820s. In this context, Elizabeth becomes the monarch of all her people, embracing the best wits as well as the simplest subjects of her kingdom.

To enhance the inclusive nature of Queen Elizabeth's court, Scott adds an extra pageant to the Kenilworth shows. He picks up a reference in Nichols's *Progresses* to a further masque and invents its details to celebrate the ethnic diversity of the subjects of a monarch. As a high point of the revels at Kenilworth, Scott describes four groups of maskers entering the hall dressed up as Celtic Britons, Romans, Saxons, and Normans, "each representing one of the various nations by which England had at different times been occupied" (Scott, *Kenilworth* 236, vol. 3). The terminology is significant, as the four bands are defined as people who at one time in history shared the same geography. It is locality that joins these "various nations which had anciently inhabited Britain," positing the ideal of a country shared by different nations (Scott, *Kenilworth* 239, vol. 3). When at the end of the show Merlin asks the Queen to choose which group represents the most pre-eminent stock among them, she declines to comply. She claims, "no single one of these celebrated nations could claim pre-eminence over the others, as having most contributed to form the Englishman of her own time, who unquestionably derived from each of them some worthy attribute of his character" (Scott, *Kenilworth* 241, vol. 3). Thus, Scott

QUEEN ELIZABETH AND SIR WALTER SCOTT'S KENILWORTH

invests the concept of the nation with the idea of ethnic diversity and associates it with the shared space that encompasses all those groups (Craig 25). Queen Elizabeth, by embracing all of them and acknowledging their individual traits, becomes a fitting ancestor to the newly created United Kingdom.

KENILWORTH AS A BACKDROP FOR THE QUEEN

The choice of the location—the castle of Kenilworth—is itself an important comment by Sir Walter Scott on Queen Elizabeth. In spite of the novel's title, only the third book is set at Kenilworth; however, the story progresses towards the place where all characters arrive and plotlines meet. Conspicuously, it is not London or Westminster—the political, cultural, and economic centre of England by the sixteenth century—that serve to characterise the Queen, but Leicester's country house set in the Midlands, the geographical centre of the country.

Kenilworth was part of a region that represented for early nineteenth-century visitors a cluster of destinations with strong cultural overtones, incorporating—among others—the medieval castle of Warwick situated only five miles away and Stratford-upon-Avon only twelve miles away. The painter Charles Robert Leslie described this part of the country in his memoirs as a “classic neighbourhood” where he and his friends “loitered some days ... visiting Kenilworth and Warwick” and “Shakespeare's house to scribble their names ... on its walls,” a custom in which even Scott participated (Leslie 44). Drawing on this fashion of visiting famous sights of the past, Scott used location to depict two aspects of the Queen's character: her public and official royal image, and her private, feminine persona. Kenilworth became the site of ceremony as well as love, the first expressed by the stately structure of the castle and the spectacles staged there, and the latter by the intimate space of an Italianate garden, where—in the novel—Leicester comes closest to proposing to the Queen.

For Scott, scenery was an integral part of identity that could display the aspirations and deeply-held beliefs of an individual. He also created for himself such a scenic home, Abbotsford, which epitomised the relationship between his historical fiction and private life (Malley 236). At Abbotsford, he surrounded himself with the period look and props that he also incorporated into his writing, and which lent his novels a visual vividness admired by his contemporaries. In 1821, J. L. Adolphus praised Scott's “energy of painting” in describing locations together

with his superior style: a “picturesque mode of narrative, which impresses an event or situation on the fancy by a vivid representation of all the outward circumstances as they unitedly offer themselves to the sense” (Adolphus 206).

Charles Robert Leslie’s account also highlights the strong connection between character and landscape that distinguishes Scott’s writing. Leslie visited the writer in his home to paint his portrait and was led to a beautiful but remote spot which was to serve as the background. In his account, he notes Scott’s ability to talk about landscape as a painter would:

While strolling with Sir Walter ... he would frequently stop and point out exactly that object or effect that would strike the eye of a painter. He said he always liked to have a dog with him in his walks, if for nothing else but to furnish a living object in the *foreground of the picture*; and he noticed to me, when we were among the hills, how much interest was given to the scene by the occasional appearance of his black greyhound, Hamlet, at unexpected points. He talked of scenery as he wrote of it—like a painter. (Leslie 62)

Scott’s choice to set his plot about Queen Elizabeth amid the ruins of the once majestic Kenilworth enabled him to easily mingle the factual evidence of the crumbling walls with the fictitious details of his imagination. His novel became a landscape of the Elizabethan Age with the well-known figures of history in the foreground and the mysteries of the irregular ruins as a backdrop.

The mode of constructing this picture followed the aesthetic principles of William Gilpin, who expands on the importance of dramatic tension expressed by the picturesque:

... the *smoothness* of the whole, though right and as it should be in nature, offends the picture. Turn the lawn into a piece of broken ground; plant rugged oaks instead of flowering shrubs; break the edges of the walk; give it the rudeness of a road; mark it with wheel-tracks; and scatter around a few stones and brushwood; in a word, instead of making the whole *smooth*, make it *rough*; and you make it also *picturesque*. (Gilpin 8)

The plot of the third book presents Kenilworth in these rough colours and textures, placing amid its walls mighty spectacle next to dark conspiracy, innocence next to malice, and virtue next to hypocrisy.

Used as a tool of characterisation, the castle reveals the tension between the Queen's private feelings for the Earl of Leicester and her public role as the focus of the attention of her people. While for contemporaries the Queen appeared as a "marvellous combination of the male and female dispositions, in those points in which they seem most incompatible," Scott fuses these two natures (Senior 250). He describes her character as "strangely compounded of the strongest masculine sense, with those foibles which are chiefly supposed proper to the female sex," and underlines that her virtues "far predominated over her weaknesses" (Scott, *Kenilworth* 219, vol. 2). Scott shows the Queen at moments of emotional crisis and at the height of absolute authority, but ultimately in both cases he provides a positive portrait.

The public spaces of Kenilworth—the entrance, the lake, the courtyard and hall—served to present the magnificence of the Queen, and their description minutely followed Scott's archaeological sources. However, her private self, the woman in love, is characterised by the intimate space of the Italianate garden, delineated only in a private letter by Laneham. This latter image was expressly feminine in nature, as enclosed gardens (*hortus conclusus*) were traditionally associated with female sexuality and with the Virgin Mary in medieval iconography. Thus, the garden contained none of the scandalous references of late eighteenth-century stage productions about the Queen's private life. In the novel, this is the scene where the Queen comes closest to feminine desire, and when her dignity seems to "soften away" into "indecision and tenderness" under Leicester's advances. Yet, she does not lose her command: "'No, Dudley,' said Elizabeth, yet it was with broken accents—'no, I must be the mother of my people.' ... 'Were it possible—were it *but* possible!—but no—no; Elizabeth must be the wife and mother of England alone'" (Scott, *Kenilworth* 154–155, vol. 3). Fusing womanhood with queenship, Elizabeth supplants her role as a lover with another feminised role, that of the mother of her nation. The scene of the Italianate garden, with its symbolic allusion to the Virgin Mary, ultimately confirms that she is a virgin mother.

To make the image even more emphatic, Scott depicts Elizabeth as part of the ancient British landscape of pre-historic stone monuments, which lend her a dignity far beyond the sentimental descriptions of the previous century:

The mind of England's Elizabeth, if somewhat shaken by the agitating interview to which she had just put a period, was of that firm and decided character which soon recovers its natural tone. It was like one of those ancient Druidical monuments called Rocking-stones. The finger of Cupid, boy as he is painted, could put her feelings in motion; but the power of Hercules could not have destroyed their equilibrium. (Scott, *Kenilworth* 155–156, vol. 3)

Scott uses “balance” as an epithet for Elizabeth's character on the first occasion he introduces her to the readers by praising her ability to balance the factions of the court and to control their “two opposing interests” (Scott, *Kenilworth* 21, vol. 2). Departing from the eighteenth-century representations of the Queen in terms of extremes—such as anger, vanity and jealousy—Scott utilises “balance” within her character to transform Elizabeth's image into a more humane personality, allowing her to display passions, anger, and vanity, but also magnanimity of mind and wisdom in judgement. By associating her with the “ancient Druidical monuments” of the land, Scott elevates the figure of the Queen into a symbol of the land, blending her story into the mythic history of the country.

The novel transforms the landscape of Kenilworth into a shrine of the cult of Queen Elizabeth for the nineteenth century. Situated in close proximity to a similar centre of worship at Stratford, Kenilworth Castle had attracted a lot of visitors even before Scott's novel who went there for “its gothic glories” and “the vacant scene” that imagination crowds “with glimm'ring ghosts, that haunt the dreary shade,” as it is expressed in Mary Darwall's *Elegy on the Ruins of Kenilworth Castle*, published in 1794 (6). However, by the mid-1820s it changed from a scene of gothic horror into a national heritage site, where a special issue of the two sixteenth-century accounts of the Queen's visit with the title *Kenilworth Festivities* (1825) could be purchased (Townshend). From the forlorn ruins of forgotten times standing as a *memento mori* to earthly splendour, the place was changed within a decade to accommodate tourists visiting it to encounter the landscape of Scott's novel. Scott noted this alteration in a letter of 7 April 1827:

... we visited Kenilworth. The relentless rain only allowed us a glimpse of these memorable ruins. Well! the last time I was here in 1815 these trophies of time were quite neglected. Now they approach so much

nearer the splendour of Thunder ten-tronck as to have a door at least if not windows. They are in short preserved and protected. So much for the Novels. (Anderson ed.)

The castle became also a point of interest for the new genre of landscape painting in the Romantic Age, and artists in their collections of iconic scenes of Britain started to include sketches about Kenilworth too. For instance, William Turner's watercolour, *Kenilworth Castle* (1830), completed on a trip to the Midlands and turned into an engraved plate for his series *Picturesque Views in England and Wales* (1832), displayed with topographical accuracy the walls of the ruined castle. However, Turner's rendering is picturesque in nature, as he contrasts the white outlines of the fairy-tale like Mortimer Tower and the darker tones of the ominous-looking Leicester building added for the Queen's visit.⁵ In the foreground of the composition, the idyllic scene of milkmaids and the cows reflected in the motionless surface of the water conjure up a timeless image for the Castle of Kenilworth and the hazy moonlight that illuminates the landscape reflects "the chaste beams of the watery moon" (*A Midsummer Night's Dream* 2.1.162) of Shakespeare's recollection of the place.

The novel also inspired painters to depict the Elizabethan Age in terms of genre or anecdotal narrative painting filled with colourful period detail. One of the first canvases directly influenced by Scott was *May Day in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (1821) by Leslie, who wrote passionately about the author's visit to his studio in 1821 and his suggestions for improvements to the composition (Leslie 234). Leslie's painting represented an *al fresco* entertainment combined with rustic anecdotal detail as well as elegantly dressed women of the court in order to deliver a panoramic view of the Elizabethans, similarly to what Scott achieved in his novel. However, the idea of the composition predates the publication of the novel, as, in a letter of 1820, Leslie already provides a description about its probable theme to his sister:

I am just commencing a picture of the May-day revels in the time of Queen Elizabeth, which will contain a great many figures, and will be an attempt to give the costume and something of the manners of all classes in that age, from the nobility down

5 Turner's *Kenilworth Castle* (1830) is now in the possession of Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, while a copy of *Kenilworth Castle, Warwickshire* engraved by T. Jeavons from the *Picturesque Views in England and Wales* (1832) is held by Tate Britain.

to the peasantry. ... I am in hopes it will be popular, as it is a period that Englishmen are fond of recurring to, as one of the most brilliant in the history of their country. They are also more generally acquainted with the manners of that time than any other, on account of the greater popularity of Shakespeare than any other English writer whatever. (Leslie 219)

The letter shows how the veneration of Shakespeare and Queen Elizabeth were connected, and what extensive interest the subject matter aroused about the Age of Elizabeth. The public welcomed Leslie's painting: it was chosen as the Painting of the Year, and earned its painter an Associate Membership at the Royal Academy. Nevertheless, Leslie deemed Scott an authority on the topic, and Scott's influence was prevalent also in the naming of the parts of the ruined place, to be adopted by the archaeological texts about the castle (Handa 41).

In Scott's novel, Kenilworth Castle serves as a symbol for Queen Elizabeth and her age, emphasising the inclusiveness of an idealised past where polite and popular entertainment still shared the same stage, and people of all walks of life came together to celebrate. Kenilworth became synonymous with the Queen's visit and transformed the location into a site of cultural pilgrimage. It became one of the first "heritage sites" of the country that brought together historical memories with local peculiarities, creating a souvenir for mass consumption (Lincoln 80–85).

CONCLUSION

Sir Walter Scott's *Kenilworth* became a bestseller, and his contemporaries praised the work by comparing it to the history plays of Shakespeare:

The *Novels* of Sir Walter Scott are, beyond all question, the most remarkable productions of the present age; and have made a sensation, and have produced an effect, all over Europe ... in our own country, they have attained a place, inferior only to that which must be filled for ever by the unapproachable glory of Shakespeare. (Jeffrey 2, vol. 3)

QUEEN ELIZABETH AND SIR WALTER SCOTT'S KENILWORTH

The novel's success rested, in part, on Scott's skilful mixing of details from antiquarian sources and archaeological evidence with a fictional storyline that humanised historical characters and placed them within a landscape accessible to all. While the novel's subtitle, "A Romance," indicates that Scott was not writing history "proper," his endeavour to use historical evidence and transform it into entertainment proved a decisive step in opening up history for the general public and thus moulding the cultural memory of its readers. Although the inaccuracies about the Earl of Leicester plot earned him sharp criticism, the depiction of the Queen as a flesh and blood woman of brilliant intellect remained sealed in the imagination of nineteenth-century Britain. For Thomas Hardy, Scott's characterisation rendered one of the most rounded images of her: "No historian's Queen Elizabeth was ever so perfectly a woman as the fictitious Elizabeth of *Kenilworth*" (qtd. in Alexander xv). For the next generation, the Queen's image as the equal of the best writers of English literature and the "Mother" of her nation became a deep-rooted maxim.

Scott's novel placed Queen Elizabeth within the context of ceremony, a stance that foreshadowed expectations about modern monarchs in the next two centuries. At a time of industrial change and social unrest, when members of Parliament rather than the king influenced political decisions, Scott's depiction of Elizabeth contended that the ritual of royalty was one of the most significant aspects that could unite a land of many nations. Queen Elizabeth is represented as a ruler who can mitigate the differences between her various subjects by her royal presence at festive national occasions and local celebrations. Scott's *Kenilworth* is, therefore, an early attempt to fashion the Virgin Queen of English history as a common British cultural denominator, standing for the general excellence of all English-speaking peoples inhabiting the British Isles.

WORKS CITED

- Adolphus, J. L. "On the Works and Their Authorship." In *Walter Scott: The Critical Heritage*. Ed. John O. Hayden. London and New York: Routledge, 2003. 197–214. <<https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203197714-29>>
- Aikin, Lucy. *Memoirs of the Court of Elizabeth*. 2 vols. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1818.

- Alexander, J. H. Introduction. *Kenilworth*. By Walter Scott. London: Penguin, 1999. x–xxxii.
- Anderson, W. E. K. (ed.). *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott*. eBook (9781847674951). Canongate, 2009. Web. 10 Oct 2020. <<https://canongate.co.uk/books/184-the-journal-of-sir-walter-scott/>>
- Arata, Stephen. “Scott’s Pageants: The Example of Kenilworth.” *Studies in Romanticism* 40.1 (2001): 99–107. <<https://doi.org/10.2307/25601489>>
- Bacon, Francis. “The Advancement of Learning.” *Global Gray*. Global Grey, 2022. Web. 7 June 2023. <globalgreybooks.com/advancement-of-learning-ebook.html>
- Balzac, Honoré de. “Balzac on Scott, 1838, 1840.” In *Walter Scott: The Critical Heritage*. Ed. John O. Hayden. London and New York: Routledge, 2003. 373–377. <<https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203197714-53>>
- Coleridge, Samuel Taylor. *Coleridge’s Essays and Lectures on Shakespeare and Some Other Old Poets and Dramatists*. Ed. Ernest Rhys. London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1914.
- Craig, Cairns. “Scott’s Staging of the Nation.” *Studies in Romanticism* 40.1 (2001): 13–28. <<https://doi.org/10.2307/25601484>>
- Darwall, Mary. “Elegy on the Ruins of Kenilworth Castle.” In *Poems on Several Occasions*. Vol. 2. Walsall: F. Milward, 1794. 1–7.
- Dobson, Michael, and Nicola J. Watson. *England’s Elizabeth*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Gilpin, William. *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; On Picturesque travel; And On Sketching Landscape*. London: printed for R. Blamire, 1792.
- Goldring, Elizabeth, Faith Eales, Elizabeth Clarke, and Jayne Elisabeth Archer (eds.). *John Nichols’s The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*. 5 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- . “‘A mercer ye wot az we be’: The Authorship of the Kenilworth ‘Letter’ Reconsidered.” *English Literary Renaissance* 38.2 (2008): 245–269. <<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6757.2008.00123.x>>
- Grierson, Herbert (ed.). *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*. 12 vols. London: Constable, 1932–1937.
- Handa, Rumiko. “Sir Walter Scott and Kenilworth Castle: Ruins Restored by Historical Imagination.” *Preservation Education and Research* 5 (2012): 29–44.

QUEEN ELIZABETH AND SIR WALTER SCOTT'S KENILWORTH

- Henderson, Diana E. *Collaborations with the Past: Reshaping Shakespeare Across Time and Media*. Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 2006.
- Jeffrey, Francis. *Contributions to the Edinburgh Review*. 3 vols. London: A. Spottiswoode, 1846.
- Leslie, Charles Robert. *Autobiographical Recollections*. Ed. Tom Taylor. Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1860.
- Lincoln, Andrew. *Walter Scott and Modernity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007.
<<https://doi.org/10.1515/9780748631353>>
- Malley, Shawn. "Walter Scott's Romantic Archaeology: New/Old Abbotsford and *The Antiquary*." *Studies in Romanticism* 40.2 (2001): 233–251.
<<https://doi.org/10.2307/25601503>>
- Mays, Kelly J. "The Publishing World." In *A Companion to The Victorian Novel*. Ed. Patrick Brantlinger, William B. Thesing. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002. 11–30.
<<https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470996324.ch2>>
- McCracken-Flesher, Caroline. *Possible Scotlands: Walter Scott and the Story of Tomorrow*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
<<https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195169676.001.0001>>
- McGann, Jerome. "Walter Scott's Romantic Postmodernity." In *Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism*. Eds. Ian Duncan, Leith Davis, Janet Sorensen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. 113–129.
<<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511484186.007>>
- Nichols, John (ed.). *The Progresses, and Public Processions, of Queen Elizabeth*. 2 vols. London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 1788.
- (ed.). *The Progresses, and Public Processions, of Queen Elizabeth*. Vol. 3. London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 1805.
- (ed.). *The Progresses, and Public Processions, of Queen Elizabeth*. Vol. 4. London: John Nichols and Son, 1821.
- . "Progresses and Public Processions of Queen of Elizabeth." *Monthly Review* 81 (1789): 133.
- Scott, Sir Walter. *Kenilworth: A Romance*. 3 vols. Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, 1821.
- . *The Abbot*. The Project Gutenberg eBook [EBook #6407]. September 1, 2004; updated February 26, 2021. Web. 1 Feb 2023.
<<https://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/6407/pg6407-images.html>>

ERZSÉBET STRÓBL

- Senior, Nassau William. "Nassau Senior Surveys the Novels, *Quarterly Review*, 1821." In *Walter Scott: The Critical Heritage*. Ed. John O. Hayden. London and New York: Routledge, 2003. 215–255. <<https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203197714-30>>
- Shakespeare, William. *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Ed. R. A. Foakes. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. <<https://doi.org/10.1017/9780511817632>>
- Sheridan, Richard Brinsley. *The Critic, or a Tragedy Rehearsed*. London: Printed for T. Becket, 1779.
- Sweet, Rosemary. *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. London and New York: Hambledon and London, 2004.
- . "Antiquaries and Antiquities in Eighteenth-Century England." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 34.2 (2001): 181–206. <<https://doi.org/10.1353/ecs.2001.0013>>
- The Solemn Mock Procession of the POPE, Cardinalls, Iesuits, Fryers, etc: through the City of London, November the 17th 1679*. London: Jonathan Wilkes, 1680.
- Thornbury, Walter. "Temple Bar." In *Old and New London: Volume 1*. London: Cassell, Petter & Galpin, 1878. 22–31. *British History Online*. Web. 20 Nov 2020. <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/old-new-london/vol1/pp22-31>>
- Townshend, Dale. "Literature and the Transformation of Topography: The Case of Kenilworth Castle, 1700–1850." *Picturing Places, British Library*. Web. 28 Oct 2020. <<https://www.bl.uk/picturing-places/articles/literature-and-the-transformation-of-topography-the-case-of-kenilworth-castle-1700-1850>>

CONTRIBUTOR DETAILS

Erzsébet Stróbl is an associate professor at the Institute of English Studies, Károli Gáspár University, Budapest. Her research interests include early modern history, culture, discourses on feminine authority, various aspects of Queen Elizabeth's public representation, her progress entertainments, prayers, and literary works about her (John Lyly, George Peele, Thomas Churchyard). She co-edited the volume, *Early Modern Communi(cati)ons: Studies in Early Modern Literature and Culture* (2012, with Kinga Földváry), and her monograph on the cult of Queen Elizabeth (*I. Erzsébet: Egy Mítosz Születése*) was published in 2022.