



Universidad de Oviedo

DOCTORADO EN INVESTIGACIONES  
HUMANÍSTICAS

**La Reina Virgen y el Juego diplomático:  
Elizabeth I y los diplomáticos españoles**

**The Virgin Queen and the Diplomatic  
Game: Elizabeth I and the Spanish  
Diplomats**

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## RESUMEN DEL CONTENIDO DE TESIS DOCTORAL

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### RESUMEN (en español)

Esta tesis doctoral se centra en el análisis de la correspondencia de los embajadores españoles de Felipe II en la corte inglesa de Isabel I entre los años 1558 y 1584. Dichas cartas han sido, durante muchos años, obras de gran valor para el estudio de las relaciones entre España e Inglaterra; más concretamente, para analizar las relaciones diplomáticas entre los dos países y poder así comprender las razones que llevaron a la ruptura de la amistad y el desencadenamiento de la guerra. Históricamente esta ha sido la única faceta que se ha estudiado a raíz de la correspondencia de los embajadores con su rey, pero, en este estudio se han aplicado perspectivas contemporáneas y postmodernas para añadir al análisis diplomático tradicional nociones que nunca se habían aplicado a este campo, entre otras: emociones, subjetividad y agencia, o incluso perspectiva de género.

Este análisis teórico parte de un pilar central muy importante que es la importancia de comprender y aplicar nociones de subjetividad a los agentes que forman parte de estas relaciones diplomáticas, tanto los embajadores españoles como los ministros ingleses y su reina. Una vez aplicada esta subjetividad, se establece el núcleo central de la tesis: si analizamos a los agentes como personas concretas con un contexto, una personalidad e idiosincrasia, debemos ser capaces de estudiar su correspondencia en busca de trazos de emociones y sentimientos que hayan sido aplicados a sus labores diplomáticas. A partir de esta idea, esta tesis doctoral recopila todas las cartas que existen entre los embajadores españoles y su corte, analizando la información histórica, literaria, cultural, social y emocional que está contenida en la correspondencia. De esta manera, esta tesis ha sido capaz de establecer la importancia de las emociones en las relaciones personales y diplomáticas y cómo estas emociones son de gran valor para el establecimiento, desarrollo y culminación de una embajada. Una vez establecida la importancia de las emociones en el desarrollo de una labor diplomática, el estudio procede a categorizar qué tipos de emociones son más comunes y a formar patrones de existencia y uso, tanto con los propios embajadores como con sus coetáneos. De este modo se ha postulado que la diplomacia española, a través de sus representantes en la corte de Isabel I, tiene unos rasgos emocionales que se pueden extraer de unos tropos sociales, culturales y religiosos y que además pueden homogeneizarse a toda la red de diplomáticos que realiza su labor en ese abanico temporal de 1558-1584.

Además de analizar la importancia, el significado y el uso de las emociones dentro de las interacciones políticas y diplomáticas entre los dos países, también se ha querido añadir otros niveles de estudio donde además de resaltar la existencia de emociones, se ha intentado relacionar con otros factores relevantes para la época como los conflictos religiosos, los problemas de matrimonio y sucesión de la reina —con su consecuente cariz de género— y, también, las interacciones socio-culturales de la época como representaciones teatrales o fiestas cortesanas.



La unión de todas estas nociones que se cimentan alrededor de la innegable existencia de emociones dentro de las interacciones entre los embajadores españoles y los miembros de la corte inglesa ha hecho posible llegar a la categorización y análisis cronológica de la evolución de las relaciones anglo-españolas en la segunda mitad del S.XVI y la importancia que los agentes españoles y su uso de las emociones han tenido en el devenir de los acontecimientos. Se ha creado una categorización lingüística del vocabulario que los embajadores españoles usaban con sus homólogos y los grandes matices religiosos que impregnaban todas sus interacciones. Con todo este esquema teórico y análisis de la información textual, se ha intentado conseguir la matización de un campo ampliamente trabajado con posterioridad, pero que nunca había aplicado nociones tan enriquecedoras como las emociones y su importancia cultural y psicológica. De esta manera se espera que lo analizado en esta tesis doctoral pueda ser de ayuda para posteriores estudios de otros agentes diplomáticos u otras temporalidades históricas, pero siempre manteniendo ese fundamento emocional que ha dado grandes frutos en este estudio diplomático.

### RESUMEN (en Inglés)

This doctoral thesis focuses on the analysis of the ambassadorial correspondence of Philip II's ambassadors at the court of Elizabeth I between 1558 and 1584. These letters have been, for a long period of time, crucial data for the studies of the relations between Spain and England; more precisely, for the analysis of diplomatic interactions between the two countries with the goal of understanding the reasons behind the breach in their amity and the ultimate descend into war. Historically, this has been the only area of study applied to this written correspondence between the Spanish ambassadors and their king; however, this thesis has applied newer perspectives, contemporary and postmodern, in order to enhance the diplomatic analysis with notions that never-before used such as: emotions, subjectivity, agency, or even gender.

This theoretical framework stems from the central foundation of accepting the importance of subjectivity in the study of the agents that make up the diplomatic interactions, both the Spanish ambassadors and the English ministers and their Queen. Once the subjectivity is established, the core of the analysis can be put forward: if we analyse the agents as people with concrete background, personality, and idiosyncrasy, we should be able to study the correspondence and find traces of emotions and feelings that have been applied to their diplomatic duties. Stemming from this idea, this thesis compiles all the letters that exist from the Spanish ambassadors to their court, analysing their historical, literary, cultural, social, and emotional connotations. Thus, we have been able to establish the importance of emotions in both personal and diplomatic interactions, as well as prove that emotions are key for the establishment, development, and fulfilment of an embassy. Once the importance of the emotions has been asserted in the development of diplomatic relations, the study categorises what type of emotions are more common so that we can create patterns of existence and use for both the ambassadors and their counterparts. In this manner, we have postulated that Spanish diplomacy, through its representatives at the English court, has certain emotional patterns that can be deduced from social, cultural, and religious tropes and that can even be homogenised to the entire diplomatic networks that were in place between 1558 to 1584 in England.

Besides analysing the importance, significance, and use of emotions within the political and diplomatic interactions between the two countries, we have also added deeper layers of meaning to the study by enhancing not only the existence of emotions, but connecting these to other notions crucial for the period such as religious conflict, the importance of gender in the questions of marriage, and succession, or even socio-cultural events of the time, such as theatrical representations of court festivities.

Adding all these notions together around the undeniable existence of emotions in diplomatic interactions between the Spanish ambassadors and their counterparts has resulted in the categorization and analysis of the chronological evolution of Anglo-



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Spanish diplomatic interactions during the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and the pivotal role that these agents and their emotions play in the ultimate historical outcome. We have also created a linguistic categorization of the vocabulary used by the Spanish diplomats when referring to their English counterparts and the undeniable religious connotations that their interactions had. With this theoretical framework and the study of the textual records, we have tried to expand a research field that has had plenty of work done beforehand but that has never been tackle with notions so enriching as emotions for their personal, cultural, and psychological importance. Thus, we hope that the data used in this doctoral thesis could be of help for further studies of various diplomatic agents and different historical periods, but always retaining the fundamental importance that emotions can provide to the analysis of diplomatic relations.

SR. PRESIDENTE DE LA COMISIÓN ACADÉMICA DEL PROGRAMA DE DOCTORADO  
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In memory of my dad for his never-ending support even in the direst of circumstances.

To B for her beaconing light in the darkest of moments.

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## 1. Introduction

The Renaissance, and particularly the second half of the 16th century, has traditionally been a prolific period for researchers of many different backgrounds seeking to understand the developments and evolution that both humanity and societies underwent during this period. Specifically, Anglo-Spanish relations are of pivotal importance for scholars of the period due to their relevance in understanding the evolution of International Relations (IR) and the expansion of the European empires. Monarchs such as Philip II of Spain and Elizabeth I of England brought to their realms a period of extensive reformation and evolution, together with a height in culture, economy, art, and even territorial expansion, meaning that, ultimately, under their reign, their countries experienced a golden period. This particular notion could be enough to intrigue researchers into trying to understand the particularities and similarities of both of these periods in an attempt to decipher the processes that led both countries to such stages; however, there is much more than that which intrigues Renaissance scholars.

On the one hand, the Spanish diplomatic network during the reign of Philip II is one of the most prolific in the entire history of the world due to the extension of the Spanish king's empire and the intricacies of the network itself. The character of the King himself and the need to personally control all the political and diplomatic businesses of the empire led him and his ministers to be buried under a mountain of paperwork that was luckily kept in the archives at Simancas. With this archive, researchers can trace back almost every single decision and move that was made during the reign of Philip II by

analysing his extensive correspondence with ministers, the generals of the army, noblemen, merchants, and ambassadors. This particularity provides the first and most important piece of data for this doctoral thesis: the official correspondence between the resident ambassadors at the court of Elizabeth I and the court of Philip II. In this correspondence and in following the first-hand role that the King himself played in the enterprise, the ambassadors reported extensively and frequently not only about the concerns and matters of diplomacy but also regarding art, culture, religion, and even gossip. These qualities make this particular correspondence an invaluable piece for the studies of the second half of the century, in terms of diplomacy and IR but also for culture and cultural studies. The letters between the King and the resident ambassadors also serve as a door to their own characters and minds, since, besides referring to their duties, these letters also perform as a sort of diary in which the ambassadors keep their mental state, beliefs, concerns, and even intimacies.

Taking these particularities into account means that the official correspondence kept at the archive of Simancas is not only a rich and useful tool for understanding the diplomacy and politics of the period in order to further study international relations between England and Spain, but they also serve as a vital tool to deconstruct the traditional foundations of diplomacy and diplomatic history to create an approach that will deal with the individuals themselves instead of with the bigger state of affairs. By analysing these letters, I aim to create a narration in which the Spanish resident ambassadors can be placed behind the wheel that steers Anglo-Spanish diplomatic interactions and where their agency and subjectivity become key to understanding the evolution of these affairs. Furthermore, by working with the written correspondence we

will be capable of recreating their character, beliefs, and even emotions, notions of utmost importance in an analysis that seeks to focus on how these particular characters —as well as the English Queen and ministers, seen by the descriptions of the ambassadors— shape the evolution of Anglo-Spanish diplomatic interactions.

The correspondence kept at the archive of Simancas is by no means a recent discovery and the data used in this thesis is not new to researchers; nevertheless, I do believe that the approach this study takes does shed a new light into a traditionally established area of the academia, aiming to allow future scholars to develop innovative studies. The correspondence between the King and the ambassadors has always been used as a historical mechanism to recreate or retrace the movements and policies taken during the reign of Philip II with regard to England in an attempt to understand the reasons that led both countries astray from an initial amicable and friendly relationship to an altogether open war. Their use for this purpose is, without a doubt, paramount, yet there is much more information that could be extracted from the letters that would lead to new fields of study.

Recent studies in the fields of the History of Emotions and New Diplomatic History provide an interesting approach to this research. First, the current perspective surrounding diplomatic history calls for a closer and more precise approach in the studies of diplomatic interactions and mostly in the understanding of the role that the ambassadors themselves play in these events. By putting the focus on the agents, studies can take a more individual attitude that will lead to uncovering the importance of agency and subjectivity in the evolution of diplomatic affairs. By placing the ambassadors at the centre of the study, I aim to recreate their diplomatic network and the processes of action through which they

performed their everyday duties as resident ambassadors; and, by using the correspondence as a linking node, I aim to narrate, chronologically, the evolution of Anglo-Spanish exchanges. If this approach allows the readers to see the agents up close and regard them as just individuals with a mission to fulfil, it will enable researchers to delve deeper into their characters and unravel notions traditionally disregarded such as emotions and feelings.

The premise of this study is to take the ambassadorial correspondence as a literary reference of the beliefs, feelings, and actions of the ambassadors during their tenure at the English court and use it to depict them as ordinary human beings who have the same psychological patterns that we do. By understanding this, the correspondence enables us to read the emotions that the ambassadors put into ink while they were reporting back to their master; emotions that are attached to their everyday diplomatic actions or that are expressed in written form in the correspondence as a sort of diary. Both cases would allow us to understand what types of emotions are more often expressed on the ambassadors' side and which ones are more frequently used by their counterparts. Analysing the emotional components of diplomatic exchanges can lead us to use another specific field of research, which studies the value and importance of emotions in IR. These fields are supported by psychological and psychiatric studies and notions that describe and categorize emotions and feelings by their intrinsic nature. Besides this, we support the study in other branches of research that focus on multidisciplinary approaches mixing psychology, history, and cultural studies with the aim of putting into perspective the importance of emotions not only as hormonal fluctuations but as palpable and noticeable expressions that crowd everyday interactions.

The study of emotions in Anglo-Spanish diplomatic interactions will lead this research into seeking unity or homogeneity in the existence and performance of said emotional patterns. Once the existence of emotions in human interaction is proven, we can move into finding those emotions in diplomatic interactions but, ultimately, we should seek to understand the patterns and mechanisms behind those emotions. It is crucial to prove that diplomatic exchanges are filled with emotional components that shape and change the outcome of the interactions but it is of critical importance to create a cohesive pattern that can explain the reasons behind those emotions and their meaning. This comes with the use of notions such as Emotional Communities and Emotionology, rising from the studies of various researchers in the field of the History of Emotions, ultimately seeking to explain the importance of societal norms in the making of norms of emotional performance and representations, besides explaining the importance of groups and communities in the understanding of particular emotions. These two notions will be of use in order to create a concrete vocabulary of emotions that faithfully represents emotional expressions on the side of the Spanish resident ambassadors. Furthermore, it is also essential to understand the importance of communities in the processes of coding and decoding emotional meanings, as following this theoretical approach and analysing the way in which certain groups perceive some emotions could allow us to create patterns of emotional correctness or incorrectness. These approaches will finally lead to a thesis that collects the emotional data attached to the written correspondence of the Spanish ambassadors and then places it into perspective against the background and characters of the agents, aiming to prove that there will be patterns of reoccurrence in their everyday diplomatic interactions in which emotions share a particular meaning and are used with

concrete aims. Ultimately, this will seek to outline a theoretical approach that will be capable of locating communities that share a particular view of certain emotions and that will use them with a concrete intention, proving not only that emotions are crucial for studies of diplomacy but also that communities have the ability to transform the traditional meaning or usage of emotions into something that fits the concrete characteristics of the group.

## 2. Theoretical framework

Anglo-Spanish interactions during the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century were deeply influenced by the deployment of diplomatic measures. At that point, Renaissance diplomacy was well established as the tool of choice for monarchs seeking to interact with each other. As opposed to the primaeval type of diplomacy, the current diplomacy—following the Italian influence at the beginning of the Renaissance—revolved around permanent embassies that were formed by ambassadors who resided at the court of foreign Princes for a certain span of time with the sole mission of furthering the needs of their master and to serve as a stable line of communication. These ambassadors would then be the main, and in many cases the only, channel of communication monarchs had between each other, making them and, in turn, general diplomacy, a key mechanism for the political interaction between countries. My dissertation will focus on the diplomatic interactions between Spain and England during the reign of Elizabeth I by analysing the works of the Spanish ambassadors at the English Court. These ambassadors are, thus, the key cogs in the diplomatic mechanism that will prove fundamental in shaping the ultimate outcome. From 1558 to 1584, these Spanish diplomats were the agents behind Anglo-Spanish political and diplomatic interactions, carrying the load of the task mostly on their shoulders. Before analysing these subjects, it is necessary to understand what the basic characteristics of both diplomacy and diplomats are.

Renaissance diplomacy revolved around the importance of embassies in foreign countries. With these, monarchs could pay tribute to other princes, sign treaties, obtain marriage partners or seal trade markets, among other things. The embassies could be

embassies for ceremonial purposes, where the foreign monarch would send a diplomatic party to congratulate their allies for a victory, a marriage or a birth. On the other hand, embassies could be established with the purpose of negotiating economic or military alliances. These two kinds of embassies had in common their short and finite longevity. The ambassadors and their parties were not meant to stay in the foreign country for long periods of time; they only sought to obtain their goal and go back to their master with the potential benefit (Mattingly 1955, 34). However, by the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Italian diplomacy was so well established throughout Europe that the most standard embassy was a permanent one where the ambassador was to reside in the country as a stable mouthpiece for their monarch. This meant that ambassadors could create their own links within the country, being able to obtain and process more information about the state of affairs and report it then back to their king for its proper usage. It also meant that by being at the court, ambassadors had more access to ministers, courtiers, and monarchs alike, so they could try to further their king's as well as their own interests more effectively.

By becoming regular members of the court, ambassadors had to have a certain array of qualities and attributes befitted for courtiers and ministers alike. Negotiating with monarchs and privy counsellors, attending regal audiences and festivities as a prime representative of another country required from the ambassadors almost the same level of preparation as that of courtiers. They did not only have to be the bearer of news from a foreign country, but they also had to represent it in the best manner possible. That is why Castiglione believed that courtiers—who in many cases can be seen as mirror images of ambassadors—had to be pleasing, eloquent, resourceful, and graceful:



“therefore shall our Courtier be esteemed excellent, and in everie thing he shall have a good grace, and especially in speaking.” Ambassadors were constantly attending audiences, negotiating, and conversing with various members of the court, which meant that one of the most, if not the most important quality for them was that of a good and fluent speech that could move their interlocutor; for out of all the qualities above mentioned they “shall not suffise [...] if he have not a gentle and loving behaviour in his dayly conversation” (Castiglione 1966, 49;105).

These diplomatic interactions were crucial for the peaceful and positive evolution of the relationship between the two countries and ambassadors were the central piece of said interactions. This meant that for the ambassadors to obtain their goals, they should be liked and respected by the foreign court. Since most of their work revolved around the use of language and negotiation, it was extremely important that their reception and initial dealings were taken positively and amicably. Diplomats had to positively impact the local courtiers during the first stages of their stay in order to secure for themselves an easy path along their embassy since: “the good or ill report at the first brunt moveth our minde to one of these two passions. Therefore it commeth to passe, that for the most part we judge with love, or els with hatred” (Ibid, 35).

Once their embassy was established, ambassadors almost singlehandedly determined the path their diplomatic interactions were going to take. From a traditional diplomatic perspective, they were supposed to always represent their king’s interests with respect, efficiency, and good manners. The foundations of Renaissance Diplomacy and those of permanent embassies were set on the furthering of peace and negotiation; nevertheless, many ambassadors—in some cases following the polity coming from their

kings and in others being driven by their private interests and ideals—resorted to the shadows of diplomacy. Diplomatic intercourse was mainly represented by light, with public offices, audiences, and interactions that were ceremonial and regal. Despite the importance of light and good, diplomacy did have a dark and shadowy tint that many ambassadors decided to exploit.<sup>1</sup> Secret dealings, spying, bribing, and even seditious instigations were part of some of the ambassador's darkest works. Despite being against the bases of diplomacy, these actions occurred more often than not with their corresponding outcome:

An ambassador who used his office for other than its proper ends forfeits his immunity, and is liable to punishment at the hands of an offended prince. And the proper end of his office, the proper function of the ambassador, is to serve the general welfare, by promoting peace (Mattingly 1955, 49).

By choosing the darker route, ambassadors risked their own office and in many cases their lives. Even though traditional diplomacy was only envisioned with the ideals of peace and light in mind, the actual deployment of diplomatic dealings could not always be detached from the shadows. Both realms coexisted with each other and it was among the diplomat's duties to fulfil both. Ambassadors, then, were portrayed between two spheres: "One part of outward display and light, the other in shadow and in secret. Tension is created between the obligation to appear, and the necessity for utmost discretion" (Colson 2007, 3). Performing these two different sets of actions, forced the ambassadors to have a bigger frame of equally useful skills in order to cater to their dealings. As it will

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<sup>1</sup> The dichotomy of light and shadow is a traditional one regarding diplomatic dealings. There have been several studies that analyse the positive actions (light) that take place in an ambassador's work and those that have negative connotations (shadow). See: Colson 2007.

be seen in the ensuing chapters, some of the Spanish ambassadors were imprisoned and even expelled for the dealings they decided to perform outside the realm of light.

Seeing the number of tasks and skills that diplomats were required to have, the choice of ambassador was not always the easiest one. Again drawing on diplomatic tradition, during the Renaissance monarchs decided to send either noblemen or churchmen as their representatives in foreign embassies. The difference between these two was explained by a traditional maxim that said: churchmen are the fittest ambassadors for peace as noblemen for war. This maxim started to be proven wrong when the discrepancies concerning religion began to take hold as the ever-present topics of diplomacy. A question rose, mainly during the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when the wars of religion were reaching an apex, concerning the liability and usefulness of churchmen as ambassadors due to their pledge to more than one master: their king and their god (Mattingly 1955, 203;216).

Resident ambassadors were the principal agents behind most diplomatic dealings between two different countries. They acted on behalf of their monarchs and transmitted their pleas, demands, or interests to the foreign Prince. Despite traditional views on diplomacy, the ambassadors were particular individuals that amounted to more than just mere mouthpieces for their monarchs; they were essential in the shaping of diplomacy and in the process of adapting the information contained in the royal letters to the situation and environment that they were living at court (Allinson 2012, 54). The means of communication between king and ambassador was established by semi-regular correspondence between the two parties. In most cases for our study, King Philip II of Spain would write a letter of instruction to the ambassador at the English court with

information concerning how to proceed with the current state of affairs. On the other hand, the ambassador would send letters to the King and principal ministers on a regular basis with the information he regarded as necessary or of interest.

Studying the ambassadors as agents with particular personalities, ideals, and subjectivities, makes them stand out as the prime executors of diplomatic interactions and not just as mere puppets for their monarchs. Their interactions at court can be, and in fact, will be, analysed in this study from various points of view, understood as sociocultural practices that encompassed the ambassadors and their foreign counterparts; these interactions are the core of the diplomatic intercourses and should be taken as the centre of any diplomatic study since the sociocultural practices:

constituted political relationships, that they were not the consequence of foreign policy, international law, and political thought but their basis, and that a study of these practices reveals more about the nature of early modern diplomacy than the assumptions that underlie the traditional state-focused, Eurocentric paradigm (Sowerby & Hennings 2019, 2).

These sociocultural practices were the result of the diplomats' own dealings. They were given a task but they could always decide which way to approach it when seeking their goals, thus impacting the outcome drastically. Focusing on them as agents changes the paradigm since we can study what really matters: "the actions, behaviour, and status of diplomatic agents and the responses they triggered" (Ibid). Understanding that the diplomatic exchanges were first and foremost human interactions between two or more parties, allows us focus on the importance of the individuals and their backgrounds. Seeing the individual and their agency will spark further research into the importance of character, motivation, agendas, and goals. The ambassadors, as well as any other

diplomatic agent, must be regarded as more than proxies for the monarchs, thus making their own personal characteristics rise to the surface.

By establishing the agency of the ambassadors as an intrinsic quality of their role and of diplomacy as a whole, the focus can be shifted to the importance of the interactions themselves. A royal audience, a council meeting, or a spontaneous negotiation in the halls of a royal palace, are, without a doubt, scenarios where the importance is to be set on the agents taking part in the action. These are the basic foundations of diplomatic relations and, at their centre, we can only find the individuals that form and shape them. In this manner, we can detach politics, background, ideals, and everything directly linked to the situation and reduce it to its most basic point: a human exchange. After stripping everything from the events, what we are left with is nothing more than a number of individuals having a conversation with each other. By directing the research in this particular direction, a new set of criteria rises from being traditionally neglected: the emotional sphere.

Emotions are part of human nature and it could be argued that they represent one of the most basic characteristics of human beings. Analysing any sort of socio-political exchange, diplomatic relation, literary work, or any other form of cultural interaction, can never be fully understood without taking into consideration the impact that emotions have caused on the conception and creation of those situations. Emotions and individuals cannot be separated from one another; they are part of a whole. Thus, understanding the context and the meaning behind any scenario in which one or more human beings are contained is always dependent on an emotional analysis. Some scholars go as far as to claim that there is no such thing as a human being without emotion: “for when emotion

is taken away, what difference is there –I don't say between an animal and a man– but between a man and a tree or a stone?" (Rosenwein 2016, 22). The common channel of communication for any human interaction is language; though we might not link them at first, language and emotion are deeply intertwined for: "we don't speak emotion words alone; we embed them in construed sentences" (Ibid, 9). Rhetoric, one of the finest tools for a diplomat, cannot be separated from feeling, so it is pivotal for any study that aims at understanding not only the message but the meaning and background behind it, to consider the emotional content.

Emotions, albeit difficult to understand, categorize, and find, are necessary for the proper development of human life. They have traditionally been neglected, or not even considered, by pointing the lens into more general, abstract, or subjective matters. However, recent research has shown that we cannot conceive everyday life without considering its emotional value. When studying the subjectivity of our agents and their routine interactions, we find that: "human experience [is] formed through emotional relationships with others; and of that experience as involving a perpetual process of managing emotional impulses, both conscious and unconscious, within the self and in relation with other" (Roper 2005, 62). This would mean that the interactions that our agents—in this case only focused on the Spanish ambassadors, the English ministers, and the Queen, but by default applicable to any individual— have with each other contain at its centre an intrinsic emotional value that cannot be removed or neglected if the true aim is to deconstruct and comprehend the interaction in itself.<sup>2</sup> It is pertinent, then, to establish

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<sup>2</sup> Emotions can be studied in various ways depending on the academic field from which we seek to analyse them. It is necessary to support the explanation that emotions are part of human interaction and daily life with the theoretical

the basic bearings for navigating the emotional sphere, something that might prove complex due to the fuzziness of emotions themselves.

Defining emotion is not inherently complex, yet its difficulty rests on the different meanings the word has depending on the field that studies it. Emotions can be tackled from a psychological and psychiatric point, a linguistic perspective, a structuralist standpoint, or cultural studies, just to mention a few. Scholars from these fields do not seem to reach an agreement on many characteristics outside the existence of a within-the-body trigger and an outside-the-body feeling. Emotions are generally understood as an interaction of a different set of factors that take place within the body's hormonal and neural systems. These systems trigger a reaction within the body that spreads feelings regarding the experience (Stearns & Stearns 1985, 813). With this definition, the study of emotions can now be aimed at a certain end: finding what sort of experiences trigger the bodily interactions and what is the particular outcome—or feeling—that they produce. This discovery will lead researchers to understand what scenarios are most emotionally active and in what way the agents interact with these emotions to give rise to a feeling which would normally show their pleasure or displeasure with said experience.

Even though there is a bodily factor to the understanding of emotions, they still must be regarded as social and external, since they can be seen by others, as well as influence them in certain ways. Emotions and their connection with social interactions

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approach of social constructivism. For these scholars, in particular referring to Rom Harré, emotions are part of social interactions because they play a role in society and in understanding the sociocultural context. Emotions create patterns of action and reaction that are intrinsic to certain societal groups; moreover, to understand these groups we must understand their emotions (Harré 1986, 6;12;33).

bind them with the individuals and their backgrounds; they have to be followed outside the body into a particular situation where one would be able to understand how social cues and norms influence and impact the emotional component of actions. Experts on emotions from the field of psychology and psychiatry believe that: “even though we experience emotion emerging from our bodies, feelings are formed and structured within particular social and cultural environments” (Hutchinson & Bleiker 2014, 504). This would imply that the diplomatic interactions that will be studied in detail in the following pages of this thesis would be key not only for the understanding of the emotional components of diplomacy but also for the morphing of these emotions by the socio-political and cultural background of the agents that feel them. With this information, I have tried to lay down the basic necessary notions for the understanding of emotion and its importance in human interactions. We can now move forward to finding what kind of theories can be applied to the emotional component of these scenarios in order to draw a bigger picture of emotional diplomacy.

Since it has been stated that emotions have a human and social component inseparable from their nature, we should theorize them from a sociocultural point of view, where they are able to influence, define, and explain human nature, human interaction, and social practices. For this, we can default to the theories of Emotionology and Emotional Communities. These two theories have core similarities, but differ from each other on the basis and the application. On the one hand, Peter and Carol Stearns (1985) coined the term Emotionology in their study of how emotions are impacted and shaped by societal norms. They decided to seek the methods by which society defined and constrained its individuals in the realm of emotion; for this, they analysed books of



manners and etiquette from the 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards as literary pieces whose aim was to teach the members of society the correct way of understanding, receiving, and expressing emotions. Further research was directed by Peter Stearns and Susan Matt (2014), where they tried to apply these societal norms to a bigger spectrum of data with the aim of proving that Emotionology was formed by a definable set of patterns and norms that a particular society provided for its members with the aim of categorising the proper attitudes and expressions concerning emotions.

On the other hand, we have Professor Barbara Rosenwein's theory of Emotional Communities (2002). Rosenwein decides to study the field of emotion from a societal perspective too; however, she follows a theoretical path that leads to a narrower and more precise view of how emotions affect and shape people's lives. Instead of analysing the general literature available to members of a certain society whose aim is to instil in them a particular emotional frame, Rosenwein decides to focus on the particular literary sources of members of a given group, community, or society and analyse their take on emotion, together with how it matches with the rest of the members of said group. Finding common ground regarding emotional understanding led her to establish certain links between the members of the community and how they perceive and react to a concrete emotion. These groups are more varied in size than those used by Emotionology and they rise from the personal literature of the members, adding the value of agency once more to the current study. Rosenwein states that Emotional Communities:

are precisely the same as social communities – families, neighborhoods, parliaments, guilds, monasteries, parish church memberships – but the researcher looking at them seeks above all to uncover systems of feeling: what these communities (and the individuals within them) define and assess as valuable or harmful to them; the evaluations that they make about others' emotions; the nature of the affective bonds

between people that they recognize; and the modes of emotional expression that they expect, encourage, tolerate, and deplore (842).

With this approach, we are able to study, with more precision and detail, how societies shape and constrain emotions and their expression. We are allowed to see patterns of allegiance to the norm, but also the mention of deviance. Emotional Communities work in a narrower scope compared to Emotionology; nonetheless, both theories can and should be combined with each other in the search of furthering research on emotions and their impact on any human interaction. Combining them means, for this particular work, that the Spanish ambassadors at the court of Queen Elizabeth I will be analysed as the agents forming the communities, sharing background, societal norms, and upbringings, thus becoming members of a tight party that perceives, understands, and enacts emotions following a similar pattern. The means to decipher this Emotionology will be given by the study of their private correspondence with King Philip II of Spain and his ministers—equating their reports to literary works, the same Rosenwein does with the diaries, letters, and memoirs of the individuals in her Emotional Communities.

This theoretical framework emphasizes the importance of society and its interactions, which will become the centre for our emotional context. Sociocultural exchanges are then key not only for the understanding of diplomacy as a whole but also for the shaping and shifting of emotions. The regular diplomatic exchanges would be part of everyday politics in which emotions play a key role in helping our agents form intersubjective relationships with the rest of the actors around particular emotional knowledge. This would allow them to create patterns of acceptance or rejection, based on societal values, toward certain events and actions (Russell et al 2019, 3; Mercer 2014,

523). Following this particular route allows researchers of emotion, diplomacy, and, in general, international relations, to widen the spectrum of diplomatic interactions and avoid generalizing by “focusing on the specific mechanisms through which emotions are socially embedded and can, in particular circumstances, become collective” (Hutchinson & Bleiker 2014, 499).

Establishing our emotional diplomatic community will start by catering and organizing the general traits and behaviours that the ambassadors share for, later, obtaining the Diplomatic Emotionology that they will exert in their interactions with their English counterparts. Concrete proof and data will be used in the analysis of the Spanish Emotionology in the following pages of this study; however, it is necessary to mention the basis upon which this theory will rest concerning our particular subjects. The Spanish ambassadors are a great example to describe the aforementioned theoretical framework regarding the importance of communities, societies, and their influence on emotional patterns since clear similarities can be easily drawn. All the ambassadors were part of the Spanish higher classes, either respected members of the nobility, higher ranks of the military, or men of the church. The upbringing of these individuals would have been clearly similar in terms of religion, manners, ideals, and beliefs, implying that society had already been key in shaping not only their views and character but also their emotional understanding of the world. In this particular case, we must resort to the importance of religion in the making of Spanish Diplomatic Emotionology for it was essential in the ambassador’s life as well as in any members of the Spanish court up to King Philip II. Philip’s messianic view of religion and the importance placed on Anglo-Spanish diplomatic interactions during the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, together with the

necessity of supporting, protecting, and furthering the Old Faith, created the perfect scenario for the ambassadors to see themselves as prime actors in the war against Protestantism. Miguel ́ngel Ochoa Brun, in his study of Spanish diplomacy, flawlessly pictures this:

donde quisiera los representantes diplomáticos de Felipe II se hallasen cumpliendo sus deberes, traducían éstos al lenguaje religioso, convirtiéndose en adalides de la causa católica. Que «mirasen bien en las cosas de la Religión» era una norma permanente de conducta diplomática, que Felipe II machaconamente exigía de sus Embajadores, incluso con mayor insistencia y espacio que los reservados en sus instrucciones a temas exclusivamente políticos (2003, 32).

Wherever it was that Philip II's diplomatic representatives found themselves fulfilling their duties, they would translate them into religious vocabulary, turning themselves into champions of the Catholic cause. "Taking good care of Religious matters" was a permanent rule in the diplomatic code of conduct that Philip II adamantly asked of his ambassadors, even with more insistence and space than those allocated in his instructions to exclusively political matters.<sup>3</sup>

Hence, religion worked as the most powerful motivator for the diplomats in the shaping of their Diplomatic Emotionology. They will be directed—in many cases unconsciously by the learned societal norms that taint emotion— by the importance of religion in their everyday diplomatic interactions. This will in turn materialise into a particular set of emotion words and vocabulary used to express their pleasure or displeasure toward the English ministers and Queen in terms, not of diplomacy, but of Diplomatic Emotionology.

So far I have aimed to deploy the notions and research tools necessary for the understanding of diplomatic exchanges as a set of human interactions guided by agency

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<sup>3</sup> My translation.

and, thus, by the effects of emotions. Grouping the Spanish ambassadors and their work under a new category of Diplomatic Emotionology has set the rules for the following study of their work; however, the source from which I will be extracting the information still remains unclear. Let's now clarify the foundation for the diplomatic correspondence and the ways in which it will be studied throughout this paper. Spanish diplomatic relations under the rule of Philip II are inherently different to any other period due to the vast amount of written documentation available. Both the ambassadors and the King were avid writers and readers, so the archives at Simancas that contain the correspondence between them are full to the brim with *legajos*.<sup>4</sup> This characteristic allows researchers to dive deep into the dealings and intricacies of the period, not only concerning the rule of law within the Empire's territories, but also its international relations. Despite the wide availability of traditional scholarly works concerning this topic, this thesis will seek to examine the sources from a more contemporary perspective, using both the theories of New Historicism and those established by philosopher Hayden White.

The correspondence from the Spanish ambassadors at the court of Elizabeth I, as well as the correspondence between any other ambassador and the King, is formed by the letters written by the ambassadors or their secretaries addressed to the King himself or the minister in charge. These are, first and foremost, written documents of the stories, anecdotes, negotiations, and dealings that the ambassadors attended to directly or indirectly. The correspondence contained any manner of information they regarded as interesting for the King and the crown's affairs; besides, they singlehandedly decided the

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<sup>4</sup> For an outstanding piece of work regarding the rule of King Philip II of Spain, his character, personality, and work, see: Parker 2017.

content and the manner in which the documents were created. Factors such as agency, subjectivity, and bias are crucial parts of these documents, so any researcher interested in studying them must regard these as literary pieces. Traditional historical and diplomatic studies have not been keen on appreciating the impact that the aforementioned notions can have on the creation and reception of these written texts. The correspondence between the ambassadors and the King has, for many years, been studied from a historical perspective only, when it should have been opened to further academic analysis. Hayden White focused the majority of his work on trying to break the narrow boundaries that constrained history from the literary field, seeking to open researchers' eyes to the importance of comprehending how close both fields really are. When analysing a written text that deals with historical events, one can neither reduce it to its narrative of literary characteristics nor elevate it to the category of dogmatic truth; one must be aware of the thin and permeable boundary between both fields. Accepting that a historical text might, and, in fact, is a literary narration at the core of its form, arouses unwillingness in many, since it would be implying that the historical text would, in actuality, be a narrative fiction of the events. White addresses this point probably noticing that traditional historians would refuse to accept the likelihood that their texts' truth might be put into question:

There has been a reluctance to consider historical narratives as what they most manifestly are: verbal fictions, the contents of which are as much invented as found and the forms of which have more in common with their counterparts in literature than they have with those in the sciences (1985, 82).

However, this course of action implies exactly the opposite. White does not aim to reduce the historical text to a mere narration of events, yet he seeks that, by understanding the shared characteristics of both fields and their thin boundaries, we might be able to

understand them more precisely. He believes that the historical discourse created by the narratives, “points in two directions simultaneously: first, toward the set of events it purports to describe and, second, toward the generic story form to which it tacitly likens the set in order to disclose its formal coherence considered as either a structure or a process” (Ibid, 106). Therefore, accepting that the historical narratives form one of the many parts of the literary realm allows scholars to point out the importance that tradition, culture, and society have in the creation of fictions and truths that shape individuals and their view of the world. Understanding the relationship between history and literature the way White does allows us to increase instead of deducting value from any of them. It adds value to the notions of agency in the creation of written records that become part of a society and builds a strong foundation for the development of said community. Thus, by understanding the links between the historical and literary spheres, as well as the connections between reality and fiction, will allow researchers to use narration in order not to trivialize the value and meaning of their work but to enhance it (White 1990).

To further support this view, from White’s theories I would like to proceed to the application of New Historicism and its views of historical and literary texts as expressed by some of its prominent authors, such as Stephen Greenblatt and Louis Montrose. Unlike White’s theories, which were based on the study of the content and the form of the historical narrative and literary works with the aim of understanding the underlying patterns in the processes of their creation, New Historicism seeks to apply literary procedures of analysis to the historical narratives, in an attempt at detaching the latter from the traditional paradigm and opening them up for further examination. This approach, then, aims at enhancing historical texts by treating them as literary works,

furthering the possibilities in terms of analysis. In doing this, I will then seek to focus on the individual and its singularities rather than looking at the generalities of history; I will seek out the agents behind the stories rather than masking them behind their words; I will deepen the meaning of the text, by applying literature-like analysis instead of regarding it as historical dogma. Greenblatt himself narrows the value of New Historicism to a key feature: “an intensified willingness to read all of the textual traces of the past with the attention traditionally conferred only on literary texts.” By doing this, “agency is virtually inescapable” (Greenblatt 2007, 19;20). As well as happened with the previous notions, detractors might believe that the application of this paradigm to the written historical works might just turn them into a devalued version of a literary artefact; however, by enabling literature to enter the realm of history, we are not avoiding its effects but enhancing them by connecting both fields to the real world, thus deepening the story (Ibid, 7).

The diplomatic correspondence of the Spanish ambassadors must be regarded as what it is: a written record of certain events that agglutinates politics, culture, feelings, and emotions. Without a doubt, it contains part of the writers themselves; part of their beliefs and emotions are imprinted into the reports they sent to the King. They are transforming their lives and everything they are a part of into the written world, so understanding the connection of their texts with literature allows the reader to see that: “by representing the world in discourse, texts are engraved in constructing the world and in accommodating their writers, performers, readers and audience to positions within it” (Montrose 1985, 9).



This theoretical framework is yet not grounded enough to withstand the winds of questioning, thus I feel the necessity to clarify some of the specific points that might remain unclear. So far I have stated that the Diplomatic Emotionology experienced by the Spanish ambassadors at the court of Elizabeth I will be taken from their own written documents addressed to the King of Spain. Diplomacy, as a human interaction between two or more agents, is liable to be affected by an emotional component that is felt first-hand by the ambassadors and later transported into print for the readers. This historical narrative is, as supported above, bound to be analysed as part of the literary genre for its similarities, characteristics, and, above all, for the possibilities of enhancing the value of the whole thesis. Then, reaching this point of analysis a new set of questions arises. First, some might question the truth value of the reports, given the subjectivity and bias of its writers, who, as any other agent, aimed to support their own agenda and beliefs. Second, the representation of the emotional components of diplomacy might be questioned, as well, for their truthfulness. Both lines of questioning rely on unique diplomatic characteristics yet to be tackled in this work: ceremonial and performativity.

The basic role of diplomats working as ambassadors at the court of a foreign Prince was to represent and defend, to the best of their knowledge, the interests of their monarch. With this in mind, they were invested with the royal powers of international law and protected from harm while they performed their task. They were the voice of a monarch from a distant country at an alien court; they were to talk for their monarchs as if they themselves were doing it; they had to report all the information they could about the situation and, most importantly, about how the foreign diplomats and monarchs were reacting to their actions. Diplomacy has to revolve around ceremonial because the

ambassadors are a representation of a monarch who is not present, yet they function as their mouthpiece. Ceremonial was the only mechanism available for the diplomats to state their rank, power, and importance in the hierarchical system since the value of an ambassador was first stated through it. As representatives in a foreign country, a paradox was created: they had agency in that country, but lacked any of it in their own. Ambassadors had to rely on letter-writing to justify their actions, risking the ultimate understanding of the information due to loss, tampering, or manipulation of the correspondence (Sowerby & Hennings 2019, 81; Williamson 2019, 567). The ceremonial aspect of diplomatic relations also served a function of ritualistic exchange where both parties knew beforehand the requirements for the ritual and what to expect from one another. By performing the ceremonial, both portrayed and represented a certain array of selected qualities to each other, fabricating an image of themselves. As the outcome of the ritual of ceremonial, a conception of the agents taking part in the ceremony was created, a particular political conception (McCracken 2008, 54).

Understanding the ceremonial character of diplomacy leads us directly to another characteristic that will be key for this study: performance. By acting as representatives of a monarch, as their mouthpiece or even as their news-bearer, ambassadors are acting as someone they are not; ultimately, they are putting on an act and masking their true intents. This makes the links between diplomatic action and theatre-making virtually undeniable. Following Henry Wotton's famous quote, ambassadors were: "an honest man sent abroad to lie for the good of his country."<sup>5</sup> Diplomats are always between the boundaries of light

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<sup>5</sup> Nathalie Rivère (2016) analyses the relations between theatre and diplomacy and how the diplomatic agents and actors may be closer to each other than was previously believed.

and shadow; between representing their monarch as a virtuous Prince and resorting to traitorous actions for the protection of their country. This double-sided life that is portrayed before the ambassador forms the ironical basis for diplomacy. Ministers must be respected as virtuous, yet they will achieve this by twisting reality and hiding behind a lying mask. This duality between reality and acting is the link that unites the realms of theatre and diplomacy. By fashioning themselves in a certain manner, ambassadors tread the “boundaries between the creation of literary characters” and “the shaping of one’s own identity” (Greenblatt 2005, 3). They are required to perform, following Greenblatt’s theory, a self-fashioning of themselves that allows them to fulfil their duty both in the light and in the shadows. With this technique, they are forming a new self that will be shown to the world, yet it is only a representation of a figment of reality, never the complete truth.

Furthermore, this duality forced the ambassador to proceed exactly as any actor would, by creating a persona and representing their character with utmost veracity for the audience to be taken by it. Both ambassadors and actors had similar views of performance and conceptions of the self, understanding the differences between reality and acting. The self that diplomats created is “mirrored by the dramatic character who exists through the body of the actor and the spectator’s vision” (Rivière 2016, 4). In this manner, the ambassador represents a comedian on the biggest stage of all, a court, where everyone performs a role for the amusement of the audience and their own benefit, thus, “the ambassador embodies a political as well as a theatrical coincidence of opposites” (Ibid, 114).

The world of the ambassador becomes, then, a world of performance and acting that will be, in turn, transformed into a written record of both the real and the performed side of things that we, as readers, find when working with the correspondence. This double representation leads us to believe that the character of the ambassador and that of their written texts is fictional since it represents —through the biased eyes of the writer— the world of performance. Joining the diplomatic with the literary allows us to understand this relationship between reality and fiction, flawlessly represented in the work of Timothy Hampton:

By working with literature we go towards a diplomatic poetics where: reading literature would be attuned to the shadow of the Other at the edge of the national community, and a way of reading diplomacy that would take into account its fictional and linguistic dimensions (2012, 2-3).

Diplomacy as a whole, but its written representation in particular, forms a fictional paradigm where the separation between what is real and what is performed cannot be easily discerned. The fictional qualities of diplomacy do not turn it into a fully fictional piece of writing utterly void of historical purpose; however, it amplifies its capabilities for further analysis by enabling researchers to apply a bigger set of concepts. Diplomacy develops into a game of fiction where, following Hampton’s views, “taking the false for the truth” is the only way of maintaining a coherent and stable scenario. In this acting role of the diplomat, writing becomes a critical mission in the creation of their theatrical persona and of themselves (Ibid, 11). This is one of the reasons why the study of the correspondence is so important for the proper understanding of not only the events but also of the agents that take part in them. For Hampton, “to be a diplomat is to write, as

well as to act, [and I show] that new forms of diplomatic activity impose new ways of writing about action and the authority of the self” (Hampton 2012, 16).

Applying this theoretical terminology, ambassadors and their diplomatic role become intertwined with actors and their theatrical performances. The real merges with the performed and all of it undergoes another level of transformation when it comes into the written format that we analyse. All of these layers of meaning must be taken into account in any work whose aim is to understand the diplomatic exchanges and the role of their actors. As has been proven by many scholars, following this route allows researchers to see the confluence of drama with diplomacy and their scripted, rehearsed, and choreographed essence. Once they are brought to the forefront, the links between the two cannot be unseen any longer (Hutchings 2020).

This entire theoretical scaffolding will provide the necessary paradigms required to comprehend the ensuing analysis of the diplomatic Anglo-Spanish interactions from the perspective of the Spanish ambassadors at the English court. However, some interesting questions might still remain unanswered: if diplomacy is intrinsically ceremonial and performative and its agents are actors representing a fictional role which in turn is transformed —by literary mechanisms— into a written format, what is the truth-value of any of their statements or reports? If the ultimate aim of this project is to prove the importance of emotions in the shaping and morphing of the diplomatic interactions by influencing the actions of diplomatic agents, would not those emotions just be the result of the ambassadors’ performance? Well, ambassadors do put on an act regularly during their diplomatic stay in foreign embassies and many of their stories and reports are based on hearsay or pure fiction; however, the emotional component of their work can

never be removed from their actions. When reading the correspondence between a certain ambassador and their king, we might come across a representation of a feeling or an emotion and the deciphering of their true nature —real or performed— can never be established beyond reasonable doubt. The emotional component that affects Diplomatic Emotionology —on a bigger plane of things— and individual diplomatic exchanges —on the microlens— will always be impregnated by the essence of emotion, regardless of its performativity or not. Emotions are used constantly by ambassadors to test the waters, in an attempt to understand the mind of their counterparts or even with the intent of twisting diplomatic actions. The importance of emotions does not reside in their performativity or lack thereof but in their mere existence.

### 3. Early diplomatic stages

The interest of this study rests on the interactions of diplomats under the rules of Philip II of Spain and Elizabeth I of England, so to start exploring these interactions the date must go back as far as 1554, when Philip II united the Habsburg and Tudor houses by marrying Mary Tudor, daughter of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, being the latter Philip's great-aunt. This marriage sought to perpetuate the pre-existing friendship between both royal houses under the reign of their respective Kings, Charles I of Spain and Henry VIII of England. The union was complex, especially for the English people, since tradition called for a king on the throne, not a queen. Mary was the first Queen regnant of England and many of its citizens were not ready for a woman to be the head of the state. This called for a simple solution, marriage. By marrying Mary to a foreign king or prince, England would secure a ruling male monarch to guide his wife and lead her through the righteous path that she would not be able to find herself due to women's unfitness to rule.<sup>1</sup> Despite people's belief in the necessity for Mary to find a suitable husband who would help her lead the country, a series of stronger oppositions arose. By this stage, after Henry's breach with Rome and Edward's sustained furthering of Protestantism, part of the English population was starting to sway comfortably towards

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<sup>1</sup> This traditional patriarchal society can be seen in a plethora of socio-cultural representations throughout the period. One of the most striking ones which would represent the sentiment of the majority of the population towards a ruling female is Knox's *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstruous Regiment of Women*. This literary piece was published at the death of Mary and the ascension of Elizabeth to the throne. This was one of the many representations of the people's take on a Queen regnant and their need for a male on their side; this would also be the core idea behind the incessant calls for Elizabeth to take a husband.

the New Faith and developed an opposition to the Old One. In many cases, it was not only a matter of religious beliefs but an insular and patriotic view of their difference and individuality that separated them from the rest of Europe. Englishmen started to develop a pretty particular take on their independence from foreign rulers, especially the Papacy. By unifying their royal house with a foreign one, and particularly the Habsburg family, known for their adamant defence of the Old Faith and Papal power, England would be taken back to a situation of domination by foreign powers, instead of one of independence from them. The marriage went through, but its implications would forever stain the mind of a majority of the population:

It struck harshly upon insular prejudice and arouse the Englishry of everyone. In the fear it bred of secular foreign dominance, it emphasized all the more the alien character of papal supremacy; and two oppositions — Politique and Protestant — were wedded. To be mere English and to be Protestant began to seem one and the same thing (Neale 1971, 38).<sup>2</sup>

Once the marriage materialised and Philip went to England as the ruling consort of Mary I, he decided to take with him a substantial number of Spanish friends and ministers that were to reside at the English court. Among these, we can find the at the time Count of Feria, Gómez Suárez de Figueroa y Córdoba, who served as Philip's liaison with Mary.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> These feuds between English and Spanish can be seen clearly in the correspondence between the Emperor Charles V and his ambassador Simon Renard. The situation grew to such an extent that the ambassador believed that trouble would ensue no matter what the parties decided to do. The state of discomfort and discrepancy did not only come from the aforementioned English sense of independence or insularity, but also from the Spanish strong interest in ruling the country in their own ways. The correspondence can be accessed in British History Online (BHO) as: Volume 13, 1-13; 39-55;143-153.

<sup>3</sup> Once more, I would like to refer the reader to Parker's work (2017), where they will be able to delve deeper into the intricacies of the background before and during the marriage between Philip and Mary. Here, too, they will see the



Even though Philip was only married to Mary for a short period of time, around four years, and despite not remaining in the country for long lapses of time, he would, for the rest of his life, regard himself as an expert in the nuances of the English government. According to Geoffrey Parker (2002), arguably the biggest expert on Philip's personal life and government: "His personal experience convinced the king he was the world's foremost expert on English affairs" (185). From this time forth, the King would always take the decisions concerning English matters giving them much less thought than other royal affairs, believing to know the correct path to follow by his *extended* knowledge of the country and its people. This was one of the many factors that heavily impacted the outcome of Anglo-Spanish diplomatic interactions, for Philip's own entitlement determined the path of his policy and the view of his ambassadors. During their time as a married couple, Feria remained at the English court as a close confidant of the Queen, who, from the very beginning, became deeply attached, emotionally and politically, to Philip's person and his policy.<sup>4</sup> It was here that the work of the Spanish ambassadors began.

Feria remained with Mary for the entirety of the time both she and Philip were married, even though Philip left the country several times to overview the states of his dominions in the Low Countries and to lead their armies in the war with the French.

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links between Feria and the King, which date back to the early stages of the King's formative years when he went on his *Felicísimo Viaje*.

<sup>4</sup> Analyzing Mary's reign closely would not yield enough benefits for the core issues of this research; however, sources have been tackled with beforehand in order to achieve a substantial sense of the importance of Mary's rule for the future of Elizabeth and her own reign. Among others, see: Whitelock 2010.

During the absence of her husband, Mary relied on Feria to get information regarding the return of her beloved or to pressure Feria into talking to Philip and obtaining his return, mostly during the periods in which Mary thought she was pregnant. On the other hand, Philip also used his ambassador as a means to sway the Queen into accepting his requests. It was in this particular diplomatic situation, as a link between two monarchs that are married to each other, that Feria began his career as a Spanish diplomat at the English court. His role at this early stage of Anglo-Spanish interactions was purely based on advising the Queen and reporting her views to the King. As the first diplomatic link between the two countries for this period, Feria served as the settler of the diplomatic mood: he established the tone of the interactions; he laid the bases for future diplomatic dealings, and, above all, he was the first test subject that this analysis has so as to establish the recurrent and persistent issues or complaints that endured for the rest of the embassies and that, in turn, affected the deployment of the Spanish diplomacy, thus its Emotionology. These persistent issues or the standard answers to them were key in the development of the Spanish Emotionology, and Feria will be the first Spanish agent to illustrate them for this period.

Interestingly enough, Feria started his early correspondence with the King with an issue that plagued the Spanish ambassadors from their very first day until the end of their embassies: inconsistencies and mutability. Feria claimed that: “todo lo que estos tratan es confusi3n y pasi3n unos con otros, y las resoluciones que toman un dia revocan otro.” [Everything these people do is confusion and hatred, one against the other. Whatever they

decide one day they undo the next].<sup>5</sup> This was the very first mention of the English mutable character that chased the ambassadors for the rest of their diplomatic missions. Feria was trying to report to his king about the socio-political situation in the country concerning the health of the Queen, the lack of an heir, and the turbulent situation created by the war with the French; however, he claimed to be incapable of obtaining any clear answer due to their constant changes in policies and their *mudanzas* (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 87, 12;33; *Calendar* Vol.13, 349-365). This intrinsic quality of the English diplomatic character demanded of the Spanish ambassadors an even bigger sense of scrutiny and a need for reliable sources or, at least, multiple sources of information. For many ambassadors, as will be seen later on, this feature led them down two different paths: some resorted to reporting every single piece of information they could get their hands on hoping some of it was real; others decided, with their better judgment, which information was worth mentioning by establishing its truth factor themselves. Feria became a member of the second group, and he —probably following Philip’s lead and influenced by his higher rank and closeness to the king<sup>6</sup>— regarded himself as an expert on English matters and on English people, claiming to see through their lies: “A mí nunca me engañan, porque no les creo cosa de cuantas me dicen, y como procuro algunas veces de averiguallo, cánsanse de mí” [As for me, the English never take me in, because I never

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<sup>5</sup> Unless stated otherwise, all translations from the *Documentos Inéditos* will come from the official English translation at the archive of British History Online: *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 1-3, 1558–1586*.

<sup>6</sup> Feria returned to the Spanish Court after his time as ambassador was done. He then became a key member of Philip’s cabinet as someone with specific knowledge on English matters. He was regarded as the person to resort to when English matters were at hand. As an example, Feria was crucial in the downfall of John Man and he was one of his most opposed detractors (Bell 1976).

believe a word they say. And as I often check up on them, they find me tiresome] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 60; *Calendar* Vol.13, 394-402).

Another important persistent complaint on the side of the ambassadors appeared early enough during Feria's time at the English court. Any ambassador had the chance to influence or sway a monarch's decision-making with their eloquence and rhetoric so, in many cases, when the English were undergoing a tumultuous situation within the country or due to outside powers, they restricted the access the ambassadors had to the Queen, as a mechanism of protection. This happened to many of the Spanish ambassadors throughout their stay in England, but for different reasons. In some cases, as it happened with Feria's statement above, the ambassadors were restricted access to the Queen in order to avoid her possible veering towards Spanish interests. In Feria's case, his closeness to Mary and Philip was so obvious that an audience with the Queen might be disastrous for the interests of some of the English ministers. However, in a majority of the cases, the ambassadors had their audiences and access to the Queen diminished or cancelled altogether, not as a manner of protecting the Queen from them, but to avoid Anglo-Spanish interactions as a whole. By refusing to give an audience to the ambassadors, the Queen protected herself from allowing the diplomats to send reports on the situation, thus obtaining the opportunity to avoid giving a firm answer to the Spaniards or even to pay the retribution they asked for; as a whole, it provided the English with more time on their hands with which to play.

A crucial point to take into consideration regarding the reign of Mary is the absence of an heir and the importance of Elizabeth. After marrying Philip, Mary started developing a hatred for her sister and for what she stood for. Seen as a threat to her reign

that materialized in social outbreaks such as the Wyatt's Rebellion,<sup>7</sup> Elizabeth was placed on the focal point of both supporters and detractors of the Queen. This ultimately forced Mary to imprison her half-sister in the Tower of London first and later to put her under house arrest in Woodstock. In spite of investigations, nothing incriminatory was found concerning Elizabeth, which explained her famous carvings at Woodstock:

Much suspected by me,  
Nothing proved can be.

Quod Elizabeth the prisoner (Elizabeth 2000, 46).

Mary remained adamant in her lack of trust for Elizabeth, to the extent of not wanting to name her as her heir despite Philip's petitions to do so. Philip saw the decaying health of his wife and sought to garnish for himself Elizabeth's goodwill by obtaining for her the title of heir apparent. No matter how hard Philip tried, Mary's hatred of Elizabeth would not be overcome until her very last hours and not due to Philip's petitions but by her own will.<sup>8</sup> Following his master's orders, Feria paid a visit to Elizabeth two months before the death of the Queen, with the intention of obtaining Elizabeth's amity. The audience appeared to have been a polite one but Feria refrained from referring to any more details.

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<sup>7</sup> The event known as Wyatt's Rebellion took place at the beginning of 1554, when Sir Thomas Wyatt, fuelled by the popular disagreement with Mary's choice of husband, led a rebellious group with the idea of dethroning Mary and placing her half-sister on the throne. The Queen and many of her councillors believed that Elizabeth herself was part of the plot and decided to question her and, afterwards and by being unable to obtain a good enough answer from the Princess, decided to imprison her in the Tower of London to prevent further plots against the crown (Perry 1990, 89-100)

<sup>8</sup> The Venetian ambassador at the time firmly believed that Mary hated her half-sister and reported in several of his letters proof of this. A good analysis of this hatred and her ultimate change of mind by making Elizabeth her heir can be found in: Whitelock 2010, 295-298.

When the death of the Queen took place, Feria's work as an ambassador took a different route and so did his beliefs and opinions.

The death of Mary Tudor brought about a set of big changes not only for Feria and Spanish diplomacy but for the rest of the European powers. The throne of England was now going to be occupied by a woman and an unmarried one, in this case, meaning that the royal houses of Europe could obtain a marriage treaty that would allow them to get a hold of not only a queen but also a country. Everyone was ready for this, but, out of all the princes, Philip was the one awaiting his turn to snatch a new wife and perpetuate his grasp on the English territory. The speed in a matter like this was crucial so, as soon as the news broke out of the Queen's death, the question of marriage appeared at the forefront of Philip's diplomatic missions. In fact, a couple lines after reporting to the King the death of his wife, Feria brought up the marriage question to his master:

Es muy temprano para tratar materia de casamiento; la confusion y poco asiento que estos tienen en todas las cosas obliga en buena razon á estar nosotros más advertidos para no perder las ocasiones que se ofrecieren, y principalmente en cosa de matrimonio.

it is very early yet to talk about marriage the confusion and ineptitude of these people in all their affairs make it necessary for us to be the more circumspect, so as not to miss the opportunities which are presented to us, and particularly in the matter of marriage (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 81, *Calendar* Vol.1, 1-6).

Feria cautioned his King not to press the matter too hard since the volatility of the scenario and its people might result in a backlash to the Spanish interests. The death of Mary and the close ascension of Elizabeth to the English throne set the stage for the ambassadors to play a new role: courtship. In the game of diplomacy, courtship and marriage suits were key components of diplomatic interactions between countries since they facilitated

the creation of alliances and the perpetuation of royal houses. Every ambassador in England had a new mission of the utmost importance: to forward their King's suit to the new Queen in the hopes of achieving a marriage deal.

The new situation was not the most favourable one for the Spaniards since the English ministers and their Queen were both open to listening to every suitor knocking at their door. Even Feria reported that they were attending to any ambassador that came to court with a potential suit. Philip was not going to get an advantageous treatment for simply being the husband of the former Queen, particularly because the marriage suits would be crucial for the development and establishment of the new English Queen as a strong and powerful one. Elizabeth's reign was littered with marriage suits and prospective husbands; despite nothing definitive coming out of any of the suits, its consistent existence in the diplomatic interactions of the country was crucial for the keeping of peace and quiet within the island.<sup>9</sup> Both the Queen and her people were now faced with a difficult conundrum: to marry Elizabeth within or outside the country's borders, which would in turn divide the popular opinion. On one side, there were the supporters of marrying within the European countries with the aim of obtaining outside support; on the other, the supporters of domestic policies pointed towards powerful English noblemen to avoid outside control and the likelihood of becoming another

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<sup>9</sup> This dissertation will undoubtedly deal with the various marriage suits of Queen Elizabeth I mostly due to their importance within the ambassadorial correspondence. However, these diplomatic interactions contain deeper layers of meaning that are embedded underneath the spheres of society, affecting individuals and their direct lives due to its political and economic connotations; thus, such amount of data calls for an analysis of its own and that is the reason why I would like to refer the reader to some interesting research works. I would particularly suggest: Doran 1989;1996.

country's puppet. The latter group was mostly formed by those aforementioned English citizens that believed that marrying Mary to Philip was a mistake that got the country into the kind of trouble that they could now avoid; thus, nationalism and insularity came to the forefront of English politics.

This background allows the analysis of another Spanish diplomatic trait common to every single one of the Spanish ambassadors at the English court: the duplicity in opinion. Ambassadors were independent individuals that had to face opposition in order to obtain information in a foreign court; theirs alone was the task of receiving and processing the information that would be sent to their Prince. Following Mattingly's views: "for the most part he had to rely on his own wits and industry to collect intelligence, and his own judgement to evaluate it" (1955, 114). This reliance only on themselves, together with the previously mentioned factor of extreme mutability on the English side of diplomacy, led the ambassadors to also represent that same mutable character themselves. This trait became more visible when the marriage suits got to their apex during the middle of the Elizabethan reign. Despite this fact, it is worth mentioning that Feria claimed at these early stages of Elizabeth's search for a husband that the English noblemen were realizing the importance of marrying the Queen with a foreign Prince; however, he, within weeks, changed this claim and denied its veracity (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 82).

As socio-political and diplomatic matters started to present more complex scenarios and the ambassadorial work became harder than Feria had previously dealt with during Mary's reign, his true colours started to be apparent to the readers. Feria was the first case of a Spanish diplomat that pointed at the importance of religious matters and beliefs and



their impact on emotion-diplomatic interactions. Religion was a crucial matter in the lives of any of these agents and it created a top-down mechanism in which the King became the agent instilling the zealous religious beliefs into the minds of his ambassadors who will, in turn, apply them to their everyday diplomatic exchanges. Philip's messianic views and his beliefs about the chaotic nature of the world made him engage in particularly hard-to-accomplish enterprises. Parker summarizes it as: "this apocalyptic mind-set made Philip both unrealistic in his strategic plans and inflexible when his subordinates complained about them" (2002, 180). Philip's religious beliefs made him see the world with a particular tainted lens that would, ultimately, impact the way his ambassadors saw reality, too. Religion would impact every diplomatic and ambassadorial decision and not due to the intricacies of the religious beliefs themselves but for the influence that these caused on the shaping and morphing of the emotional character of an individual and the corresponding impact that emotions had in everyday interactions. It was in this set of circumstances that Feria began to deploy the Spanish Diplomatic Emotionology that remained more or less unchanged with the rest of the ambassadors.

Feria had the task of reporting on the situation concerning the ascension of Elizabeth and her decisions having to do with her marriage options. Religion started to become the guiding light that Feria followed in every single one of his reports to the King, as can be seen in the first report he sent Philip analysing the importance of the husband Elizabeth should take:

Cuanto más pienso en este negocio, entiendo que todo él consiste en el marido que esta mujer tomare, porque si es tal cual conviene, las cosas de la Religion irán bien, y el Reino quedará amigo á V. M. sino todo será borrado. Si determina de casar fuera del Reino, ella porná [sic] los ojos luego en V. M., bien es verdad, que algunos destos

deben atinar al Archiduque Fernando: desto que digo no sé cosa cierta más de por conjeturas.

The more I think over this business, the more certain I am that everything depends upon the husband this woman may take. If he be a suitable one religious matters will go on well, and the kingdom will remain friendly to your Majesty, but if not it will all be spoilt. If she decides to marry out of the country she will at once fix her eyes on your Majesty, although some of them here are sure to pitch upon the Archduke Ferdinand (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 83; *Calendar*, Vol.1, 1-6).

Feria placed all of the importance on deciding the outcome of England's future in the decision Elizabeth made when choosing a husband since the ambassador believed that the entire country's future depended on her husband's religious beliefs. If Elizabeth married a Protestant, the country would precipitate to its doom; however, if she chose a good Catholic like Philip II or Archduke Ferdinand —son of the Emperor and member of the Habsburg family— the country would be taken down the righteous path. Without a doubt, Feria's religious beliefs were making him biased both in his views and in his reports. Philip was not obtaining a neutral and objective vision of the state of affairs in England; he was reaping what he had sowed: a biasedly narrow vision of the world that was constrained by religious preferences.

The ambassador did not only start to show his true colours in terms of religion but also concerning his views of life as a male who sat in a position of power due to his birthright. His situation would now become harder and more demanding than he had previously endured during the reign of Mary. The comings and goings of a reforming country, the preparations for the ascension of the Queen, and the negotiations for a marriage treaty made Feria's task hard to manage. In this scenario, the English constant changes and *mudanzas* became even more apparent than before and Feria went ahead and placed the root of that evil following his patriarchal and misogynistic views:

Yo recibo gran pena cada vez que me pongo á escrebir á V. M. por ver que no se puede escrebir de aquí cosa que dé contentamiento á V. M., como de tierra á donde no hay Rey sino Reina, y esa moza, y aunque es aguda, no prudente, y cada día se vá soltando más contra la Religion. El Reino está todo en poder de mozos y herejes y traidores; no favorece la Reina hombre á quien S. M., que haya gloria, hubiese dado buen lugar, ni recibe en su servicio ninguno de los que la sirvieron cuando era milady María.

It gives me great trouble every time I write to your Majesty not to be able to send more pleasing intelligence, but what can be expected from a country governed by a Queen, and she a young lass, who, although sharp, is without prudence, and is every day standing up against religion more openly? The kingdom is entirely in the hands of young folks, heretics and traitors, and the Queen does not favour a single man whom Her Majesty, who is now in heaven, would have received and will take no one into her service who served her sister when she was Lady Mary (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 90; *Calendar*, Vol.1, 7-21).

The problem with the country, according to Feria's views, stemmed from the lack of a male Prince that could be able to properly rule the island. Besides being a woman, a *flawed* choice of ruler, she was young, another characteristic traditionally unwanted in monarchs. Due to her youth, she lacked prudence, despite being acute. But the worst change of all was the religious shift. The realm was now turning away from the Old Faith and the Papal guidance, being reigned by heretics and traitors. The people upon whom the former Queen had placed her trust were nowhere to be seen in Elizabeth's cabinet and those were the reasons for Feria's sorrows.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Here we can see a prime example of the ambassador's bias when reporting the information. Feria's own opposition to Elizabeth's decisions made him believe that reality was worse than it actually was. He saw her as the breaker of the good deeds that had been done in England during the ruling of Mary and Philip. For the ambassador, Elizabeth was destabilizing the realm with her new polity and the re-establishing of Protestantism, so he struggled to see any good in her judgement. Elizabeth's Privy Council, appointed before her ascension in 1558, was made up of eighteen members. Out of those, ten had been Privy councillors during the reign of her half-sister and almost all of the rest had held important offices during either the reigns of Mary or Edward (Wernham 1966, 237).

Feria's views on policy and religion would have been known to any minister in Elizabeth's cabinet for, as has been stated before, he was a close confidant of both Mary and Philip during their marriage. These views made the English ministers and courtiers—especially the ones that supported the Henrician and Edwardian religious reforms and the shift from the Old Faith to the Anglican church—move away from the ambassador and his strong beliefs. This materialised in a lack of interaction between them and the ambassador, so Feria began to receive a cold treatment. Feria claimed in despair to his master: “Andan tan recatados de mí que no hay hombre que ose hablarme de todos ellos” [they are so suspicious of me that not a man amongst them dares to speak of me]. He will start using a new repertoire of words connected to the darkest sides of Hell, the occult, and Evil: “Verdaderamente huyen de mí como del diablo” [truly they run away from me as if I were the devil] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 91;92; *Calendar*, Vol.1, 7-21). It would become typical for ambassadors to use a concrete set of expressions when defining or characterising the situation and the English people. This set of words, in many cases, was filled with emotional content. According to Professor Rosenwein's views, this would be used and understood by the entirety of the Emotional Community and it would work as a representation of their particular emotional views concerning the situation. Words such as *heretics*, *devil*, *traitor*, and all their variations created a set of expressions widely used by the ambassadors known as *emotional vocabulary*. This vocabulary could then be used repeatedly and consistently by the following ambassadors, proving that the views of the Spanish diplomats at the English court had deeper layers of meaning than those attached to diplomacy, thus proving that the emotions that were embedded in the

information they reported was not an isolated example but a cohesive one that spanned throughout the entirety of the Spanish diplomatic network.

This cold treatment given to the ambassador continued for some time, and it would ultimately be a decisive factor in Philip's recall of Feria. The lack of information or the difficulty of its gathering put Feria in a dire situation. He was unable to fulfil his purpose as a resident ambassador because he could not get the information his King required; furthermore, the lack of information made him look like a fool, as his own words were: "Así temo que un día ha de remanecer [sic] casada esta mujer, y que yo he de ser el postrero que lo sepa en todo el lugar" [I am afraid that one fine day we shall find this woman married, and I shall be the last man in the place to know anything about it] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 105; *Calendar* Vol.1, 7-21). Even Elizabeth comes up to the ambassador to complain about his character and the possibility of sending a new relay: "[ha dicho la Reina] que soy muy altivo como verdadero español, que holgaría de que V. M. enviase aquí otro, y que yo me fuese" [that like a true Spaniard I was very proud, and she would be glad if your Majesty would recall me and send someone else] (Ibid). These lines illustrate the difficulty that ambassadors must overcome during their diplomatic missions and the ultimate risk that they run by being aggressive or persistent: their expulsion or recall. Furthermore, Elizabeth pointed out another trait outside of Feria's religious zealousness: his pride. Pride was a relevant trait for the Spanish ambassadors and an important factor in the deployment of their Diplomatic Emotionology, most clearly in the case of Bernardino de Mendoza, who would earn for himself a name in the English court for his pride, arrogance, and belligerence. The latter can already be seen in Feria's early dispatches where, faced with the constant veering and uncertainty of the situation,

the ambassador believed that: “Este Reino en la verdad est́ ḿs dispuesto para negociar en ́l con la espada en la mano que con mañas” [Really this country is more fit to be dealt with sword in hand than by cajolery] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 84; *Calendar* Vol.1, 1-6). All of these things combined, start to make Feria feel more concerned about his safety, even leading him to believe that: “me querian ver echado en el rio” [I believe they would like to see me thrown into the river] (Ibid, 106;7-21).

The uncertainty of this situation posed a threat to the proper fulfilment of Feria’s duties as an ambassador. Another important factor that seemed to plague the ambassadors and that appears to be intrinsic to the Spanish diplomatic network itself is the lack of correspondence during key times between the ambassadors and the King, particularly on Philip’s side. The King’s specific interest in handling, first-hand, every single piece of information that reached the court provoked that, in times of high volume of correspondence, the ambassadors had to wait for instructions for longer periods of time. Not everything must be blamed on the King, since the communication system, the courier, and the distance between the dominions of Philip II made the flow of information harder than with any other European power.<sup>11</sup> Anyhow, Feria begged the King for guidance in the form of letters:

Humildemente suplico a V. M. sea servido de mandar que con ḿs brevedad se me responda á mis cartas de ordinario porque la dilacion podŕ causar grandes inconvenientes al servicio de V. M.”

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<sup>11</sup> For a more thorough analysis of the system of communication between the Spanish dominions and its impact in the everyday course of embassies, see: Jensen 1964.

I humbly beg your Majesty to have my letters answered more promptly as the delay may cause much harm to your Majesty's service (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 112; *Calendar* Vol.1, 7-21).

This list of traits that describe the ambassador —his pride, his religious zeal, his patriarchal views of society, together with the aforementioned mutability of his counterparts and their government— are the standard data of analysis available for the rest of Feria's stay in England as a resident ambassador. The traits served as the foundations of his diplomatic characterization and their emotional component tainted his Diplomatic Emotionology. This pattern will be repeated throughout this study with the rest of the ambassadors with the aim of showing how the agency and subjectivity of the ambassadors, qualities intrinsically connected with the realm of emotion, will affect the outcome of the diplomatic interactions between the two countries.

Religion and the importance of supporting the Old Faith in opposition to the new one was the guiding line behind Feria's remaining years as ambassador, as has already been seen. The importance of religious beliefs for the ambassadors tended to show itself twofold: first, they regarded everything opposed to their beliefs as a threat and denied their value altogether; secondly, they furthered Catholicism in every manner possible, both by lawful and unlawful conducts, with the aim of obtaining the return of the country to the Catholic fold. This prefabricated image of crusading knights in the war for the defence of Catholicism came imposed by Philip, who, as a firm believer himself, constantly reminded the ambassadors of their duties in supporting and helping the Catholics in the British Isles:

No dejéis de favorecer secretamente y de somano á los católicos con algun dinero, dando todavía por otra parte buenas palabras á los herejes para descuidarlos y obrar á que no llamen á los franceses.

you will not fail to secretly favour the former and supply them underhandedly with money, whilst on the other hand you will give fair words to the heretics to put them off their guard and prevent them from calling in the French (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 144; *Calendar* Vol.1, 37-46).

This would be just one example in the case of Feria but, as things started to get grimmer for the Old Faith and its supporters in England, the King turned more demanding in his requests for the ambassadors to support and help the Catholics living in the isles. These pleas, in turn, would fog the diplomats' views concerning religious affairs in the country and the result would be a narrowly biased view of everything related to religion and the intrinsic need to eradicate the seed of Protestantism with the intention of returning the country to its former glory under the reign of Philip. This view of reality is perceptible in the way ambassadors interact during their diplomatic exchanges and it creates an emotional paradigm of opposition towards their counterparts by representing them as *evil*, *enemies*, *heretics*, or even *devils*, all of it showing the impact emotions have on diplomacy.

With these views in mind, Feria's reports continued to be filled with religious concerns. First, he believed —as in fact every other Spanish ambassador after him would— that the country was full of Catholics ready to support the King were he to call for them. Furthermore, the occultist connections appeared again when he claimed that the difficulties behind the settling of the marriage negotiations were due to: “invenciones del diablo y destos herejes que andan cabe la Reina” [inventions of the devil and of these heretics who surround the Queen] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 130; *Calendar*



Vol.1, 26-36). The first Elizabethan Parliament had been summoned on January of 1559 so the ambassador found it necessary to analyse the character of those called for their parliamentary duty: “es de personas escogidas en todo el Reino los más herejes y perversos” [consists of persons chosen throughout the country as being the most perverse and heretical] (Ibid, 131; 26-26). The members of the high Chamber, the nobles of the realm, were also characterized by Feria as young or afflicted by heresy. Elizabeth also had to deal with vacancies caused by her religious settlement, meaning that there was a vacancy of twelve bishoprics needing appointing. Feria complained to his King saying that they would be filled by: “doce ministros de Lucifer” [twelve bishoprics... as many ministers of Lucifer] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 132; *Calendar* Vol.1, 26-36).

These biased views concerning religion can not only be seen in targeting policy or government decisions but also in the judging of certain ministers of the Elizabethan inner circle. For this first half of the Elizabethan reign, the person that stood out from the rest of his colleagues and members of the government as the one with the most power and the ability to sway both policy and Queen was William Cecil. He was targeted by almost all Spanish ambassadors as the figure behind the royal power; the one with utmost control of the Queen and her decisions; ultimately, the one in control of the English realm. However, these views were certainly biased and, though the ambassadors recognized Cecil's capabilities as a minister and statesman, they despised him for his religious beliefs: “es de muy buen entendimiento, aunque maldito hombre y hereje” [very clever but a mischievous man and a heretic] and “es tan pestilencial bellaco” [a pestilent knave] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 87, 138;157; *Calendar* Vol.1, 37-46;46-64). William Cecil was indeed, in many cases, the most prominent figure behind Elizabethan policy

and, to a great extent, the mastermind behind many of the English successes. Nevertheless, as proven by recent studies of his figure and importance for the policy taken during the first half of the Elizabethan period, ambassadors overestimated the power and control that Cecil had over the Queen (Alford 2002).

Feria's main mission for the rest of his embassy would be to try and obtain a deal in the marriage situation surrounding Elizabeth, either to get her to marry his King or to procure a husband that sat under the comfort of the Spanish Empire. He would not be able to achieve either of these goals, which, together with the consistent cold treatment received at court for his tight connections with the former Queen, made Philip II decide to call him back to the Spanish court and send a new ambassador liable of a fresh start.<sup>12</sup> Before getting to this point, though, the importance of courtship has to be analysed since it remained a central characteristic of Elizabeth's diplomatic interactions with foreign countries. It has already been mentioned that an unmarried queen such as Elizabeth was calling the attention of every possible suitor throughout Europe. From this point onwards: "courtship would now become one of the most useful gambits in the game of diplomacy, and marriage could be either the supreme masterstroke or the most fatal blunder of statesmanship" (Wernham 1966, 235). A young and pretty woman that ruled a country by herself was an exquisite gem for any Prince willing to woo Elizabeth; in fact, a saying

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<sup>12</sup> The King acknowledged the change in scenario and saw that the ambassador could not be able to achieve his mission so a relay might be the best option: "estoy determinado de ordenaros que os vengais, pues habiéndose mudado las cosas de la manera que sabeis, no hay para qué os hayais de detener más ahí" [I am determined to order you to come back having things changed so much, as you know, that there is no reason for your delaying any longer there] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 165. My translation).

of the time portrayed her as the best suit in her parish. Courtship became Elizabeth's tool of choice when faced with diplomatic troubles; she indeed used the likelihood of marriage as a mechanism to stall or snare any possible threat aimed at her country as in the face of war; the Queen could be used: "as an owl with which to lure birds" (Whitelock 2010, 36). The game of courtship was directed by a woman but the players were all men and they were willing to go to any lengths to obtain their prize; even Feria claimed so: "por una mujer hacian los hombres más que por ninguna otra cosa" [I said that men did more for a woman than for anything else] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 138; *Calendar* Vol.1, 37-46). Marriage suits were at the centre of the interactions; an ambassador came to the English court offering their Prince as a possible husband for Elizabeth and the game was afoot. Constant meetings, audiences, letters, and talks were exchanged between the two parties; Elizabeth expressed her real or performed interest in the suitor, but the dealings would never come to fruition. Amidst the diplomatic dealings, the ambassadors, in this case, the Count of Feria, started to voice a number of complaints that he found intrinsic to the dealings. For example, Feria thought it to be impossible to deal with the Queen due to her mutable nature as a woman and the uselessness of her advisers:

es gran trabajo negociar con esta mujer, porque de su natural es variable, y los que andan cabo ella están tan ciegos y tan bestiales, que de ninguna manera entienden el estado de sus cosas.

it is very troublesome to negotiate with this woman, as she is naturally changeable, and those who surround her are so blind and bestial that they do not at all understand the state of affairs (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87,180; *Calendar* Vol.1, 46-64).

The question of marriage did not simply end here; it required the appearance of a key character in the life and reign of Elizabeth, and a crucial one regarding the marriage of

the Queen: Robert Dudley. The intricacies of their relationship and the likelihood that they had or were to have a private relationship will not be tackled here; however, it is necessary to understand the importance of this possible relationship and the position in which it placed Robert Dudley, not only as a character in the game of courtship, but also as an essential element in the diplomatic and political dealings of the country. One of Feria's last reports before leaving the island was indeed about the possibility that the Queen might marry Dudley instead of another suitor:

A veces dá á a entender que se quiere casar con él [Archiduque Fernando] y que no es mujer ella que ha de tomar sino gran Príncipe; tras esto dicen que está enamorada de Milort Roberto y nunca le aparta de sí.

Sometimes she appears to want to marry him [Archduke Ferdinand], and speaks like a woman who will only accept a great prince, and then they say she is in love with Lord Robert and never lets him leave her (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87,180; *Calendar* Vol.1, 46-64).

Though not directly connected with the diplomatic interactions of the period or the personal characteristics of the Spanish ambassadors, it is crucial to mention the importance of the marriage suits in the development of Elizabethan polity. The view of the Queen concerning marriage will be a topic of conversation with future Spanish ambassadors, although the Queen herself started her reign with a pre-determined and unmovable view of marriage, with famous claims such as: “a marble stone shall declare that a queen, having reigned such a time, lived and died a virgin”; “I am already bound unto a husband, which is the kingdom of England”; “And so I assure you all that though after my death you may have many stepdames, yet shall never have any more mother than I mean to be unto you all” (Elizabeth 2000, 58;59;72). These famous lines were uttered by the Queen during the first months of her reign and set her start as the famous icon of

the Virgin Queen. The truth behind these remarks cannot be proven beyond reasonable doubt; however, they serve as a clear socio-political mechanism to aid in the creation of a persona beyond just a female monarch with no husband. There is not enough room in this analysis to properly explain the cult of the Virgin Queen or the so-called Cult of Gloriana. Nevertheless, its impact can be seen not only on the sociocultural representations of the court and people of the time, but also on the correspondence of the ambassadors. Elizabeth's persona got so tightly connected to her actual self that the separation of both was virtually impossible. The deployment of the myth, the creation of images, portraits, songs, poems, and any other kind of cultural representation served as a tool to normalize a peculiar sight in the eyes of many. Elizabethan England vested its powers in male figures, so it was: "inevitable that the rule of a woman who was unmastered by any man would generate peculiar tensions within such a 'patriarchal' society" (Veesser 1989, 112). What made Elizabeth different from any other monarch was turned in her favour and was made to serve her as a political tool with which to stabilize her realm and her power:

Queen Elizabeth was a cultural anomaly; and this anomalousness - at once divine and monstrous - made her powerful, and dangerous. By the skillful deployment of images that were at once awesome and familiar, this perplexing creature tried to mollify her male subject while enhancing her authority over them (Montrose 1983, 78).<sup>13</sup>

This vortex of religious concerns, political dealings, and sociocultural representations created the scenario where Feria directly dealt with the Queen about the

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<sup>13</sup> Many researchers have studied the importance of female representation, its meaning, and its victories in the Elizabethan period with various levels of accomplishment. See: Bassnett 1989; Frye 1993; Gent & Llewellyn 1995.

possible marriage with Philip. Elizabeth's acceptance of Philip as a husband would come as a hard pill to swallow since, among other things, her father had divorced Philip's great-aunt to marry Anne Boleyn. Furthermore, the Spanish King had been married to Elizabeth's half-sister, so a Papal dispensation would have to be obtained. Asking for a dispensation would confirm Elizabeth's recognition of Papal authority, something that neither she nor her country was ready to accept. Thus, the Queen decided to softly reject the offer by telling the ambassador that she could never marry her brother-in-law and that a Catholic king such as Philip would never take a heretic wife like herself. In this conversation with the Queen, surprisingly enough, the Count directly told Elizabeth that he would have never believed her to be a heretic. Feria regarded Elizabeth—at least during the early stages of her reign—as a puppet under the control of the lords and noblemen of the country since the Queen would not be able to actively rule due to her sex. Elizabeth was not an intrinsically heretical figure to the ambassador but a figurehead that exerted the will of the members of her council who were indeed *heretics*. This is why Feria had been reporting to his King that the country was ruled by traitors and heretics that did with the Queen as they pleased (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 137).

To end with Feria's period as an ambassador at the English court and to properly examine the whole picture of the Spanish Diplomatic Emotionology, I will now proceed with the analysis of emotions and their use in international relations. As stated in the theoretical framework above, emotions play a key role in shaping diplomatic interactions due to their personal and individual characteristics. Emotions have a performative character that can be seen in an array of diplomatic exchanges where either the ambassador or their counterpart portray a real or performed emotion with the goal of

impacting or influencing the receptor. This idea can be directly connected to the ceremonial character of diplomacy and the rituals attached to it. Ceremonial revolves around a set of given parameters, actions, and answers that are performed and reacted to in a particular way according to tradition and arbitrary laws. In this sense, and drawing on the psychological aspects of emotions, we arrive at a term known as *stroking*. This is understood by experts in the fields of emotions and international relations as the intent of an agent to reassure their interlocutor of their sincerity and good intentions. Combined with emotions and the performance already attached to both diplomacy and diplomats, we can understand *stroking* as the portrayal of a certain number of emotions or emotion words that aim at transmitting to the other party a sense of goodwill and truthfulness. As with anything else in the realm of diplomacy, the veracity or falsity of this characteristic cannot be clearly ascertained; however, it is part of the deployment of the Spanish Diplomatic Emotionology and serves its purpose in swaying and veering the negotiations toward a particular outcome.

Feria, as well as the rest of the Spanish ambassadors, used this performative emotional component with the aim of either discouraging Elizabeth from taking certain decisions or concealing his own intentions with the aim of avoiding a diplomatic outrage. This double-sided character or the uncertainty of finding the real face of the ambassador was a constant characteristic of these diplomatic exchanges: “no me ha parecido hablar de veras á la Reina” [I have thought best not to speak in earnest to the Queen]. This sort of interaction was consistent throughout the period as a mechanism the ambassadors used to keep the Queen “sabrosa y contenta” [pleasant and in good humour] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87. 129;151; *Calendar* Vol.1, 26-36;37-46). In order to keep the

Queen happy and receptive to the Spanish interests, the ambassador had to continue masking his true interests by embracing his acting role and mixing both truth and fiction: “procure de hacelle toda la sombra que pude, siempre fué teniendo respecto á no airalla” [Although I tried to frighten her all I could, I kept in view the necessity of not offending her] (Ibid, 177; 46-64). Not telling the Queen their real intentions or, at least, hiding them behind a veil of sheer deceit was fundamental for the proper outcome of the diplomats’ mission; however, this was not exclusively available to the Spanish diplomats since the Queen herself will also frequently use this emotional *stroking* by faking or shadowing her true intentions or feelings: “el enojo todo era fingido, que muy contenta está” [but her anger was all pretended, and she is really very much pleased] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 147; *Calendar* Vol.1, 37-46). Feria also went ahead and directly performed the aforementioned *stroking* with the intention of convincing the Queen. He might have been under the belief that by expressing his discomfort and disagreement to Elizabeth he would manage to change her mind; thus, he decided to try and make the Queen feel guilty about her actions: “Despedíme della aquella dia con decille, que no era ella la Reina Elisabet que yo conocia y que iba muy mal satisfecho de lo que le habia oido, y que se perderia si lo hacia” [I took my leave saying that she was not the Queen Elizabeth that I knew and that I was very dissatisfied with what I had heard, and if she did what she said she would be ruined] (Ibid, 138;37-46).

Once more, and before ending his English embassy, Feria embodied the already-known feelings of Spanish pride and superiority. These feelings can be observed in two different sets of data. First, the ambassador believed that the country lived in a constant state of fear of foreign powers; especially during the second half of the Elizabethan reign,



the Spanish ambassadors claimed that the country lived in fear of a possible Spanish invasion. For the diplomats, the English people represented fright: “dígoles porque V. M. vea de la manera que estos están temerosos y sospechosos” [I say this to show how suspicious and distrustful they are]. On the other hand, the pride of the ambassadors can also be seen through their belief that, without their help, the country would be doomed: “entienda bien como están perdidos si yo no los amparo y defiendo” [so that they may understand thoroughly that they are ruined unless I succour and defend them] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87. 137;174; *Calendar* Vol.1, 37-46;46-64.). Both of these feelings would be equally decisive in the development and deployment of the Spanish Diplomatic Emotionology. Feria is just the first of the six Spanish resident ambassadors that this study will tackle, and the goal is to state that these initial ideas, emotions, and beliefs, create a continuous pattern for the rest of the Spanish embassies during this period. He was the first Spanish diplomat that worked with Elizabeth and, undoubtedly, his influence was crucial both for courtiers back in Spain and for the relays that would eventually take his place at the English court, so isolating his emotional interactions with the Queen serves as a tool to establish the long-lasting, hard-wired emotions that recurred throughout the Anglo-Spanish interactions of the period.

#### 4. The settling of the relationship

The next Spanish resident ambassador at the court of Elizabeth I was Álvaro de la Quadra, also known as the Bishop of Aquila. Quadra was a native of Naples and he had previously served the Empire and Philip's father during the decade of 1550. His diplomatic missions took him to places all over the Empire's dominions until he landed in England around 1553. When King Philip II started considering potential replacements for the Count of Feria, Quadra came up as a possibility for reasons of experience and closeness. In fact, during Feria's last year as a resident ambassador, Álvaro de la Quadra was placed in his trust and confidence, and both started to work closely together. A letter undated in the Spanish archives that is believed to be placed around February and March of 1559 collects a memoranda of the state of affairs, the main characters at the English court and their traits, together with definitions and descriptions of the Queen. This memorandum was made for the new ambassador to provide for him an easier acclimatization to his future diplomatic mission. As the personal correspondence aimed to enlighten a new member of the Spanish diplomatic network, the tone of the writer is anything but humble or delicate. The letter describes the nobility as a band of younglings and heretics, and the Queen as an indecisive, wanton, Catholic-hated, and acute woman that has no desire to marry but controls a sophisticated network of informants. The memoranda and Quadra's early time as Feria's helping hand had, by this time, already served their purpose by shaping the character of the ambassador to match Spanish Diplomatic Emotionology. Even before Quadra stepped into an audience with the Queen as a permanent ambassador at her court, he was already biased by the religious beliefs

and the Spanish pride that we have previously come across (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 131-136).

The decision to recall Feria and allow Quadra to take the next residency at the English court was a necessary change due to Feria's incapability —probably by his already-known character among the English ministers— to further the fulfilment of a marriage plan. Choosing Quadra as a relay was also the most convenient option since he had some diplomatic experience and, most importantly, he was already on the island. However, as will happen with many of the other Spanish diplomats sent to England, the King based their appointment on tradition, class or social status, or even suggestions from other important members of the Spanish diplomatic service as was the case with Antonio de Guaras, who ended up appointed as diplomatic liaison in England for his years of service to the Crown and the English ambassadors rather than for his diplomatic career or social position. The King used all of these different factors to appoint diplomats rather than focusing on their actual diplomatic skills or on the specific character required for the job. This doesn't mean that ambassadors such as Quadra, Spes, or Mendoza were bad diplomats *per se* or that they were incapable of performing their duties; the misjudging of the King came down to the unsuitability of character, traits, or even the religious zealotness of the ambassador that would fog their judgement and ultimately make them unable to fulfil the mission. To send an adamant fighter, an untrained noble, or a zealous bishop in times of uncertainty and potential war, can only be regarded as having misjudged their characters and skills, something that scholars have proven to be crucial for diplomatic exchanges: "The roles and personalities of these men were crucial, and we must know them to fully understand the course of international relations" (Bell 1976, 93).

By not knowing the personalities of certain ambassadors, Spanish diplomacy was doomed to fail due to confrontations and misunderstandings of character. To prove this, I will proceed to analyse the diplomatic exchanges of Álvaro de la Quadra during his period as a resident ambassador to illustrate that the characteristics and emotions of the Diplomatic Emotionology share core attributes leading to a common outcome.

By the end of March 1559, Quadra had his first official audience with Elizabeth as a Spanish resident ambassador. His main duties for the time were to further the possible marriage between the Queen and the Empire —by this time, and after Elizabeth’s rejection, Philip had decided to drop his suit and had finally married Elizabeth of Valois—and to protect Catholic interests in the country. Following Feria’s footsteps and perhaps also sharing a similar nature, the Bishop was ultimately known for being bold, upfront, and somewhat arrogant in his remarks about the Queen and her ministers. His position and office as a Catholic minister might have been a key factor in his entitlement and abruptness when dealing with the Queen; a boldness that led the ambassador to offer his religiously-biased unwanted counsel to the Queen on a regular basis. Quadra knew that he was dealing with an increasingly Protestant country led towards a frontal confrontation against both the Old Faith and Papal authority. His religious beliefs made him follow an overzealous path and he might have believed himself to be morally superior to the rest of the *heretics*, including the Queen, thus allowing him to guide them with his knowledge. This can be seen in Quadra’s first audience with Elizabeth, where he began to show his patronizing behaviour: “fuese contenta de mirar cuánto le convenia y cuán bien estaba á todas las partes su casamiento con uno de los hijos del Emperador” [to consider how suitable in all respects would be her marriage with a son of the Emperor] (Rayón and

Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 87, 193; *Calendar* Vol.1, 64-78). Later on, and during that very same talk, Quadra returned to the marriage question with the same tone as that of his previous statement. Here, he also opted to use the emotional component to try and coerce the Queen into marrying one of the sons of the Emperor:

La dije me perdonase si el deseo que V. M. tenía de ver buena conclusion en este negocio de su casamiento me hacia *atrevido*, pues era con tanta razon, y que le *suplicaba* que en este negocio tan grave y tan importante al bien y tranquilidad de su reino y de los vecinos, tuviese consideracion á que los Reyes *no podian siempre hacer lo que querian conforme á sus apetitos* en perjuicio de sus súbditos sin hacerles manifiesta injuria y pecar gravemente, por lo cual, no habia de tomar cuenta con su inclinacion sola en lo de su casamiento, sino *mirar al daño y perdición que resultaria* de hacerlo así á su Reino.

I returned to her and asked her pardon, but said your Majesty's earnest desire to see this marriage brought about made me *bold*, as I had good reason to be, and I *begged* her to consider that in a matter of this gravity touching the welfare and tranquillity of their kingdoms and those of their neighbours kings and queens *could not always follow their own desires* to the prejudice of those of their subjects without doing great wrong and grievous sin, and therefore she should not consult her own inclination about her marriage but should *look at the ruin that would come* to her country by her doing so (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 196; *Calendar* Vol.1, 64-78).<sup>1</sup>

This passage contains an ample amount of information concerning the quality of the diplomatic interactions. First, Quadra continued with his pride or entitlement when offering the Queen unrequested advice; furthermore, the advice was not gentle or subtle but quite abrupt: the ambassador told Elizabeth what she should do, who she should be marrying, and, ultimately, how to be a Queen. Perhaps, as an attempt to reduce the rudeness in these remarks, the ambassador resorted to using, again, a series of emotion

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<sup>1</sup> From this point onward the italics used in the quotations from the *Documentos Inéditos* will be my own and used to emphasise emotional vocabulary and emotion words with the intention of signalling the similarities and differences that exist in the ambassadors' letters.

words that entailed apologetic and pleading meanings, with the possible aim of —by the aforementioned use of *stroking*— reassuring the Queen of his truthfulness and goodwill. It has already been stated that emotions have a social component to them and that their existence does not occur in a vacuum but in a scenario that is formed by pre-existing traits and beliefs, which can be impacted by the use of emotions. Emotions are part of society and its individuals since they: “play a significant role in world politics, shaping how individuals and collectives are socialized and interact with each other” (Hutchinson & Bleiker 2014, 507). Emotions, as seen by the social-constructivism field, are part of everyday interactions that are learned and practised throughout everyone’s life. They are learned to be used within particular scenarios with the aim of obtaining a certain outcome; thus, ambassadors also learned how to use them to accomplish their diplomatic missions: “emotion-as-practice is learned, meaning that feelings are transferred between people intergenerationally or through socializing processes between adults” (Scheer 2012, 218). Following this, Quadra decided to apologize for his remarks (*me perdonase*) since he had to follow Philip’s will to see the business fulfilled, which made him bold (*atrevido*). By apologizing for his words before uttering them and by placing importance on his performing his duties as an ambassador, Quadra aimed to reduce the harsh impact of his words. Furthermore, he continued to patronize the Queen by telling her how to behave as a monarch and warning her against the ruin that her wantonness might bring to the country. This was not only a show of entitlement on the part of the ambassador, who effectively told the Queen she did not know how to perform her royal duties, but it also served another emotional component: making her afraid of her own decision-making. The Spanish ambassadors, especially at the later stages of the Anglo-Spanish interactions

when the war was looming on the horizon, resorted to threatening the English with war, doom, and destruction. This, as part of the Spanish Diplomatic Emotionology, aimed to coerce them into accepting their demands hoping that fear and not rationality would drive English hands.

Despite the importance that marriage negotiations and courtship had throughout these early stages of the Elizabethan reign, the question of religion could not be forgotten. Only a couple of months after Quadra effectively began his duties as ambassador, Philip sent him a letter asking him, as it would become the norm with every other ambassador, to take care of religion and to extend his religious concerns to the Queen least he should resort to action:

En lo de la Religion, que es lo principal, he visto lo que me escribís, y háme dado gran *pena* entender que de cada dia vaya creciendo el *daño* [...] no quiero dejar de enviarle tambien á decir que, por el *peligro* que á mis propias cosas nascerà dél de las suyas, si brevemente no muda camino, seré *forzado* tomar consejo sobre lo que deberé hacer, porque á su causa, y sin que dello á ella se le siga provecho, mis Estados no hayan de recibir *daño*, como es evidente que sucederá.

Respecting religion, which is the principle thing of all I note what you say, and I greatly *regret* that the *danger* becomes daily greater [...] but also because I must say that the *danger* which will arise to me from her proceedings, if she do [sic] not change her ways very shortly, will *force* me to take counsel as to my action to avoid *harm* to my own dominions which will certainly be *damaged* without any advantage to her (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 213-214; *Calendar* Vol.1, 81-91).

Philip believed, from the early stages of the Anglo-Spanish diplomatic interactions during the reign of Elizabeth I, that the likelihood of appeasement of his dominions in the Low Countries would be somewhat dependent on the religious views established in England. As it will be proven, England and its support of Protestant views will be fundamental for the enduring of the revolts in the Spanish dominions, so Philip was right in being wary of

Elizabeth and her religious settlement. The direct correlation between the English support of Protestantism among the European nations and the impossibility of the Spanish dominions to be settled down in terms of religion forced every single Spanish ambassador placed at the English court to deal with this religious matter as their main duty. The diplomatic scenario was then ruled by the two main concerns: courtship —dealing with the possibility of marrying Elizabeth to some relative or ally to Philip II— and religion, forcing the ambassadors to pivot between this duality. Understanding that these diplomatic interactions had to deal with the character and emotions of the ambassadors entailed that these concerns —courtship and religion— also gave rise to feelings and emotions. The appearance of these took control of the forefront of diplomatic interactions and provided deeper layers of meaning as part of not only diplomatic exchanges but also of human interactions.

As we see, Quadra's issues did not differ greatly from his predecessor's: he also had to deal with matters of marriage and courtship, with the persistent uncertainty this entailed. The question of deceit was an ever-present issue in the marriage negotiations. By this point, the end of the summer of 1559, everyone was trying to get Elizabeth's hand for their own Prince. The Spanish diplomat reported that there were around twelve people, at a given point, in the English court trying to further their own marriage suits, especially during the first years of the reign. Sweden, for instance, was always a strong contender for the Queen's hand.<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth's mastery of courtship and deceit was quite impressive,

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<sup>2</sup> The Swedish marriage suit was firstly proposed to Elizabeth during her half-sister's reign, when the Swedish ambassador directly approached Elizabeth without Mary's permission. This could be considered a treasonable offense, so, after the discovery of the information the Swedish suit had to be put to an end. This only lasted until Elizabeth's



and the Spanish ambassador described how the Swedish diplomats were being fooled by the Queen in matters of marriage. He believed that Elizabeth played a double role in courtship: first, she dealt with any contender as if she were to marry their Prince; afterwards, she performed this willingness to marry with the aim of stalling time. This would mean that, for most of the time, the ambassadors were kept in the dark concerning the true beliefs of the Queen and the ultimate outcome of the negotiations:

Lo demás del casamiento fué ocasion buscada, porque lo que dice es burla y no sabemos nada de ello [...] Los Embajadores de Suecia se van muy quejosos y agraviados porque *creo* que ha llegado á su noticia que burlaban en Palacios dellos, y la Reina mejor que los demás.

the talk about the marriage was merely an excuse for coming. What he says about it is nonsense [...] The Swedish ambassadors are leaving much aggrieved and offended, as I believe it was brought to their notice that they were being made fun of in the palace, and by the Queen more than by anybody (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 230-231; *Calendar* Vol.1, 91-95).

The fact that the ambassador only believed (*creo*) this information and was not truly certain about it, implies that the source might have been external, thus making its veracity questionable. Quadra pointed to the Queen as the only one to blame for her own deceit and evasion.

Together with the possibility of it all being a performance on the part of the Queen and her court, the ambassador also found it important to express in his correspondence with the King the views that the Queen was sharing with him in terms of marriage. Elizabeth told the ambassador, first, that she would become a nun before marrying

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ascension to the throne, when the Swedish ambassadors came back to England to ask once more for the hand of the Queen (Doran 1996, 20-21).

someone she did not know; together with this, she also decided to embrace the passive role in the relationship and to wait for the wooer to court her (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 197-200;237-240). This determination to personally know her husband-to-be might have a double reasoning behind it. For one, Elizabeth knew how important looks could be in accepting a husband and how easily a skilled painter could hide the reality of one's appearance.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, for a monarch to send their son to a country to woo a queen without the necessary evidence to solidify the trip into a marriage would put them in a position of weakness and ridicule; thus, if Elizabeth indeed only wanted to use courtship as a mechanism to obtain diplomatic dealings and benefit her kingdom without ever committing to a marriage, asking for Princes to go see her in person acted as a deterrent for many. In this scenario of diplomatic duplicity, Quadra was moved to believe that Elizabeth would take the Archduke as her husband. He believed that Elizabeth's request to see the Archduke before marriage was a clear sign that she was willing to take him as a husband for: "no le quiere ver para desecharle y ofender con ello á V. M. y al Rey" [ she has not consented to receive the Archduke for the purpose of refusing him and offending your Majesty and the King my master]. Quadra was purely basing his report on conjecture since he told the Emperor that: "puede enviarle [the Archduke], porque aunque no es más que *conjetura*, las circunstancias son tantas y tales que la hace demostracion manifiesta" [our Majesty may well send him on this *conjecture* for, although it is no more

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<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth claimed throughout her whole life that she refused to marry anyone that she had not seen previously. This was one of the obstacles in the suit with the Empire, among others. This rigidity might come through previous experience when her own father had refused Anne of Cleves for her looks or when Philip was deceived by Mary's real appearance.

than a *conjecture*, the circumstances are such as to make it a manifest demonstration]. Supported by no evidence, the ambassador suggested the Emperor should send his son to England with a clear pretext of marrying Elizabeth. He might have been reducing this whole affair to common sense and basic diplomatic interaction, since, after stating these, he gave the Emperor the only reasons that might be behind Elizabeth's unlikely refusal of the Archduke: “la pasión, y el ser ella mujer, y tan *puntosa y porfiada* [sic] como lo es [...] al último, no es más que una mujer mal aconsejada y *apasionada* [as she is a woman, and a *spirited* and *obstinate* woman too, passion has to be considered [...] she is, in short, only a *passionate* ill-advised woman (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 241; *Calendar* Vol.1, 97-109). The ambassador, once more, was basing his diplomatic interactions on prefabricated ideas of women's nature and their ‘lack’ of skills for ruling a country. He was also erasing Elizabeth's agency or knowledge by placing the fault of her reasoning in her lack of proper advice. Despite all of this, the ambassador firmly believed that the Queen would marry the Archduke: “esta curiosidad no la tendria si no pensase que este casamiento habia de tener efecto” [the Queen now remains without a shadow of misgiving on the point, and I am in great hope that it would not have occurred to her unless she thought the marriage would take place] (Ibid, 247;97-109). This should be enough proof to ascertain how biased the reasoning and judgement of the ambassadors were: Quadra had no real proof of the viability of the marriage and he had already stated the mutability and performance of the Queen in terms of courtship, yet he firmly believed she would marry the son of the Emperor.

Quadra continued to develop his character along the harshest line within the diplomatic system, being one of the most abrupt and stubborn members of the Spanish

diplomatic network of the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, who stood out not only for his zealous religious beliefs but also for his crude descriptions and definitions of the Queen and her representatives. He continued uttering comments along the lines of the aforementioned diminishing remarks about Elizabeth's nature and character and her unfitness to rule due to her sex. Concerning the possibility of Elizabeth's marriage with the Archduke and due to its difficulty and lack of definite resolve, the Bishop charged once more directly against the Queen: "no tiene ni seso ni conciencia" [in the case of a woman of brains and conscience with which this one is not troubled]. Perhaps the ambassador found Elizabeth's lack of resolution infuriating, most likely true according to his opposition to women's rule; definitely, he was in disagreement with the Queen quite often, which led him to say: "no he podido escusar de dar voces con ella algunas veces y mostra poco contentamiento de lo que hace y dice" [I have not been able to refrain from speaking out and showing discontent of her words and actions]. Neither diplomat nor Queen saw eye to eye with regard to these enterprises. Her sex, nature, and, most importantly, her religion, only obtained more negative remarks on the part of the Bishop: "pienso tiene cien mil *demonios* en el cuerpo" [I think must have a hundred thousand *devils* in her body]. Religious discrepancies, as it can be seen, were a constant occurrence in the everyday life of the Spanish ambassadors. Their adamant opposition to Protestantism turned its supporters directly into the devil incarnate or associates to the destruction of the Old faith (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 87, 152; 273;268; *Calendar* Vol.1, 97-109;122-132;117-120).

Quadra's main mission continued to be the fulfilment of Elizabeth's marriage with the son of the Emperor, but the matter turned out to be quite complex. Only one month

had elapsed between Quadra's report in which, with certainty, he asked the Emperor to send the Archduke to England to finalize the marriage with the Queen. However, he had now taken a complete turn in his beliefs and reported completely the opposite. First, he stated that the Queen told him she wanted to know the Archduke first before marrying, but a meeting would not guarantee the union. According to the ambassador, the Queen wanted to know the son of the Emperor because: "ella pensaba verle agora y tenerle conocido para cuando le viniese gana de casarse" [what she intended was only to see and know him now, for when she might feel inclined to marry]. This report had nothing to do with the previous one he had sent; in fact, in this case, it looked as if Elizabeth wanted to keep the Archduke on a shelf, waiting for a swing in her mood to see if she should marry him. Furthermore, Quadra believed that:

algunos creen, y yo entre ellos, despues que veo lo que acá pasa en su casa, que tampoco piensa efectuar aquel casamiento, sino que pensará entretener al vulgo con aquella esperanza y asegurar con ello la vida á Milord Robert.

some believe, and I amongst them from what I see going on in her house, that she is not in earnest, but only wants to amuse the crowd with the hope of the match in order to save the life of Lord Robert (Ibid, 259;263-4; 109-117).

Put into perspective with previous comments about the mutability and undecidedness of the English ministers and their Queen, Quadra now seemed to also be affected by those constant changes. It was not only that their policies and decisions may vary from one day to another, but that the ambassadors may also end up believing, and thus, reporting the wrong thing. Even though every single ambassador, Spanish or not, was aware of the mutating character of the Queen, they might still get caught in one of her performances and believe something that would never happen.

In such an uncertain scenario, ambassadors were desperate for orders coming from the motherland. Quadra also found himself asking Philip for letters of guidance and help, seeing himself unable to fulfil his task without further advice. On the one hand, the ambassador tried to report every piece of information he could get his hand on in case it might prove useful. He believed himself to be entitled to say anything he might think or feel related to the business, which ultimately led him to confront ministers and Queen alike:

Los que estamos presentes en los negocios, somos obligados á decir todo lo que sentimos, sin temer de parecer imprudentes, y tras esto á obedecer y ejecutar puntualmente lo que se nos manda.

because I thought that we who are on the spot are bound to say all we feel, even though we may be called imprudent, and thereafter strictly to obey and fulfil the orders we receive (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 265; Calendar Vol.1, 122-132).

However, not having his King's orders at the ready delayed his effectiveness in the negotiation: "Yo á esto no sé lo que decir, porque como há tanto dias que no tengo cartas de V. M., no sé á dónde encaminar mis acciones" [I do not know how to act, and in order not to err I adopt the plan of staying at home and signifying displeasure both about the war and the marriage] (Ibid 273;109-117).

Quadra's embassy was impacted by the marriage suits from beginning to end. The importance placed on the need of marrying the Queen diminished with time and with Elizabeth's ageing; however, the early stages of the Elizabethan reign placed crucial importance on finding her a suitable husband to increase the stability of the realm and its longevity by obtaining a possible heir to the Tudor dynasty. In this game of diplomacy

where courtship had become the ultimate tool of choice for the Queen in order to deal with foreign diplomats, the ambassadors, in this case, Quadra, found themselves having to deal with the possibility that Elizabeth might be masking her interests and performing an act towards outside diplomatic viewers. In this scenario, performance and fiction became aspects of utmost importance. Gathering information, reporting the state of affairs to King Philip, or even understanding the goal of the Queen proved tricky. If the Queen was not showing her true colours to the negotiators and if she was, in fact, putting on an act and faking her interest in having a husband whatsoever, acquiring truthful information became extremely complicated for the diplomats due to the inherent fictional or performed character of the news available to them. Quadra defined this in one of his letters to the King in which the information that was being reported had been obtained by a more complex mechanism: “No ha sido declarado por complete expreso, sino por palabras narrativas” [appears to have been declared not expressly or formally, but by inference] (Ibid, 308;171-174). This particular passage seems to prove that Quadra himself was aware of the fictional essence of diplomacy and the performative character intrinsic to diplomatic exchanges. On this line of thought, we have mentioned Timothy Hampton’s (2012) work, which stands out as a clever study of the importance of fiction in the understanding of diplomacy as a whole and diplomats and their embassies in particular. Furthermore, this study establishes the fictional character of embassies and ambassadors due to the close connection that both fiction and diplomacy have with literature and the written word. The closeness with a stage and the performance of actors is something intrinsic in the understanding of diplomatic exchanges and Quadra stated this in his report. He did not acquire the information clearly, it was not directly and plainly

told to him in an audience; however, he deciphered that meaning, perhaps, from hints given by the speakers, by analysing the context, or by reading between the lines. No matter how he obtained the information, he did connect the words with their fictional characteristics. It was this fictionality and performance that the ambassadors were faced with during their period in England.

As time went by, the ambassador moved farther and farther away from his previous certainty in the fulfilment of Elizabeth's marriage with the Archduke. Quadra's time at the English court might be proving useful in his getting used to the mutability and duplicity of its members. Perhaps, further dealings with the Queen had allowed the ambassador to see through her and understand her real motives behind the negotiations. Regardless, Quadra believed that the Queen was just playing with both the suitors and the ambassadors and that her ultimate aim was to play for time:

Ella rie de entrambos; no sé si *disumula*; lo que yo creo es que no se casará por ahora á lo menos [...] En el negocio del Archiduque Cárlos, en el cual la Reina nos *engañó* á entrambos [...] Serian todas *palabras* y *engaños* como otras veces.

She laughs at both of them, but I do not know whether she is dissembling or not. I, for my part, do not think she will marry, at all events for the present [...] in the matter of the Archduke when the Queen had *deceived* both of us [...] but that I expected for sure that it would end as before only in talk and *trickery* (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 87, 302;314;335; *Calendar* Vol.1, 163-171;178-180;191-199).

Same as it happened with emotions and their written representation —mostly the creation of a set of emotion words to represent Emotionology— the wording proves paramount for the complete understanding of these interactions. The particular wording that the ambassador used —we could categorize these as keywords in terms of emotional expression—in the definition of Elizabeth's dubious dealing entailed an array of



emotional meanings. The creation of a Diplomatic Emotionology or any given emotional paradigm intrinsic to a particular community stemmed from the usage of words and expressions that have emotional meaning embedded into them, proving that they were not only words but that they also had a certain performative value. This link draws the analysis towards Rosenwein's Emotional Communities and the study of their own vocabulary in the understanding of Emotionology. Besides, it also leads to another sphere of the History of Emotions, the one which deals with performative utterances and the linguistic value of emotions, ultimately leading the reader to the fictionality and performativity of the act studied by J. Austin.<sup>4</sup>

The fictionality and performativity surrounding the diplomatic exchanges were not aspects limited to the Queen but an intrinsic characteristic of diplomacy itself; thus, ambassadors also used them to their own benefit. Resident ambassadors had to please a foreign monarch while pursuing the mission of their own Prince. This, at times, created an unstable and complex situation for the ambassadors. Quadra, like the rest of the Spanish ambassadors, was asked to protect and support the Catholic remnants of England. Following this would mean antagonizing the Queen and ultimately breaking international law, which would result in the expulsion of the ambassador from the country. Nevertheless, Quadra and his colleagues supported Catholicism on the island as well as

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<sup>4</sup> Performative utterances are part of Austin's linguistic theory that directly deals with the importance of language and performance. In his book, *How to do things with words*, he dwells on these notions but the theory lacks any other angle to link it to the study of emotions and their importance in human interaction; thus, although interesting enough in some respects, I have chosen not to follow it in this particular research.

furthered Catholic plots to destabilize the realm or even dethrone the Queen.<sup>5</sup> These actions were linked to the lights and shadows of diplomacy and their success depended on remaining in the shadows for as long as it was possible. The simplest way around this would be to mask these shadowy intentions from the English counterparts by performing and appearing in front of them as loyal and lawful ministers; ultimately, by acting their diplomatic roles. This acting accomplished Quadra's intentions: "con esto la dejé harta contenta y sabrosa" [She seemed as *pleased* at this as her position allowed her to be] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 319; *Calendar* Vol.1, 180-184). Achieving this was not a simple task, for we have to remember the uncertainty surrounding any of the diplomatic exchanges between the ambassadors and the English court. The changing and shifting of policy was another obstacle for the ambassador in his path to obtain proper information or to even find members that truly supported his cause: "yo no sé qué juzgar desto, sino que estos andan tan confusos que me confuden á mi tambien" [I do not know what to think of it all, only that these people are in such a confusion that they confound me as well] (Ibid, 333;184-191).

However, keeping the Queen and her ministers happy and content with his actions was not enough for the ambassador to protect his own back; he would have to test the waters before attempting any of those supportive actions with regard to Catholics. One

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<sup>5</sup> As it has been previously mentioned, Philip II's correspondence with the ambassadors contained a persistent plea to support the Catholics on the island as well as to keep them strong to oppose the flood of Protestantism. Philip's intentions were to keep Catholic supporters alive until he, or God, found the right plan of action for England: "entreteniendo y animando á los católicos lo más que pudiéredes mientras Dios abre algun camino" [upholding and encouraging the Catholics all you can, until God shall open a way] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 323; *Calendar* Vol.1, 184-191).

wrong step, one misjudgement of character, or even one intercepted letter would certainly seal the ambassador's fate:

Ando recatado en este punto con éstos, porque si andan *falsos*, como podria ser muy fácilmente, no es bien dalles ocasion á que digan que les ofrecíamos el favor de V. M. á truque de hacelles mudar Religion como han dicho y dicen otras cosas.

I am thus cautious with these people because if they are *playing false*, which is quite possible, I do not wish to give them the opportunity of saying that we offered them your Majesty's favour in return for their changing their religion, as they say other similar things (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 320; *Calendar* Vol.1, 180-184).

Despite its apparent difficulty and the possibility of antagonizing not only the Queen but the entire country with the clear consequences that this would bring about for Anglo-Spanish diplomatic exchanges, Quadra kept close contact with the Catholics in the country to the point of becoming an important figure for them within the realm. The Bishop decided to use his inn as a place of reunion of not only various different citizens from the Spanish dominions that might find themselves in England but also for those other aliens that sought religious counsel or Mass. Gatherings at his inn with the possibility of a Mass officiated by himself became the norm during his stay as a resident ambassador at the English court and it harboured issues with the authorities for it was forbidden for citizens to attend these reunions and it was only allowed for the ambassador and his household members as part of the perks of international diplomatic law. Together with this came the contacts with Scottish and Irish people that came offering some sort of support in exchange for Philip's help or altogether pleading for the help of the Catholic King to aid them in their struggle. All of these various interactions were part of the ambassador's everyday communications, reaching a point where the English ministers

started to be suspicious of his dealings. Interestingly enough, according to Quadra's report, the Queen trusted the ambassador and believed nothing of it:

entendia bien que estos católicos presos y otros, tienen más confianza en mí de la que es razon que tengan sus sujetos en un ministro de un Príncipe extranjero y que se prueba haber escrito muchas cosas en su servicio, las cuales, ellos dicen haber sabido de hombre de mi casa. Todavía ella *confiaba* tanto de mí, que era cierta que yo nunca habria pensado de hacerle daño.

although by certain statements she had seen she understood that the catholic prisoners and others had more intimacy with me than subjects should have with the minister of a foreign prince, and that she had proof, as she said, from members of my household, that I had written many things in favour of the prisoners, yet she had such *confidence* in me that she was sure I had never thought of doing her evil (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 351; *Calendar* Vol.1, 199-205).

These contacts, these interactions with the English Catholics, and the ultimate discovery of it all by the English authorities would be the end of Quadra's diplomatic mission in England. Let us pause and delve into an important part of this last report. Quadra believed that he was not liked by many, mostly by the principal ministers at the English court, but he stated that he maintained the Queen's trust and faith. Contrasting it with what happened at the end of his embassy—the diplomat's inn was raided and he was placed under house arrest—it is hard to believe that the Queen did indeed trust him. In looking back to this, we can consider this as a clear example of emotional trust—in this case, most likely a performed emotion—to assure the ambassador that nothing was wrong, perhaps with the aim of allowing him to dig his grave even deeper. The webs of spies and information reached deep and far within the English court and, the person in charge, William Cecil, was already at this early stage of the reign a character with ample information of the affairs within and without the realm. Supporting the idea of performed emotional trust goes hand in hand with the possibility that the secret affairs or dealings between the

Spanish ambassador and these other shadowy figures were either controlled by Cecil or known to him. Furthermore, this perfectly matched with a future occurrence that will be analysed in due time, where a member of the Bishop's household went rogue and sold information to the English crown. The fact that Elizabeth seemed to be portraying certain emotions to reassure the ambassador of their mutual trust might just be a mechanism to earn more time in order to obtain a bigger breakthrough in the private information of the ambassador.

By the end of February 1559, Quadra attended an audience with the Queen, mainly to discuss the proceedings and advancements in matters of the royal marriage. At that time, Elizabeth's marriage was becoming even more complicated due to the emergence of a key character, Robert Dudley. The closeness between the Queen and her Master of the Horse was becoming unbearable for many and the rumour that surfaced around the court was that they would end up marrying each other. Furthermore, Dudley had tried to garner Spanish support from Quadra with promises of returning England to the Catholic faith were Philip to aid him in marrying Elizabeth. Records of Dudley defending Catholic interests can be found not only in Quadra's but also in Papal correspondence (Bartlett 1992; Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 87, 312–313). Dudley even sent his brother-in-law to talk to the ambassador and promised him his faithful loyalty to Philip. These interactions can also be seen as examples of emotional *stroking*. By embedding emotions such as trust or care in the interactions between Quadra and Dudley, the Master of the Horse aimed to obtain the ambassador's support by forcing him to mirror these positive emotions. The ambassador also tried to keep this care and trust alive on his part and he showed it to Dudley as follows: “mostrar contentamiento deste matrimonio, como se

suele entre amigos, y esto yo he hecho siempre” [First, to show pleasure at the marriage as is usual between friends] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 384; *Calendar* Vol.1, 222-228).

During the meeting with the ambassador, Elizabeth decided to take Quadra into her own confidence and opened her heart to him with regard to marrying. In fact, the Queen asked to confess herself to the Bishop:

Respondíome, despues de muchos circunloquios, que ella queria confesarse conmigo y decirme su secreto en la confesión; fué que ella no era ángel ni negaba que no tuviese alguna afición á Milord Roberto por las muchas buenas partes que en él hay, pero que cierto ella nunca habia determinado de casarse con él ni con otro, aunque cada dia iba conociendo más la necesidad que tiene dehacello.

After much circumlocution she said she wished to confess to me and tell me her secret in confession, which was that she was no angel, and did not deny that she had some affection for Lord Robert for the many good qualities he possessed, but she certainly had never decided to marry him or anyone else, although she daily saw more clearly the necessity for her marriage (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 318; *Calendar* Vol.1, 180-184).

If Elizabeth truly wanted to confess herself or even her sins, she could have found a far more likely candidate than Quadra. He was a bishop but his loyalty also laid with Philip so, by no means could have Elizabeth believed this scene to be a real confession. She could have in fact been using this as a mechanism to feign a closeness to the ambassador. By telling him her most hidden secrets she would be placing her faith and trust in the ambassador, which would illustrate the clear emotional component of the interaction; the emotional *stroking* served its purpose since the Bishop decided to report, with no doubts, that the Queen had placed her trust in him. Emotions are contagious and they tend to be mirrored by the recipients, so by showing the ambassador that she trusted him, there was barely any other option for him than to believe her and take the information for real and

true. This portrayal of emotional trust was most likely a performed one since Elizabeth's actions up to that point, and those that would occur in the future, did not match the trust she seemed to be placing on the Bishop at this time; however, even if it was a performed or faked emotion, it still served the purpose of making Quadra susceptible to believe that the information given by the Queen was genuine. By embedding this emotional meaning in their diplomatic interactions, Elizabeth appeared to have obtained her goal of making the ambassador believe she trusted him faithfully, which would in turn make the previous statement about Elizabeth's trust in Quadra's doing far more likely.

To continue with the importance of emotion in these diplomatic exchanges, we will have to follow Quadra into a party that took place at the English court. This occurrence happened more than a year after the last one, in June of 1561 to be precise. The marriage question was still unanswered and the closeness between Robert Dudley and the Queen had since increased even further. Dudley's wife, Amy Robsart, had been found dead in September of 1560 and, despite the suspicion it arose, the coroner stated that Amy's death had been an accident, ridding Dudley of any possible blame.<sup>6</sup> In this scenario, Quadra found himself alone with the Queen and Dudley when they started joking around with each other and teasing the ambassador. Their closeness was a sore

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<sup>6</sup> Amy's death requires an entire analysis in itself; however, it is worth mentioning that both Feria and Quadra had reported during their period as ambassadors that Robert Dudley had something to do with the death of his wife, which illustrates the importance it had within diplomatic circles. Poisoning, cancer, or even spontaneous fracture of the spine are some of the plausible causes of Amy's death. Regardless of the actual cause, Robert was legally exculpated from any possible blame and continued to pursue Elizabeth's hand. For the ambassadorial correspondence concerning her death see: Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 171;258;295;310; for studies concerning the death of Amy and its impact see: Aird 1956; Skidmore 2010.

sight for many and others took it as an insult to both the crown and the country. The ambassador was not pleased with Elizabeth's course of action and, annoyed by their playing, decided to give the couple an ultimatum:

Y estando ella y Roberto y yo solo á una parte del cadalso comenzaron á tratar burlas, de las cuales ella huelga de hablar más que de negocios, y se pasó adelante en ellas que llegó Milord Roberto á decirle que yo podía ser el Ministro del acto del desposorio si ella quería; y ella, que no le pesaba de oír aquello, decía que no sabía si yo entendía tanto inglés; yo les aguardé á burlas un rato, y al último, tornando á las veras, les dije á entrambos que si me creían, ellos se eximirían de la tiranía destes sus Consejeros que se habían apoderado de la Reina y de todos sus negocios, y restituirían al Reino la paz y union que ha menester con restituirle la Religion, y despues podrian hacer las bodas que decian y ser yo ministro dellas.

And she, Robert, and I being alone on the gallery, they began joking, which she likes to do much better than talking about business. They went so far with their jokes that Lord Robert told her, that, if she liked, I could be the minister to perform the act of marriage, and she, nothing loth to hear it, said she was not sure whether I knew enough English. I let them jest for a time, but at last spoke to them in earnest and told them that if they listened to me they could extricate themselves from the tyranny of the councillors who had taken possession of the Queen and her affairs, and could restore to the country the peace and unity it so much needed by re-instating religion. If they did this they could effect the marriage they spoke of, and I should be glad, in such case, to be the minister to perform it (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 360; *Calendar* Vol.1, 205-209).

Despite the previous expression of trust and care for one another, the joking tone of the couple and their care for fun more than for business seemed to have been the last straw for the ambassador. Quadra's main, and perhaps the only, interest for his embassy was to return the country to the hands of Catholicism and Papal authority; thus, finding a husband that would heal the Queen's ill mood regarding religion and allowing the country to return to its proper religious course, was pivotal for the Bishop (Ibid, 315). Seeing her having fun and joking about marriage with Dudley instead of actively choosing a real husband that would lead her back to the Catholic fold was unbearable for the ambassador and it



might have been the trigger to such a reaction. It seems that emotional performances and diplomatic acting were not enough to stay the abruptness of the ambassador.

Quadra would in time reach a point of desperation known to every Spanish minister: he would find himself in a precarious position with almost no letters to guide his duties and a purse shrinking smaller by the minute. Money was one of the most prominent concerns within the Spanish diplomatic network; payments were typically delayed or non-existent so, to properly fulfil their mission, the ambassadors normally incurred enormous debts that hindered their performance as diplomats. The delays or absence of letters was also another major concern, for it left the ambassadors in the dark concerning their proper course of action with their negotiations. The Spanish diplomatic system was too vast a network for it to function properly, making distance one of the biggest public enemies, together with Philip's own delays in policymaking and decision-taking. All of the Spanish ambassadors at the court of Elizabeth I, at some point or another, felt the impact of these matters and, consequently, asked for their recall. Cardenal Granvelle himself had stated that Spain was so slow that he wished death came from there, for it would take more time to arrive (Brun 2003, 471).<sup>7</sup> Quadra was now experiencing both drawbacks, as the letters from the King were scarce and his money was running out, reaching a point of no return:

Suplico a V. S. Ilustrísima que si entiende esto, sea servido de ayudarme á salir de aquí sin ofensión, aunque sea sin mercedes que con esto me contento, porque ni soy

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<sup>7</sup> For a deeper study of the deficiencies in the Spanish diplomatic network and its impact on the Anglo-Spanish interactions see: Parker 2000. For an exhaustive study of diplomacy and its networks in the Spanish dominions see: Jensen 1964.

ambicioso ni se me da mucho por ser rico; estoy con tanta pena, que por ventura escribo lo que no debo; V. S. Ilustrísima lo perdone todo por amor de Nuestro Señor.<sup>8</sup>

I beseech your Eminence to aid me to get out of this place without offence, even though it be without reward. This will content me as I am not ambitious, and care little about being rich. I am in such grief that perhaps I write what I ought not. Pardon it all for the love of the Lord (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 393; *Calendar* Vol.1, 229-233).

To add to these concerns intrinsic to Spanish diplomacy, the ambassador also had to face major political negotiations related to the Anglo-Scottish conflict that ended in 1560 with the Treaty of Edinburgh. This agreement was signed on July 1560, after the siege of Leith and the death of Mary of Guise, mother of the future Mary Queen of Scots and ruler of Scotland on her daughter's behalf. The issue was religious and geopolitical at its core, dating from Medieval times and the Auld alliance, a supportive association created between France and Scotland. Though its importance was pivotal for Scotland back in those days, at this point and due to the evolution of the European forces and mostly for the shifts in religion, the potential control that France could have over Scotland did not leave England in a comfortable position. Furthermore, the union between France and Scotland had been perpetuated through the marriage of Mary Stuart and Francis II of France at an early age, leaving her mother to rule over Scotland. This absence of power and the sole existence of a regent, and a woman at it, together with the looming fears of French subjection, gave rise to a group of Scottish Protestants that aimed to take the control of the country for the native population and remove the foreign grip. England,

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<sup>8</sup> Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, cardinal of the Catholic church, minister, and statesman of the Spanish Habsburgs. He was appointed in 1559 by Philip II as chief councillor to the regent of the Low Countries, Margaret of Austria. His position, both geographically and politically, brought him in frequent contact with the Spanish ambassador in England.

with William Cecil as the leading head, decided to support these Scottish rebels with the intention of removing the French control over the island and the potential invasion that would leave England in a defenceless position. Though it was entirely under the English interests to support this endeavour, they only did so when asked for help by the group that aimed to retake control of the crown, the Lords of the Congregation. After the lifting of the siege of Leith, the French garrison left the coast never to come back for the remaining of the century.<sup>9</sup> Quadra did not play a part in the conflict and he did not report much about its course; however, the English ministers started to become more concerned about the Spanish influence that the ambassador might be gathering on the island. The conflict with Scotland posed a threat to the English because of the plausible appearance of a foreign European power: France. If the Spanish ambassador was gathering the support of the English Catholics and if that meant that Spain was ready to intercede on their behalf, the socio-political situation could turn sour. This seemed to be a concern mainly for William Cecil, who was the statesman behind the signing of the Treaty. He was the main minister behind the entire diplomatic exchange and, thus, Quadra portrayed him as the evil person behind the furthering of Protestantism, which reached even Scotland: “como Sichel está totalmente en esta mala ventura destas *herejias*, y es el caudillo deste negocio; Sichel es muy *hereje*; Ese *bellaco* de Sichel” [As Cecil is entirely pledged to these unhappy *heresies*, and is the leader of the business; Cecil is a very *great heretic*; that *knave* Cecil] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 330;333;257; *Calendar* Vol.1, 184-191;109-117). The

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<sup>9</sup> For further information regarding the context of the Treaty, the importance of the Auld Alliance and its roots in the Scottish crown, the role of William Cecil, and the outcome of the conflict, check: Black 1959; Read 1965; Alford 2002; Fraser 1994.

ambassador was rightly targeting William Cecil for his central role in England's policymaking; however, his characterization of the minister was purely based on his religious beliefs and how these stained everything Cecil did.

Quadra had now reached the middle of his residency as ambassador in England and he was already asking for a recall. The next two remaining years were harsher on the ambassador, both physically and diplomatically. As for his physical condition, the climate of the island and the atmosphere of the city, as would happen with many of the other Spaniards on the island, started to take a toll on him. Concerning his diplomatic mission, his dealings in terms of religion and the overreaching of his duties as an ambassador exposed him to the English and ultimately brought about his downfall. The first private dealing to be exposed was Quadra's talks with Robert Dudley and the nobleman's plea for Philip's approval and support in marrying Elizabeth with promises of bringing her back to the Old Faith. The Queen might have liked Dudley and she might have even considered the possibility of taking him as a husband; nevertheless, she was not ready to accept external intervention either in her marrying or in her own polity. Elizabeth brought the ambassador's attention to this matter during a meeting and complained to him about the possibility that Philip, her own friend, might be meddling in her affairs. The Queen told the ambassador that their differences in religious beliefs were not so important so as to break the Anglo-Spanish amity. Quadra believed that she was too obsessed with religion to see clearly: "estaba tan *apasionada* en estas materias, que les parecia necesario buscar amistades nuevas para sustentarse, y tena en poco las viejas" [she was so passionate about these matters that they thought it was necessary to find new friendships

that could sustain them, taking little care of their older relationships].<sup>10</sup> This audience continued for some time and both Queen and ambassador would, later on, join in the private quarters of the monarch, where the ambassador, still analysing Elizabeth's character and polity only based on religious grounds, found her: "tan confusa y tan fuera de propósito" [so confused and out of purpose] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 396;399;401; *Calendar* Vol.1, 236-237).<sup>11</sup> The audience started heating up and both parties reached a breaking point when the ambassador had an outburst against Elizabeth:

son todas *malicias y sugestiones* de éstos que me querian ver fuera de aquí, los cuales harian aún mucho peor, si no estuviere de mi parte Milord Roberto, el cual cierto me ha hecho siempre oficio de amigo.

these are all *malicious inventions* of those who would like to see me begone from here, and would be much worse if Lord Robert, who has certainly always stood by me (Ibid 396;399;401;236-237).

Some months before, the Bishop had been faced with the opposition of the Privy Councillors due to his religious dealings on the island. Back then, the Queen seemed to support the ambassador and he had even written that she trusted both him and his own dealings. Now, it seemed like the trust was gone and the only factor that kept the ambassador safely on the island was the support of Robert Dudley. Dudley would, without a doubt, support Quadra, for, in doing so, he might be able to obtain for himself Philip's assistance in marrying Elizabeth. Furthermore, it looked like the emotional performances that Quadra and Dudley had both displayed to each other on previous occasions had

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<sup>10</sup> My translation.

<sup>11</sup> My translation.

reaped fruit since the ambassador believed the Master of the Horse to be his firm supporter.

Quadra's problems were not only linked to the possibility that Philip II might decide to assist Robert Dudley in his pursuit of Elizabeth's hand with the promise of re-establishing Catholicism on the island. The ambassador also faced a much bigger challenge with the disclosure of some of his personal information after the interrogation of one of his household members. According to the reports, one of the ambassador's servants was also working for William Cecil and he sold some secret information to the English minister:

Estos Ministros de la Reina me han sonsacado á un criado mio, el que estaba ah́ los años pasados por mis negocios, y le han hecho descubrir todos cuantos secretos sabía de lo que yo aquí trato; y no contentos con esto, procuraron de hacerle volver á mi casa (de la cual se habia salido con ocasion de cierta pendencia que voluntariamente habia tomado), á fin de entender por esta vía lo que en las cosas de este Reino yo hacía.<sup>12</sup>

This Queen's ministers have got hold of a servant of mine, who some years since was in Flanders on my affairs, and have squeezed out of him all the secrets he knew of what I was doing here, and not satisfied with this, they are trying to get him back into my house again (he having left in consequence of a quarrel of his own making) in order that they may be kept informed through him of all I may do with regard to English affairs (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 405; *Calendar* Vol.1, 237-249).

This event stemmed from an earlier one where Elizabeth's ministers had called the ambassador to attention concerning his overreaching in terms of religion. Now, they managed to obtain certain information that might prove damaging to both the ambassador

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<sup>12</sup> Conyers Read discovered that Quadra's servant was someone named Borghese Venturini, who decided to betray the ambassador's trust and sold his information to William Cecil. Afterwards, he accepted his new role as a mole inside the embassy (Read 1965, 245).

and his mission. No matter how much information they told the ambassador that they had, Quadra remained adamant in his belief that he had never exceeded his duties as a diplomat, not even in terms of religion: “ni en las cosas de la Religion hecho más de lo que es lícito hacer á un hombre privado” [or even in religious matters gone beyond what any private person might lawfully do] (Ibid, 406;237-249). The servant had been, for a long time, a close member of the household so he could have indeed had certain critical information that might seem infuriating to the English; however, it looked like the ambassador was clever enough to conceal any extremely critical information from anybody and he was certain that his most secret dealings would not see the light:

Lo que este hombre habrá dicho es de creer que serán muchas cosas que él sabía de las personas que hablan conmigo y algunos discursos que yo tengo escritos que no podrán dejar de ser oídos de buena gana [...] Para cosa desta cualidad, él no la sabe ni la podrá decir sino falsamente.

This man will probably have told them many things which he may have heard from the persons who associate with me and some discourses which I have in writing and which they cannot fail to hear with pleasure [...] about such a thing, he can say nothing excepting falsely because he knows nothing (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 408; *Calendar* Ibid).

This might be the reason why the ambassador decided to remain strong and confident about his blameless position. He acknowledged the existence of critical information in the correspondence with the King albeit stating this information was safeguarded and nobody could have reached it. Therefore, Quadra deemed this event as purely false and non-damaging for his diplomatic mission.

The situation definitely caused an outburst at court and the Queen was not pleased with the ambassador. The time for emotional *stroking* and reassurance of friendship and amity was over; the ambassador was not approved by the Queen any longer and this

triggered his downfall. Elizabeth had a particular way of dealing with these diplomatic scenarios where the stability of Anglo-Spanish relations hanged by a thread and it revolved around shutting down the communication channels for the ambassadors by refusing them audiences. By not allowing the ambassador to explain himself to the Queen or even to understand her mind on the matter, Elizabeth put pressure on him and waited for his breaking. Audiences were the basic piece of diplomatic exchange, the only way in which both ambassador and Queen could interact with each other and build emotional connections or deal with diplomatic businesses. Once audiences were no longer an option, ambassadorial duties turned much more complicated than they initially were. Quadra was open to explaining to the Queen his take on the situation and to prove how his servant was a liar; however, the audience did not take place:

Si ella quisiese entender la verdad de mí, podrá facilmente perder el enojo, pero si quiere dar más crédito á un mozo que me han sobornado, yo no puedo hacer otra cosa que dar aviso á V. M. de lo que pasa [...] Me pareció que diera mayor escándalo y ocasion de decir más de lo que agora pueden decir, de lo cual yo satisfaria á la reina si ella quisiese entenderle, pero el ser mujer y mal informada de los que tienen mucha parte en su Consejo, la hace estar tan escandalizada que no sé á lo que querrá extenderse.

If she wished to hear the truth about me she would soon lose her anger, but if she chooses to give more credit to a varlet whom they have bribed than to me I can only inform your Majesty of the facts [...] *I thought it was all given to scandal, saying more than they actually knew. I could satisfy the Queen if she were pleased to know, but being a woman and ill-informed by her council, makes her so scandalized that I do not know how far she might go*<sup>13</sup> (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 409;412; *Calendar* Vol.1, 237-249).

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<sup>13</sup> The italics represent my translation while the regular font comes from HBO's archive.



To the ambassador's benefit, the channels of communication were only closed for a couple of days and, then, the Queen accepted a first audience with him where she showed Quadra her discontent and anger:

hablé con la Reina, la cual, aunque quisiera disimular el enojo que tenia conmigo, no lo pudo encubrir tanto que no me dijese que se queria quejar de mí á V. M. por los malos officios que hacía en escribir siempre mal della y de sus cosas.

I have spoken with the Queen, who tried to hide her anger with me, but could not refrain from telling me that she was going to complain to your Majesty of me for the bad offices I did in always writing ill of her and her affairs (Ibid, 413;237-249).

Quadra took his chance to reply to the Queen and stated, once more, his pride, entitled behaviour, and clear views on diplomatic and religious duties, all key characteristics of his Diplomatic Emotionology:

le dije que pues tenía á mi criado en su casa, que le habia revelado lo que no fuera menester que ella supiera, y le parecía (contra todo buen ejemplo) traerme á juicio por lo que en mis cartas escribo á V. M., tambien á mí me parecía hablarle á ella claro y decirle que los officios que yo he hecho con V. M., buenos ó malos que hayan sido, todos han procedido de las ocasiones que ella me ha dado, conforme á las cuales yo habia tratado los negocios entre V. M. y ella con toda la verdad que un hombre de bien debe tratarlos, lo cual, si no era como ella deseaba, era como yo debía al servicio de Dios y el de V. M. y al descargo de mi conciencia.

I told her that as she had my servant in her house and he had revealed more than it was meet for her to know, and as against all precedent she thought fit to call me to account for my communications to your Majesty, I thought it was time that I also should speak plainly and tell her that my despatches to your Majesty, good or bad, had all been consequent on her own proceedings, and I had treated her matters with your Majesty in accordance therewith in all honesty and straightforwardness. If this did not meet with her approval it was at all events in accord with my duty to God and your Majesty and satisfactory to my own conscience (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 413; *Calendar* 237-249).

Uttering these words in an audience with Elizabeth served the purpose of reassuring the Queen about the ambassador's views concerning his duties as a diplomat. He believed

that his mission was to serve his King and his God over anything else on the face of the Earth, and if that his dealings as a Catholic minister and a Spanish diplomat interfered with the better interests of the Queen, he was not at fault for he was only fulfilling his mission. Quadra's religious views were, once more, interfering with his work as an ambassador, and, without a doubt, this situation was caused by his secret dealings with Catholics on the island. Only a fortnight after this event, the ambassador shared correspondence with Cardinal Granvelle and religious beliefs came up as the core of any issue he had to deal with in England: "El suceso nunca le espera mejor, porque pensar que, donde hay diferencias de Religión, basta prudencia humana ni persuaciones, bien sabe V. S. I. que es engaño grande" [Where there are religious differences no human prudence or persuasion will suffice, and consequently I am as well satisfied as if affairs had turned out well, and whatever may be his Majesty's decision I shall be content] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 418; *Calendar* Vol.1, 249-255). He also claimed that in terms of religion he was as zealous as need be since he saw the duty to his King and his God as one single mission: "*Apasionado* en negocios de Religion, yo confieso que lo soy cuanto debo, y tras esto veo andar tan juntos el servicio de Dios y el de V. M. en esto" [I am, however, fain [sic] to confess that I am *zealous*, as I should be, on the question of religion, and withal I see God's service and that of your Majesty so closely linked] (Ibid 430;265-273).

At this stage, it appeared as if the Bishop's diplomatic mission was beyond salvation. He had fallen into disgrace with the Queen and even his so-called friend, Robert Dudley, seemed to have taken distance from the ambassador. The court still retained that feeling of uncertainty and duplicity in policymaking and the ambassador did not know

whether the Queen would indeed take any measure or just act on her whims. As a result, Robert Dudley moved away from his supportive position:

Respondió Milord Roberto que no sabía si yo lo cumpliría, así porque me tenía por muy *apasionado* por las cosas del Papa, que si esto no fuese, no habia persona de quien más contentamiento la Reina tuviese; desto se puede muy bien entender cuán poca mejoría puede haber en los negocios.

Lord Robert said that he did not know whether I would keep my promises, as he thought I was a *great partizan* [sic] of the Pope's interests, and, if it were not for that, there was no person from whom the Queen would receive greater pleasure. From this may well be inferred how little improvement is likely to take place in affairs (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 435;265-273).

With no audience with the Queen and no support within the inner circle of the Elizabethan court, the ambassador was powerless. He lacked both the power to influence diplomatic events and the political strength to better his situation. Not much else could be done for Quadra, yet his situation would worsen further since, at the beginning of 1563, a number of arrests took place in the ambassador's inn for the attendance of some individuals to Mass. This event scaled things further and the English ministers considered the option of removing Quadra from the island with haste:

La causa desta priesa es que las cosas de aquí se van enturbiando cada día más, y Sichel, que vé venir el nublado y *teme* que hallándose aquí persona de parte de V. M. las cosas de los católicos podrian tener algun ánimo, y por ventura me tiene á mí por más *apasionado* de lo que piensa que lo serian otros en esta materia, anda haciendo cuanto puede por echarme (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 441).<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Though not directly connected with the issue at hand, it is interesting to mention that these religious raids that took place in ambassadors' houses are not exclusive to Quadra; they also occurred at the Portuguese ambassador's. These matters are quite hard to define in term of diplomatic and international law, yet they had a crucial impact in the developing of the diplomatic relations between the parties (Oliveira 2016, 159-174).

The cause for this hurry is that matters here are worsening more every day and Cecil, seeing the threat looming closer, *fears* that a servant of your Majesty residing here could provide certain aid to Catholic affairs. And he believes me to be a more *zealous* person in these matters than others could be so he does whatever he can to expel me.<sup>15</sup>

The situation reached such a point that the English authorities decided to write a memorandum to Philip explaining their take on the events so he could have an official understanding of the situation. The information that the English recorded in the letter was strikingly different to that of the ambassador; Quadra stated that nothing wrong had taken place at his inn and that only lawful people were attending Mass at his house:

Cuanto al venir aqú algunos á misa, que yo no sab́a ni créa que viniesen otros que vasallos de V. M. ó personas que pod́an muy bien venir, y que quien quiera que fuese los que á mi casa venían, eran personas tan honradas que no teńa él para qué decir dellos lo que decía.

With regard to certain persons attending Mass, I did not know of or believe that anybody came but your Majesty's vassals and people who had a perfect right to come, and, whoever were the persons who were in the habit of visiting my house, they were honest people and he had no right to speak of them in the terms he had used (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 462; *Calendar* Vol.1, 276-295).

Nonetheless, the story told by the English was quite different:

Se puede probar que algunos *traidores*, que de poco tiempo acá han conspirado contra la Reina, su Corona y este Reino, acudiendo á aquella casa por aquella puerta falsa, han sido animado de V. S. y por su consejo, como han confesado han entrado en sus *traiciones*; y porque queremos hablar claro, se cree que, so [sic] *color de Religion*, V. S. es causa que un gran número de los súbditos de S. M. en este Reino sean depuestos á ser *sediciosos* y *desobedientes*, los cuales, de otra manera, hubieran sido *buenos* y *leales* (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 456).

It can be proven that, from some time to this moment, some *traitors* have been conspiring against the Queen, her crown, and this realm. They came into the house through the false door, encouraged by Your Honour's advice, as they have confessed

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<sup>15</sup> My translation.

to their *treasons*. And being plain, we believe that Your Honour's zealousness towards religions is the reason making many of Her Majesty's subjects in this realm are turned to *seditions and disobedient* acts that otherwise would remain *good and loyal*.<sup>16</sup>

Elizabeth's ministers claimed to have proof that a number of English citizens had been swayed to a traitorous or seditious path by the zealousness of the ambassador in terms of religion, thus creating a damaging and dangerous situation for the country. Further down the memoranda, they claimed that never before in history had a foreign minister dealt so badly and treacherously with the public office and, according to the English authorities, Quadra decided to blame it on the circumstances and situation rather than acknowledging his own fault (Ibid, 458). Along with all the trouble coming from the arrest of citizens attending Mass at the ambassador's house, another event took place: an Italian captain shot an English citizen with a harquebus and took shelter in Quadra's house. According to the reports, he was helped and fled through a backdoor. This event placed even more pressure on the Spanish diplomat and the situation reached the critical point of having him placed under house arrest with continuous surveillance. The Bishop complained about this situation: "esto parecia mas cárcel que posada [...] soy cierto que no pararán hasta tenerme en seguro así como me tienen agora encerrado" [much more like a jail than a residence [...] I am certain they will not stop until having me here secured as they do now when they have me imprisoned] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 461;466;467; Calendar Vol.1, 276-295).

Quadra, continuing with his particular view, seemed to be certain of the cause of these events: "el *odio* es por las cosas de la Religion y porque les parece que les hago

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<sup>16</sup> My translation.

sombra” [as the *hatred* to me arises from religious affairs in which they think I stand in their light] (Ibid, 461;466;467;276-295). This last remark allows us to resort back to the realm of emotions and the importance of analysing the Emotionology in the understanding of Anglo-Spanish relations. On the one hand, the Spanish quote makes reference to shadows while the English one to light; this is the perfect example to draw attention back to the field of diplomacy and diplomatic exchanges and to how ambassadors dwelled on that dichotomy of lights and shadows. Furthermore, turning to the embedded meaning of the expression, we can draw its connections with symbolic meaning and figurative meaning as mechanisms to express emotions. There have been several studies on the importance of figurative speech and how it expresses emotions; particularly, I would like to refer the reader to a thorough examination of metaphors and their emotional component (Kövecses 2003) where we could compare English figurative speech such as: “to block someone’s light” or “to obscure or darken something” to other metaphorical utterances analysed in the book for their embedded emotional meaning regarding notions of fear, pride. or anger. This meaning is thus connected to pride and the sense of superiority that is so tightly associated not only with Quadra, but with most of his colleagues that served as Spanish diplomats at the Elizabethan court. The Bishop had such a high regard of himself and his performance that he believed the sole reason behind his house arrest and the ultimate surveillance that the English authorities put on him was due to his superiority; intrinsically, his qualities were greater and superior to those of the Englishmen so out of, probably, jealousy they decided to restrain his actions, or so Quadra thought.

Quadra now faced the highest level of disgrace so far in his entire embassy. Now, for good, Elizabeth had decided to shut down the channels of communication between herself, her ministers, and the ambassador, so Quadra was not able to have any more audiences to try to improve his situation. Furthermore, the house arrest also stigmatized the ambassador and it seemed as if nobody would want to make contact with him. The English authorities were also more concerned about the possibility of a Catholic uprising due to the connections with the ambassador, so the knot around Catholics on the island was pulled tighter. His situation as a prisoner in an inn, but, most importantly, the damage that his dealings had caused to Catholicism in England haunted the Bishop in his last days as an ambassador. Hard as he had tried to support Catholics on the island, and despite his efforts to do so in a concealed manner, it seemed as if his mission had failed and the cause had come to a miserable end (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 471;474;510).

At last, in April of 1563, we come across one of the last letters of Álvaro de la Quadra to his King Philip II. The situation was no longer bearable for the ambassador: he was still under house arrest and there was not a chance to further any of his diplomatic duties; money was now even a bigger problem than it had been the last time he had complained to the King, and his situation was reaching a point of no return; his health was deteriorating rapidly, and, in fact, he would soon die victim to the Plague. As a result, the Álvaro de la Quadra that can be seen in this piece of correspondence is far less energetic and active than the one that had appeared before the Queen in 1559; however, his beliefs and emotions regarding diplomacy remained the same for the entirety of his embassy. From his early stages as a resident ambassador to the English court, Quadra had imposed a particular emotional imprint in his diplomatic dealings: from his abruptness

and entitlement that displayed feelings of superiority and pride, to the expression of emotional trust through the use of *stroking* with the Queen and also with Robert Dudley, the ambassador had followed the line of the Spanish Diplomatic Emotionology that Feria had already established during his time at the court and that would remain present until the departure of Bernardino de Mendoza. Though more strongly focused on the importance of religion and mostly dedicated to the furthering of the Old Faith on the island, the core emotional components that created the Spanish Emotionology were ever-present in the dealings of the Bishop. Ultimately, Quadra remained adamant in his complaints to the very last letter to King Philip:

Las cosas de aquí públicas y mis trabajos particulares y necesidades me fuerzan á que yo *suplique* á V. M. que sea servido de permitir que yo salga desta isla, pues lo que sirvo en ella es poco, y la residencia me es tan *costosa y dañosa*, que demás de la hacienda, en la cual estoy totalmente *perdido*, padezco tambien mucho en la salud y en todo lo demás; y siendo V. M. servido de darme esta licencia, *suplico* también humildemente á V. M. que una ayuda de costa de 3.000 ducados que me han mandado consignar en Nápoles, mande se me pague en esa corte.

Public affairs here and my own private troubles and necessities force me to *beg* your Majesty to be pleased to allow me to leave this island. I am of but little use here and my residence is so *costly* and *onerous* that apart from my pecuniary estate, in which I am totally *ruined*, I am suffering much in health and all else. If it be the pleasure to grant me this leave I *humbly petition* also that a grant in aid which has been ordered to be paid to me in Naples should be paid to me (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 506; Calendar Vol.1, 316-322).

Burdened by debt and having fallen in disgrace with the members of the English court, Álvaro de la Quadra was found dead in his inn in August of 1563, stricken down by the



Plague that had reached England that summer after the failed English military campaign in France.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Known as the “Newhaven adventure”, this enterprise was an English attempt at recapturing part of their power in Europe after the loss of Calais in 1558. It is important to remember that recapturing Calais was only necessary because of its previous loss in 1558 when Philip II of Spain, then king consort of England, had asked for the support of his wife in the war that was taking place between France and Spain. As a consequence of joining the war and due to poor coordination between the allied forces, the French took control of Calais, thus, worsening even more the image that Englishmen had of the Spanish and of foreign marriages in general. Professor Neale (1971) clearly connects the marriage and the loss of Calais with the development of a sentiment of insularity and perhaps nationality that disregarded both Spaniards and their religion: “it struck harshly upon insular prejudice and arouse the Englishry of everyone. [...] To be mere English and to be Protestant began to seem one and the same thing” (p.38). The Newhaven mission was headed by Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick and brother of Robert Dudley, and it ended in a disaster that not only caused the death of the troops in the front but also brought death to England when the Plague travelled back home with them (MacCaffrey 1968, 117-141).

## 5. The golden years of Anglo-Spanish relations

Four months after the death of the last Spanish resident ambassador at the court of Elizabeth, Philip II sent a copy of his instructions to the newly appointed substitute to Álvaro de la Quadra, Diego Guzmán de Silva, canon of Toledo. In this case, the King decided to choose another member of the church as a replacement for Quadra, probably following the traditional belief that regarded churchmen as the perfect choice of ambassador for times of peace, as opposed to noblemen, who were chosen as ambassadors in times of turmoil. Picking up the narration from the last chapter, it is clear that the situation in which Silva would have to work was not the easiest one. First, the tension between the two countries started to pile up due to religion and political discrepancies. Furthermore, the last months of Quadra were quite challenging for the development of Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relations: the house arrest, the sheltering of fugitives, and the discovery of secret information and negotiations that the Bishop was keeping with Catholic members on the island were disturbing enough for the English authorities. In theory, Silva's situation would be far more complex and skill-demanding than Quadra's time as a resident ambassador; however, breaking all expectations, Silva's English embassy would be, by far, the most peaceful, friendly, and prolific one out of all of Philip's foreign embassies on the island. The aim of this chapter is to analyse the reasons behind this outcome and explain the differences that set Silva apart from his colleagues.

Philip wrote for the new ambassador a lengthy set of instructions, serving both as his duties and orders to be performed during the embassy, but also as background information to enlighten him on the politics and crucial characters of the island. The

mission was double: first, the ambassador was to deal with the Queen on matters of foreign policy and trade, since the English had dealt a series of blows and injuries to both Spanish and Flemish citizens on the sea, affecting trade: “habeis visto los grandes daños, agravios y robos que los ingleses han hecho y hacen cada día por la mar á vasallos nuestros, así españoles como flamencos” [you will have seen [...] the great injury, damage and depredations which the English continue daily to commit on the seas against our subjects both Spanish and Flemish] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 89, 5; *Calendar* Vol.1, 349-360); secondly, and arguably most importantly, the ambassador was to further support Catholicism on the island, with the aim of keeping the faith alive within the population. Supporting the Old Faith had already been a key part of the Spanish diplomatic policy for the island, but it remained as strong and even grew stronger as time went by and the Protestant threats loomed brighter on the horizon. This last task was to be performed with utter care and secrecy, not to commit the same mistakes that had brought about Quadra’s downfall:

Está dañada y ha dejado nuestra Santa Fé Católica y la verdades y antigua Religion, todavía ha guardado Dios muchos que la conservan con limpieza, sinceridad y determinación de morir por ella, y porque los tales deben ser animados y favorecidos cuanto se deja considerar, os encargo mucho que vos lo hagais así en cuanto pudiéredes, procurando juntamente con esto de sostenerlos y conservarlos en la buena voluntad y devocion que entendemos que nos tienen; pero esto ha de ser con tal secreto, disimulacion y destreza que no se dé causa de sospecha á aquella Reina ni á los suyos, pues se ve bien claro el daño que dello se les podría seguir.

as you know, many of the English people are depraved and have abandoned our holy and only true ancient Catholic religion, still God has been pleased to preserve many who maintain it in all its purity, and are sincerely determined to die for it if necessary. These people should be encouraged and supported, and I enjoin you to do this whenever you can, and at the same time to endeavour to keep them in the good will and devotion which I understand they display towards us. This, however, must be done with such secrecy, dissimulation and dexterity as to give no cause for suspicion to the Queen or her advisers, as it is evident that much evil might follow if the contrary were the case (Ibid, 9; 349-360).

Philip also used this occasion to provide Silva with further instructions on how to proceed with the Queen and the diplomatic negotiations. Silva seemed to be inexperienced as an ambassador since this was his first diplomatic enterprise; thus, he needed concrete knowledge on how to further his interests and deal with courtly exchanges:

os podreis despedir por la primera vez que habláredes, procurando de dejarla y *entretenerla contenta* para que en las otras audiencias que le pidiéredes sobre los negocios os oiga graciosamente y los mande bien despachar [...] Con las palabras y razones que vos vereis ser á proposito para *persuadir* á la Reina.

you may then take your leave from your first interview, taking care to leave her *pleased* and in a *good humour*, so that in the subsequent audiences you may ask for she may listen to you graciously and have you well attended to [...] complimenting her with the fairest words you can use (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 89, 8-9; *Calendar*, Ibid).

Philip gave Silva crucial pieces of advice on the importance of keeping the Queen happy and content with Anglo-Spanish interactions and the crucial role that rhetoric and wording played in these exchanges. Those were Silva's missions and advice for his new endeavours and, with them, he started his trip to England.

The new ambassador arrived on the island on June 18, 1564, with his mind set on the new challenge in front of him. Philip had also given him another crucial piece of information that would shape Silva's diplomatic dealings: Robert Dudley was a key character at the English court and he was to be befriended, since there was a chance that he might win Elizabeth's hand in marriage; thus, his support was of interest for the Spanish dominions. Dudley's dealings with the previous ambassadors have already been mentioned and Philip's interests laid in the possibility of obtaining the return of Catholicism to the island. Dudley was at this time seen as the main character with whom

to deal concerning Catholic support, so the ambassador knew who to look for as soon as he set foot in England:

á Milord Roberto tienen por de su parte los católicos y que conviene ir con esta consideracion de amistad buscando el remedio, pues, ande la guerra ó alzar el comercio no le faltarán hartas ocasiones cuando fuese conveniente; como están los católicos en tanto desasosiego, y no tienen otro negocio sino éste, no se quitan hasta ver algun camino para su deseo, y cierto segun entiendo, ellos son muchos, si se osasen mostrar ó tuviesen cabeza.

Lord Robert, who is so great a favourite with the queen of England that he can influence her to the extent you have been already informed. You with your kindness will try to win him over, and also to make the acquaintance and friendship of the councillors and officers of the Queen, through whose hands affairs have to pass so that you may the more readily guide them into the course you desire (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.89, 20; *Calendar* Vol.1, 349-360).

Philip believed that the issue with the Catholic situation in England was its lack of structure and leadership. The island was full of Catholic supporters, according to reports, but they all lacked a sense of unity and structure because they could not be guided by any particular character. Perhaps, supporting Robert Dudley in the marriage negotiations as a plausible husband for Elizabeth would give these poor, stranded Catholics enough strength to show their numbers and power, thus, forcing the return of the country to the Old Faith:

En lo que se ha dicho que pretender de casarse con esa Reina, si él asegura que efectuándose reducirá ese Reino á nuestra verdadera, antigua y católica Religion y dará la obediencia al Papa y á la santa Sede Apostólica, le podreis ofrescer que de muy buena gana le ayudaremos y favoreceremos para que él consiga su intento; en esto y para este fin, le traereis cuanto más contento y caliente pudiéredes.

In case he assures you that if he succeeds he will reduce the kingdom to our true ancient Catholic religion and obedience to the Pope, you may promise him that we will readily help and favour him, and with this aim and object you will keep as cordial and friendly with him as you can, although at the same time you must

discover from him if he has any other engagements to support him and where and from whom he expects to obtain help besides from me (Ibid, 23;370-376).

Silva had by now all the necessary information to start his diplomatic career in England in a proper manner, and, when two days after his arrival at the island Robert Dudley decided to pay him a visit, the ambassador was not surprised and began to deploy his diplomatic knowledge. Dudley presented the ambassador with the royal welcome and Silva took this chance as the perfect opportunity to ask him for an audience with the Queen. Four days later, on the 24 of June, Silva was taken to Richmond for his first official audience with Elizabeth. It is quite likely that Dudley's decision to greet the ambassador officially was not taken lightly since he had already worked towards creating a positive relationship with his predecessor. With the question of Philip's support still unclear, aiming to have a good relationship with the new resident ambassador was the smartest move for the nobleman's interests.

A whole array of Lords and Ministers accompanied Silva to the castle —among them, Dudley's brother kept close to the ambassador— and towards the Presence Chamber, passing through the Council Chamber. It was here, at last, that Silva first saw Queen Elizabeth enjoying a musical piece. Upon his arrival, the Queen turned to the ambassador and walked toward him until they were close to each other; then, she proceeded to embrace the ambassador, addressing him in Italian. Both exchanged some general diplomatic ceremonial and basic bureaucratic information before the Queen decided to give the ambassador a taste of her well-known sense of humour:

diciendo cuanto deseaba verse con ella [Joana of Austria], porque una viuda tan moza y una doncella harian buena y agradable vida, siendo ella el marido por ser mayor y Su Alteza la mujer.

saying how much she should like to see her, and how well so young a widow and a maiden would get on together, and what a pleasant life they could lead. She (the Queen) being the elder would be the husband, and her Highness the wife (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.89, 14;15; *Calendar* Vol.1, 360-366).

After this, the Queen decided to end the meeting and took her leave, embracing the ambassador once more on her way out and bidding him talk to her Lords. These waited for the ambassador close by and, among them, there were important members of the Privy Council such as Robert Dudley or William Cecil. According to Silva: “cada uno de por sí me abraza, dándome la enhorabuena de mi venida, mostrando alegrarse della” [(they) came separately and embraced me, congratulating me on my arrival and expressing their pleasure] (Ibid, 16;360-366).

This event will, undoubtedly, strike anyone as odd for the interactions match neither general court etiquette nor the particular scenario. Anglo-Spanish diplomatic interactions were not at their best stage after Quadra’s latest dealings and the unrest concerning a possible Catholic uprising supported by the Spanish powers. Furthermore, diplomatic ceremonial tended to be quite standard and persistent and greeting an ambassador with a hug from both the Queen and the Privy Councillors broke that tradition. It is crucial to analyse this particular event with the aim of understanding its importance in the context of the general Anglo-Spanish diplomatic interactions but also to see the differences that will make Silva’s embassy an odd one.

In order to properly understand this particular scenario, we will have to delve deeper into notions already mentioned in the theoretical framework. First, this event is of particular interest to the latest research of diplomacy, where aspects such as performance or fictionality make the core of the investigations alluded to. Hampton’s work has already

been pointed out due to its importance in the furthering of current diplomatic research and the introduction of notions of fictionality in the analysis of both embassies and ambassadors. For Timothy Hampton: “diplomacy is symbolic because it is political but semiotic at the same time” (2012, 5). This would entail that the meaning of this particular embrace between the Queen and the Spanish diplomat has to be addressed beyond the physical interaction and towards the importance of its symbolic and semiotic meanings. To illustrate this, this analysis will have to rely, once more, on the importance of acting and performance within diplomatic interactions. To do this, we can support the study of Anglo-Spanish interactions in Hutching’s (2020) work regarding performance and diplomacy with the aim of seeing the unclear boundaries between ambassadors and diplomacy, on the one hand, and performance and acting on the other: “once we think of the offices of diplomat or herald in terms of theatre-making it becomes possible to forge a more direct link between the practice of diplomacy” and “the staging of performance.” And, as Hutching continues: “diplomacy and theatre drew on a shared language that was principally grounded in the visual, particular with respect to the choreographing of important state occasions” (211;224).

This serves as the basis for the understanding of the interaction as part of a performance that takes place in everyday diplomacy; however, it is necessary to analyze it further as part of the aforementioned diplomatic ceremonial. In this case, ceremonial is not only used for the settling of diplomatic norms and the basis for general interactions, but it also serves the purpose of checking the status of those interactions. The particular deployment of ceremonial will then function: “as a barometer for relationships in the short run” (Roosen 1980, 465); thus, enhancing the importance of patterns and their changes



and making the manner and choreography of the negotiation as important as the matter being negotiated. With these notions in hand, the appearance of a hug as a means of greeting the ambassador was an important change in the traditional Anglo-Spanish diplomatic interactions and their ceremonial; therefore, the change served the purpose of setting a new tone to the negotiations altogether.

What is left to analyse regarding this particular first audience between Elizabeth and Silva is its emotional component and the importance that emotions can play in the diplomatic outcome. The significance of emotions and the impact of Emotionology, not only in Anglo-Spanish relations but also in any type of human exchange, has already been stated. Now, we need to focus on how emotions may directly affect a given interaction and its interlocutors. It is imperative to refer back to the internal and external qualities of emotions and how those are associated both with the individual that feels the emotions and with the context and scenario in which that person feels them. For this particular concern, we should mention the importance of the internal qualities of emotions, for: “even though emotions have social origins and can resonate collectively, emotions are inherently internal [...] All one can understand is the manner in which emotions are expressed and communicated; whether this is done through touch, gestures, speech, sounds, or images” (Hutchinson & Bleiker 2014, 505). This will mean that the importance of the embrace lies in the meaning of its physical contact. Emotions do in fact have a social meaning and they may vary from societal group to societal group, as it is proven by Emotionology and Emotional Communities; however, the core meaning of emotions relies on their internal meaning, that which refers to the body and its senses. Further research on IR places a crucial weight on the rational capacities of the agents and the need

to use this rationality in order to understand and exploit the meaning of emotions. Besides, it also proves the importance of emotions and their physical components in morphing diplomatic interactions, most importantly, in shaping future dealings based on the particular emotions received:

Without the ability to reference emotion, people remain incapable of making so-called “rational” decisions, especially in the social realm [...] information received through physical senses created emotions, which then serve as the basis for our future decisions by providing a sense of what is good and bad, and what causes pleasure or pain, on the basis of prior learning and experiences (McDermott 2004, 694).

Thus, the hug that Elizabeth gave Silva had a crucial meaning not only in the setting of a new tone within the Anglo-Spanish interactions but also in the shaping of future diplomatic exchanges.<sup>1</sup>

Elizabeth I saw that Anglo-Spanish relations were losing their strength after the issues with Quadra and his last months as a resident ambassador. Together with this, trade routes along the Spanish dominions were beginning to suffer attacks at English hands, so the Queen must have sensed the worsening of the current situation and felt the need to renew diplomatic interactions with the arrival of the new ambassador. Following the guidelines stated above, a change in diplomatic ceremonial would strike the ambassador directly as a change worth taking into account. Afterwards, the embrace itself would trigger an array of feelings within the ambassador’s body that would, later on, be

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to refer the reader to a study concerning the meaning of hugging and embracing and the impact that emotions can have in it. The study analyses the history of hugs and its connotations, allowing us to understand that hugging denotes a long series of meanings and emotions that are attached to love, care, childhood, and family. See: Forsell & Åström 2012.

transferred to socio-political concerns; besides, these feelings that the ambassador experienced would refer to notions such as love, care, trust, and protection. Mercer (2005), a specialist in IR, places major importance on trust, which would be a key emotion for both Elizabeth's and Silva's dealings throughout this period. Trust will be pivotal for Anglo-Spanish interactions during Silva's time in England since it "is important to solving collective action problems, and I suggest that emotions is the basis of trust [...] Trust requires certainty beyond observable evidence and reliance instead on how one feels about someone" (95).

Despite the preconceived ideas that Silva might have had upon his arrival on the island, the change in ceremonial, and, particularly, the importance of the hug and its inherent meaning, swayed the ambassador into an extremely positive state of mind. The choices made by Elizabeth had a concrete plan in mind and it might have been virtually impossible for the ambassador not to be influenced by them. Decision-making is particularly influenced by emotions and context so the fact that the beginning of this particular chapter of Anglo-Spanish interaction had such a crucial emotional event is quite representative of the impact emotions have on human interactions: "decisions do not occur in a vacuum; rather, our choices provide feedback. These outcomes can influence how we feel about past decisions and thus affect future decision making" (McDermott 2004, 697). Emotions can impact both decision-making and future actions, and I firmly believe that it was Emotionology and its effect upon diplomacy that made Silva's embassy so particular.

Following this approach and regarding emotion as a shaping tool available for diplomats in order to affect mood and decision-making made Silva and his embassy stand out from the rest of the Spanish diplomats of the period, only sharing particular traits with

the first years of Bernardino de Mendoza at the English court. These peculiarities, stated above, relied on the importance of renewing Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relations and on using the emotional components of diplomacy as the key to affecting the agents that took part in this enterprise. However, despite having these particular traits and differing somewhat from the standard in Spanish embassies during the reign of Elizabeth I due to the closeness and relationship with the Queen, Silva's duty and his correspondence retain the rest of the already analysed characteristics intrinsic to the Spanish diplomats on the island.

Consequently, after his first meeting and only after being two months in England, Silva started to show affinities with his predecessors. Accordingly, the ambassador proceeded to report religious matters and their importance in his correspondence with King Philip II; particularly, he suggested to the King that the members with whom the Bishop of Aquila had dealt in terms of religion and those that due to the discovery of their private negotiations ended up in jail, were in need of support from the Spanish crown because "est́ esta buena gente tan confiaza de V.M., que, aun sin ser negocio de Dios el suyo, merescen todo favor y merced" [these good folks are so confiding in your Majesty that even if it were not God's own business, as it is, they would still deserve all help and favour]. He also stated the general mood of the Catholics living in the island: "del ́nimo que tienen los catolicos de poner las vidas por la fé, si hubiese ocasion de ser hacer algun efecto y que son muchos" [that these Catholics are ready to sacrifice their lives for the faith if there should arise any need or occasion for it. They are many] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.89, 33; *Calendar* Vol.1, 376-382). Both the gathering and sending of this information had to be handled with extreme care, not to make the ambassador

follow the same path as his predecessor. For this, Silva had to embrace the true role of a diplomat and fuse the boundaries between diplomat and actor, using performance for covering his tracks and keeping everyone pleased: “hago el oficio que se requiere para entretenerlos, aunque con gran secreto y recato” [I do what is requisite to entertain them although with great caution and secrecy] (Ibid,53;390-397).

Despite being a canon himself, a member of the Catholic church, and sharing the same background and upbringing as the rest of the Spanish resident ambassadors in Elizabeth’s court, Silva seemed to be less keen on placing the same level of importance on religious matters and concerns. He did understand the religious differences between the Spaniards and their counterparts but seemed to rely more on personalities and actions when making judgement calls and taking decisions. When reporting to his King with regard to these matters, the ambassador represented this kind of separation between his views of religion and his master’s: “siendo V. M. tan *celoso* de la Religion cristiana” [as you were so jealous of the Christian religion] (Ibid, 45;382-390). This would have been an odd statement for someone like Álvaro de la Quadra or the Count of Feria, members of the Spanish diplomatic network who have already been analysed for their keen interest in supporting the Old Faith and whose beliefs and emotional component behind those made them take decisions only based on Catholicism and not on their perception or diplomatic skills. They, together with Philip II, can then be represented as having a stronger belief in the importance of supporting and helping the development of the Catholic Church and its faith, a feeling that Silva seemed not to share with the same level of intensity.

The gathering of this and any other kind of information proved difficult for the new resident ambassador, mostly due to the atmosphere in which the court lived after the downfall of Quadra and the discovery of his shadowy negotiations. The Bishop had already reported the difficulties he was encountering in his everyday dealings due to the lack of interactions with ministers and members of the court, who seemed to give him a cold shoulder. He had stated that official information and business negotiations was only available through a small number of scenarios and agents. This was also reported by Silva, whose beginning of the embassy, despite the positive note with which it had started, seemed to be complicated: “Están éstos tan sospechosos y andan tan recatados despues quel secretario del Obispo de Aquila hizo aquel mal trato, que no se puede negociar con ellos sino por interpuestas personas” [These are so suspicious and reserved since the Bishop's secretary played him that wicked trick that it is impossible to deal with them except by the intermediation of certain persons] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.89, 34; *Calendar* Vol.1, 376-382). This barrier between the court and the diplomat would eventually collapse given both time and skill, and Silva would ultimately be accepted into Elizabeth's courtiers' confidence.

With this scenario, Silva proceeded with his embassy and had his second audience with the Queen, where the topic of the royal marriage started to appear again as one of Silva's main concerns during his period as ambassador. Elizabeth began this audience on the same note that she had the previous one; this seemed to work more as resuming their previous interaction rather than starting an altogether new one. The Queen tried to transmit to the ambassador emotions of care and interest by saying: “que me deseaba mucho ver” [wished greatly to see me] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.89, 38; *Calendar*

Vol.1, 382-390). However, Silva started to perceive the same issues that his predecessor did and, thus, he was also plagued by Elizabeth's mutability and constant changes, both in decision-making and in policy. In fact, Silva was the Spanish ambassador that complained more often about these exacerbating traits; perhaps, since his embassy was calmer and the atmosphere more welcoming, he was more focused on the importance of transforming these emotions and feelings into real action:

Díceme que ha puesto en duda el negocio, no se sabe cierto lo que hará, ni aún aquí hay cosa cierta de una hora á otra, sino sólo hacer de los falsos que es cosa ordinaria. Amor hace poco, temor cuando se lo tienen aprovecha, mas no cuando se lo quieren poner sino ven el cómo. A causa de su *incostancia* y *variedad*, se escribieran cosas que no suceden, y ni será culpa mia ni aún de quien me avise por esa causa.

This, they tell me, has made the business doubtful, and I do not know for certain what will be done, nor indeed, is anything sure here from one hour to another except the hatching of falsehoods which always goes on. Love has but little influence over them. Fear is more effectual when you can frighten them which you cannot do when you try unless they see a reason. Their *changeableness* and *inconstancy* will cause me to write things that will never happen, but the fault will not be mine or my informants (Ibid, 39;382-390).

Despite complaints regarding the English lack of resolution and the Queen's delay in taking a husband, the ambassador, as happened with his predecessors, reported to his King that Elizabeth seemed to be interested in marrying the Archduke: "esta Reina me ha dado á entender diversas veces que quiere casarse y muestra deseo de que se le mueva esta plática" [and she herself has given me to understand several times that she wishes to get married] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.89, 60; *Calendar* Vol.1, 390-397). Taking a look at this tendency of reporting the indecisiveness of the English ministers and Queen in matters of politics and diplomacy and contrasting it with the regular correspondence that the ambassadors wrote to Philip with information regarding the likelihood and

apparent readiness for Elizabeth to marry seems disparate. The issue at the core of this report might be double: first, diplomats found the need to report every piece of information they could get their hands on, mostly with regard to the Queen's marriage, since that issue was of utmost importance for the Spanish crown and its dominions; nevertheless, the mutability of these people thwarted them from actually taking any of those reported decisions. The outcome was an amalgamation of contradictory information concerning the real state of affairs.

Silva's embassy moved from general descriptions and interpretations of the affairs to face-to-face interaction with the Queen. In the case of this embassy, the interactions with Elizabeth were regular, abundant, and full of personal conversations. The reason behind this might have been Elizabeth's interest in keeping Spain content and busy so as not to suffer retaliation for the attacks that were taking place on Spanish dominions overseas and trade routes, or even for the support given to rising religious figures that opposed the establishment of the Catholic church. Regular audiences provided a higher number of interactions between the Queen and the ambassador which would, in turn, develop a closer and tighter connection between the two, a connection in which the use of emotion was ample. This emotion was then useful for the development of trust and care, emotions attached to the safety and protection of oneself, which resulted in the building of a strong relationship between these agents. This emotion-diplomatic interaction started with a hug and it proceeded with Elizabeth's confiding stories to Silva, when she began to tell him about the first years of her reign and the importance that everyone had placed on religion back then, putting her in the spotlight. Elizabeth then said: "había tenido necesidad de *disimular* su ánimo para se valer con sus súbditos en lo



que toca á la Religion, mas que Dios sabe que su corazon que es bueno en su servicio” [she had had to *conceal* her real feelings to prevail with her subjects in matters of religion, but that God knew her heart] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.89, 47; Calendar Vol.1, 382-390). What the Queen was referring to were the early years of her reign and the religious settlement, a complex matter since, then, the country was torn apart in two parties: the Marian supporters, who backed Catholicism, and the Henrician or Edwardian followers who did the same with Protestantism. Elizabeth stated that she had to hide her true intentions and beliefs and claimed that God knew them well enough despite possible judgement coming from her subjects. Silva’s report was interesting because most historians and Tudor experts are not able to clearly ascertain Elizabeth’s own religion due to her supporting different religious rites at times. The matter of religious duplicity is one that followed Elizabeth from the beginning to the end of her reign. To take a look at it only from the perspective of the Spanish ambassadors, their reports seem to be disparate at times. Feria reported at the beginning of the reign that the Queen followed Utraquism, meaning that she took both bread and wine during the communion. Quadra reported endlessly about her heresy and lack of Catholic beliefs, but Silva seemed to be uncertain regarding her religious beliefs. The Queen was also known to have kept the cross at her private chapel, a worship that was not part of the Anglican church. All these concerns and the intrinsic mutability and performance of the Queen made of her religious beliefs a constant conundrum (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.87, 119, 268). The ambassador was extremely interested in these revelations by the Queen and required a deeper explanation on the matter to properly understand them: “no tan claras como yo quisiera” [but not so clearly as I could have wished]. Nevertheless, it seemed that Elizabeth was not ready to

follow up on the topic: “ni aún hubo tanto lugar para más adelante la plática” [There was no good opportunity of carrying this conversation further]. All of these religious concerns and changes seemed to be affecting the country’s population, since, according to Silva and his reporters, Catholics were always rising in number after seeing the neglect and poor judgment of their leaders (Ibid 47;382-390).

This audience did not end here; in fact, the Queen continued talking to the ambassador about personal matters, in this case, about her relationship with Robert Dudley and the complaints that came of it. As Silva already knew, Dudley was an important contender in the negotiations for Elizabeth’s hand and he was trying to earn the marriage by obtaining Spanish support. The Queen then decided to give the ambassador her views on her relationship with her Master of the Horse; in a way, she was opening her heart to the ambassador:

Díjome: hartas cosas me levantan en mi Reino y fuera, y entrelas que hago más favor á Roberto que convendría, tratando de mí como podrian tratar de una mujer deshonesta. Y no me maravillo que de una mujer moza y de un hombre que tambien lo es y de buena disposicion á quien por sus méritos y bondad que yo he hecho y hago favor, aunque no el que merece, se haya dado ocasion á ello. Mas Dios sabe que es gran maldad y vendrá por este tiempo que lo entenderá el mundo y mi vida no es en oscuro, sino que tengo tantos testigos que no sé como viéndola se haga juicio tan malo.

They charge me with a good many things in my own country and elsewhere, and, amongst others, that I show more favour to Robert than is fitting; speaking of me as they might speak of an immodest woman. I am not surprised that the occasion for it should have been given by a young woman and young man of good qualities, to whose merits and goodness I have shown favour, although not so much as he deserves, but God knows how great a slander it is, and a time will come when the world will know it. My life is in the open, and I have so so many witnesses that I cannot understand how so bad a judgment can have been formed of me (Ibid, 47;382-390).

Elizabeth denies any wrongdoing in supporting and caring for one of her ministers. Their relationship dated back to childhood, when both spent a decent amount of time behind bars at the Tower of London during the reign of Mary. The issues seemed to orbit around the importance of gender and the stigmatization attached to unmarried women who had close relationships with men. The Queen appeared to be unmoved by the possible slander and placed her tranquillity in understanding that both she and God knew the truth about this situation. It might seem trivial to analyse a passage in which the Queen told Silva that she had done nothing wrong with Dudley and that her mind remained at ease; however, the existence of such a conversation is in fact relevant. The Queen did not need to give such a profound explanation to the ambassador if she aimed to reassure him of the possibility of marrying the Archduke. In fact, she had done this before and her explanation had never delved so deep into her personal life. Allowing the ambassador to see her closest self, perhaps attempting to make him believe that the Elizabeth he was seeing was the real one and not the personae, was an emotional mechanism to influence the ambassador's beliefs regarding her and her character. Elizabeth's aim might have been to use that emotional component to affect the conceptions the ambassador might have had about her, which would in turn affect the diplomat's decision-making in future interactions. It all seemed to be pointing at Elizabeth's attempt to make the ambassador both trust her and feel trusted in their negotiations.

Silva was not only different from the rest of the Spanish diplomats at the Elizabethan court due to his closeness with the Queen, but he was also able to analyse and judge characters less biasedly than his predecessors. As we have already seen in previous chapters, the Spanish ambassadors tended to dislike key figures at the Privy

Council for their amount of power or influence over the Queen, as for their religious beliefs. William Cecil was one of those figures hated by Spaniards for his policymaking, his influence on the Queen, and, above all, for his *heretical* beliefs. Despite preconceived ideas and religious beliefs, Silva saw Cecil in a completely different light from that of his predecessors and appeared to esteem him highly for his diplomatic and political qualities rather than abhorring him for his faith:

Cuando aqú vine, segun la relacion que me habian dado el Secretario Sichel, teníale figurado bien diferentemente de lo que le he hallado en los negocios de V. M., porque le he visto inclinado á ellos, *verdadero, claro, modesto y amigo de justicia*, y aunque celoso de servir su Reina, que es lo que en él mejor me parece, ordenado á razon conoce á franceses, y es les enemigo como inglés; háme siempre afirmado con juramento que han hecho gran instancia en llevar á sus tierras, como tengo escrito, la negociacion de Flándes y que para su seguridad les daban grandes fianzas; en lo que toca á su Religion no me meto. Desearía que fuese católico, mas esto será á su cuenta; en los negocios anda bien y se muestra aficionado á V. M., y así se lo agradezco y con buenas palabras que no obliguen, les doy á entender que V. M. tendrá cuenta con él para disponerle á lo que convenga, conforme á la necesidad que ocurriere, porque en lo que toca á negocios él hace y deshace.

When I first arrived here I had imagined Secretary Cecil, judging by the accounts given me, to be very different from what I have found him in your Majesty's affairs. He is well disposed towards them, *truthful, lucid, modest and just*, and, although he is zealous in serving his Queen, which is one of his best traits, yet he is amenable to reason. He knows the French and, like an Englishman, is their enemy. He assures me on his oath, as I have already said, that the French have always made great efforts to attract to their country the Flanders trade, offering heavy security for its safety. With regard to his religion I say nothing except that I wish he were a Catholic, but to his credit must be placed the fact that he is straightforward in affairs and shows himself well affected towards your Majesty, for which I thank him, and, with fair words that pledge me to nothing, I let him know that your Majesty looks to him to dispose matters favourably as necessity may occur, for he alone it is who makes or mars business here (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.89, 71; *Calendar* Vol.1, 400-404).

Silva did not only refrain from judging Cecil based on their differences in faith, but he even went as far as complementing him, something virtually impossible for the rest of the Spanish ambassadors. Understanding that Cecil was a clever minister with the required

skills to perform his duties properly and faithfully came only after being able to separate him from his religion. Silva saw these two units as separate: on the one hand, he could analyse and describe Cecil for who he was as a minister and member of the Elizabethan court; on the other, he could acknowledge his faith, yet he could do nothing else than to wish it was different. We can now try to understand the importance behind the ambassador's need to talk about central figures of the English court. It was particular in its functioning due to the importance of ministers and courtiers surrounding the Queen with their constant attention and advice. The Privy Council was formed by essential members of the country that had a saying in the path English policy would take. Being a woman living in a world of men, Elizabeth seemed to be traditionally devoid of power and agency, characteristics placed on her ministers instead, particularly those closer to her to whom the helm of the country was given. Thus, the inner circle was quite complex and filled with relevant figures that had both access and influence over the Queen; they were: "the wheels that hold the chariot of England upright" (Doran 2008, 1). The issue of counsel and gender has also been tackled in recent studies where the agency and direct actions of Elizabeth have been proved to have more political depth than the stereotype of a traditionally indecisive Queen that relied on key members of the court to rule her country. Mears (2005) states that Elizabeth's gender created a particular scenario in which she was surrounded by male advisors and counsellors entitled to their opinion, placing the Queen in a somewhat passive position; however, this scenario is much more complex than it looks and it was, in fact, the Queen herself who carefully looked for and placed the ministers in her trust and advice, willingly depending on her needs and on the global situation.

Almost a year after his arrival at the English embassy, Silva was, without a doubt, on good terms with the Queen and keeping regular contact, a key part of their relationship and trust. This emotional trust, pivotal for the development and nature of this embassy, continued to be built up, in this case, by attending a play at one of the royal palaces. Entertainments were an important part of life at the English court and they tended to be regular interactions, together with the Queen's yearly process and key occasions such as Coronation Day. Quadra had already attended one of these festivities —the courtly representation of *Juno vs Diana*— and Silva did the same, but with a very different outcome. The play at hand was commissioned by Robert Dudley and it served as one of the main entertainments of the Inner Temple in 1565; as expected, the subject of the play was marriage. The background behind the play and the implications it might have had in the development of the events and the royal marriage have been dealt with in other places with the depth they require (Doran 1995; Axton 1970); however, it is necessary to regard it as part of Robert Dudley's mission to obtain the hand of Elizabeth in marriage. A play was a traditional mechanism to portray a certain political position and defend it at court and they were by no means scarce, since several years before, in 1561, *Gorboduc* had been staged before the Queen with the same idea in mind.<sup>2</sup> Advice, counselling, and

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<sup>2</sup> *The Tragedy of Gorboduc or Ferrex and Porrex* was written by Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville with the aim of impacting the marriage question and forcing the Queen to take a husband in order to safeguard the state of the realm. Its theme was much more concrete and precise than that of *Juno vs Diana*, since it dealt with a royal house whose line came to an end due to unsettled succession. It was not only a complaint towards Elizabeth's lack of resolution but also a call to Parliamentary powers and their ability to force Elizabeth's hand. *Juno vs Diana* dealt with the importance of marriage but did not foresee the same doom that was portrayed in *Gorboduc*. Despite their difference in tone, it is clear that none of them served their purpose.

Parliament seemed to be incapable of forcing Elizabeth to marry, so particular members of the court tried their luck by staging before the Queen plays whose core elements were either the importance of marriage or the doom that an unmarried state may bring to the realm, with the hope of making her perspective on the matter change. In this particular case, the Queen and the Spanish diplomat were both seeing the play close to each other when the end seemed to upset the Queen, since Silva reported the following: “sentenció Jupiter en favor del matrimonio, habiendose pasado muchas cosas de un parte á otra en defensa de su razon: diciéndome la reina; todo esto es contra mí” [Jupiter gave a verdict in favour of matrimony after many things had passed on both sides in defence of the respective arguments. The Queen turned to me and said, ‘This is all against me’] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.89, 77-8; *Calendar* Vol.1, 404-414).

This reaction is, once more, an example of the trust between the Queen and the ambassador, a trust that had been built through several close and personal interactions, not only concerning business but also their private beliefs and ideas. It might mean that the Queen was indeed upset and looked for support on the figure of the ambassador, or it might just mean that Elizabeth was still trying to perform her particular emotional diplomacy with which to keep the ambassador, as they would typically say, “sabroso”. Be it as it may, the reality is that Elizabeth and Silva seemed to share with each other deeper beliefs and emotions, not just those portrayed in traditional diplomatic ceremonial. Performed or real, the interaction retains a degree of trust and support, emotions and feelings that, without a doubt, can impact human interactions and, ultimately, diplomatic decision-making.

The use of emotion on the part of Elizabeth with the intention of affecting the outcome of diplomatic interactions with the Spanish ambassador remained the norm during Silva's stay in England. Actually, the next illustration of this relationship took place less than a month afterwards, when Elizabeth used an approach which closely resembled a previous audience with Álvaro de la Quadra. We must remember that, around the beginning of 1561, Quadra and Elizabeth had met in a private audience where the Queen told the ambassador that she would like to confess herself to him in relation to the marriage suits. In this case, now March of 1565, Elizabeth said something similar to Don Diego: "Yo me quiero confesar con vos pues es Cuaresma y sois mi amigo" [I wish to confess to you as it is Lent and-you are my friend] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 89, 86; Calendar Vol.1, 404-414). After this first statement, the Queen proceeded to explain the ever-present importance of marriage surrounding her reign and her general dislike of marriage as a whole. Furthermore, Elizabeth told him: "yo os prometo que si hoy pudiese nombrar sucesor á este Reino tal como yo querria y convendría, que no me casase, porque no es cosa á que jamás he sido aficionada" [I promise you, if I could to-day appoint such a successor to the Crown as would please me and the country I would not marry, as it is a thing for which I have never had any inclination] (Ibid 86;404-414). Elizabeth was portraying the aforementioned idea of trust as a modifier of diplomacy; she was trusting the ambassador and allowing him to know her mind concerning crucial socio-political matters. Everybody knew then, as we do now, that Elizabeth held an adamant position concerning marriage from the very beginning of her life. It is worth mentioning her famous lines in the early stages of her reign: "I am already bound unto a husband, which is the kingdom of England" (Elizabeth 2000, 59). It is easier to see now, looking in



retrospect, that Elizabeth's only interest in marriage might have been as a diplomatic tool to find peace and quiet for her realm and avoid foreign conflicts. It is also necessary to point out that the mention of the impossibility of choosing an heir apparent at the time was tightly connected to the Queen's own personal experience as a young Princess who had been the subject of several plots and rebellions for the sole reason of her being heir to the throne.<sup>3</sup> Let's keep in mind the importance of these statements, mostly when taking into account who was the recipient: a foreign ambassador with whom the Queen was carrying out negotiations concerning a plausible marriage with the Archduke. Uttering such words was another crucial proof of Elizabeth's intentions to make the ambassador understand that he was in a safe situation, close to that of a trusted friend. However, that was not all in this interaction: the Queen proceeded to make a reference to her unmarried state, the importance of that status with regard to her sex, and the situation with Robert Dudley, a topic of conversation that had already been part of the dealings between the two and that Elizabeth seemed to care to explain to the Spanish diplomat:

Y es fuerte cosa que parece al mundo que en no se casando una mujer no puede vivir ó lo deja por algun inconveniente ó causa no buena, como decian de mí que no me casaba porque estaba aficionada al Conde de Leicester, y no me casaba con él por tener en aquel tiempo mujer, y ahora que no la tiene tampoco se ha hecho.

There is a strong idea in the world that a woman cannot live unless she is married, or at all events that if she refrains from marriage she does so for some bad reason, as they said of me that I did not marry because I was fond of the Earl "[sic] of Leicester, and that I would not marry him because he had a wife already. Although he has no

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<sup>3</sup> This is not just an analysis that we can make by studying the reign of Mary I and the impact of the Wyatt Rebellion for both Elizabeth and her half-sister. This statement comes directly from the Queen's own words to her Parliament: "There were occasion in me at that time: I stood in danger of my life, my sister was so incensed against me. I did differ from her in religion and I was sought for divers ways, and so shall never be my successor" (Elizabeth 2000, 96).

wife alive now I still do not marry him (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.89, 86; *Calendar* Vol.1, 404-414).

What is, then, the relevance of these statements and what makes them different from those uttered to Quadra some years before? First, the audience served as another opportunity for the Queen to further enhance feelings of security and trust; by now, we can securely state that Elizabeth was deploying a concrete Emotionology with the aim of influencing Silva and ultimately Anglo-Spanish diplomatic interactions positively. The topics of the conversation support this statement, since the Queen was expressing her beliefs and ideas concerning crucial points of her policy and reign, points to which she had found opposition before. Furthermore, sharing her beliefs concerning marriage and her preference for being single did not support but hindered the possibilities of believing that the marriage with the Archduke could come to fruition. Once the diplomatic and emotional importance of this interaction is stated, we should consider the difference with the previous ambassador. Both interactions revolved around the importance of confession and the religious role of both ambassadors; however, the general context differed and that is crucial for the success of its emotional component. When the Queen uttered those words to Quadra, they were the first examples of emotional trust that the ambassador had ever witnessed from Elizabeth, so the likelihood or efficiency of the emotional mechanism would be lower by its lack of supporting evidence. However, by the time of this particular audience between Silva and Elizabeth, the Spanish diplomat had had several interactions with the Queen in which she had taken the time to make him experience those feelings of trust and care. Supported by the existence of more evidence, it was far more likely for Silva to regard those emotions as real and important than it had been for Quadra. A key component of emotions, as has been previously stated, is their *stroking* value, their ability

to serve as barometers of the situation and to prove that the statement behind the emotion comes from a reliable source. The more frequent these shows of emotion are, the better they serve their purpose of making the receiver take the information as true and faithful. The truthfulness or performativity of both interactions cannot be discerned, but it is the scenario that surrounds them and the existence or absence of more emotional components that makes the difference between the two.

To keep up with the tradition of the Spanish ambassadors at the English court, Silva continued to report on the importance of supporting Catholics on the island and how their numbers kept rising due to several reasons. First, he found justification behind the rising in numbers and strength on the ill deeds of the ministers and members of the court, who persecuted Catholics on a regular basis. Together with this, the arrival of books at the island was also seen as paramount in the eyes of the ambassador, for they served the purpose of teaching and guiding Catholic supporters; in fact, he even stated that they were reaching a point where Mass and sacraments were beginning to be available throughout the realm, proving their devotion and faith (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.89, 99). Philip answered back to this report and encouraged the ambassador to continue supporting and helping Catholics as much as he could. As before, and most importantly after the revealing of Quadra's private dealings, the King required the task be done: "de tales medios y formas que no se pueda escandalizar la Reina ni los suyos" [by all such means and measures as will not scandalize the Queen or her friends] (Ibid, 120;432-442). The veracity of these reports and the likelihood that the number of Catholic supporters on the island could indeed be rising on a daily basis is hard to ascertain. It was a recurrent topic of conversation among the Spanish ambassadors at the English court and they all seemed

to believe that the strength and will of the Catholics rose every day, as did their faith in Philip II and his divine intervention; nevertheless, despite the number of letters that contain these statements, the data is not available to fully prove their veracity and researchers seem to take opposing sides.<sup>4</sup>

Concerning Silva's everyday diplomatic duties, the marriage suits and the importance of supporting the claim of the Archduke remained persistent. As his predecessors, the ambassador tried to understand the Queen's mind behind her interests in marriage and the likelihood of committing to one. It was in these comings and goings that Silva had to face the duplicity of the English negotiations: "mas no se puede creer sino lo que se vé, por las *mudanzas*, no de dia en dia, mas de hora en hora" [But one can only believe what one sees. The changes are not from day, [sic] to day but from hour to hour] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.89, 109; *Calendar* Vol.1, 414-428). The ambassador was incapable of making sense of the state of affairs since he could not understand what was real and what was not due to not only the mutable character of the negotiating agents, but also to their use of performance, what the ambassador called "lying" and "tricking": "porque saben ya todos, y ellos más que otros, cuán facilmente se miente en esta tierra para engañar" [I do not think, however that he will loose his hold as

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<sup>4</sup> For some scholars, the correspondence is just a representation of reality on the island, where the number of Catholic supporters was always much higher than those of Protestants. On the other hand, some academics seem to diminish the importance of these numbers and defend that, after the breach with Rome and the establishment of the Anglican church, the rate of conversion was slow, meaning that Catholicism was still the dominant religion; however, with the passing of the years and the solidification of the religious settlement, perhaps together with the opposition to foreign powers and their attacks on England for religious beliefs, the number of Catholics was reduced to a minority. See: Pollen 1920; Doran 1994).

everyone knows, and they above all how easy it is to lie and cheat in this country] (Ibid 109;414-428). Despite reporting in his correspondence this certainty about the English use of lies and deceit in their diplomatic dealings, it seemed as if the ambassador did not apply the same certainty to his dealings, as he would, at times, believe their statements without regarding those apparent lies. This mutability rendered the ambassador unable to fully understand the situation: “está lo de aquí de manera que ellos no se entienden y es menester entendedellos [...] materia de gran dificultad por sus *mudanzas*” [things are in such a condition here that they do not understand each other [...] a difficult task, seeing how they change]. Thus, ultimately, the ambassador remained quite uncertain about the possible completion of the marriage between the Queen and the Archduke (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.89, 141; *Calendar* Vol.1, 442-458).

Following the tendency with this particular embassy, and most importantly with this particular ambassador, Elizabeth, once again, showed her care and trust in Silva. In this case she did so, in an extremely emotional and personal moment of her life: the death of Kat Ashley, whom Elizabeth regarded as the closest figure to a mum she had ever had, a close confidant, and dear friend. Elizabeth told the ambassador: “que habia estado muy triste por la muerte de la que he dicho que la habia criado” [said she had been much grieved by the death of the lady I have mentioned who brought her up] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.89, 155; *Calendar* Vol. 1, 442–458). That was the starting point of this conversation: a deeply emotional scene in which the Queen was expressing her sadness for the death of a close friend. She believed this was relevant enough to tell the ambassador, perhaps due to their close relationship with each other. After that statement, the Queen entered into business and demanded of the ambassador the same she had been

doing herself, that was, to open his heart and soul and to express himself freely: “Nunca acabais de declararos conmigo, algo teneis en el pecho que no me queries decir” [You never speak out clearly to me, you have something in your breast that you will not tell me] (Ibid). The ambassador seemed not to understand the meaning of the Queen’s statement and he proceeded to reassure her that everything that he knew and thought about the businesses—in this case, it was also concerning the marriage suit with the Archduke—was already on the table. Elizabeth accepted his explanation but seemed not to be fully pleased with it: “díjome que todavía le quedaba alguna sospecha [...] que ella conocia mis pensamientos, aunque yo no se los queria declarar” [She said she still had some suspicion [...] she replied that she knew my thoughts, although I would not declare them, and laughed very much] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.89, 155; *Calendar* Vol. 1, 442–458). This encounter might have served a double function: firstly, the Queen might have been trying to use the mimic characteristics that emotions have with the intention of making the ambassador express his true feelings and ideas behind the diplomatic negotiations at hand, the same as Elizabeth had been doing with him since the beginning of the embassy; secondly, this might have just been another example of emotional *stroking* but, instead of performing the test herself, she might have wanted to know if the ambassador was capable of performing the same emotional diplomacy, thus proving that the truthfulness and trust that she had been expressing was reciprocal. At the end of the interaction, and no matter what the intention might have been, the ambassador was puzzled: “es muy extraña” [She is very strange] (Ibid 155;442–458).

The next two examples of diplomatic interactions between Silva and Elizabeth reveal the importance of jokes and puns in the course of healthy and successful diplomatic

relations. Elizabeth was known to have a particular sense of humour that she applied to her everyday dealings and also to her negotiations. In their first encounters, she had already used this sense of humour with Silva; now, she used it again on two separate occasions as proof of the already-built feeling of trust between the two. The first example has to do with the military and naval advancements that the Turks were experiencing in the Mediterranean. In that scenario, the Queen decided to lighten the importance of the matter and joke with the ambassador, who proved the same confidence and trust by replying with a pun:

Me decia algunas burlas que habiendo entendido que el Turco tenía muchas fuerzas contra la armada de V. M., estaba determinada de casarse con Bayaceto, su hijo, por hacer las amistades. Respondíle que era mucho precio para hacer amistad, que V. M. deseaba tan poco, que yo me contentaría con que lo que tocaba á su casamiento, ya que no fuese con Bayaceto, no fuese Baya; rióse un poco la Reina.

Told me some nonsense about her having heard that the Turk had a great force against your Majesty's fleet, and that she had made up her mind to marry his son Bajazet for the sake of making peace. I said it was a large price to pay for a friendship that your Majesty desired so little, and that I for my part should be satisfied if, failing Bajazet, "hoax" had nothing to do with her marriage. She laughed a little at this (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.89, 161; *Calendar* Vol.1, 458-470).

The pun that the ambassador used is lost in translation but the meaning of the word in this particular use of “baya” would be close to the English meaning of “hoax”. The relevance of this example is not only that the Queen was confident enough with the ambassador to joke with each other, but that he shared the same feeling and was then able to reply in the same tone. These examples of two-way joke exchanges were only present during Silva’s embassy, whereas, in other scenarios, the atmosphere surrounding the diplomatic interactions did not prove itself safe enough to express the same level of trust.

By the end of that summer of 1565, the two characters repeated again this joke exchange but, in this case, the weight of the interaction was placed on the shoulders of the ambassador, for he was the one initiating the exchange as he decided to tease the Queen with the recurrent matter of business: the possible marriage with the Archduke. Silva had been asked to accompany both the Queen and the Earl of Leicester —Robert Dudley— for a walk in the royal parks. During their walk, the conversation turned to the question of the marriage with the Archduke and the ambassador took his chance to play a joke on Elizabeth regarding the possibility of the Archduke’s arrival at the island in order to consolidate the marriage: “díjele que si entre los que habian entrado con el Embajador y conmigo, habia mirado en alguno que le pareciese que no habia visto, porque podria ser que tuviese en casa más de lo que pensaba” [I asked her whether she had noticed amongst those who accompanied the Ambassador and me any gentleman she had not seen before, as perhaps she was entertaining more than she thought]. The Queen was not ready for this statement and colour left her body: “quedó sin color turbada” [she turned white and was so agitated] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.89, 170; *Calendar* Vol.1, 458-470). Silva noticed her peculiar reaction and understood that the Queen had taken it as real and not as a joke so, cleverly enough, he decided to relieve her uncertainty by laughing, to what the Queen replied: “díjome que no es mala manera de venir así el Archiduque” [That is not a bad way [...] for the Archduke to come] (Ibid 170;458-470). These two examples not only prove the importance of using jokes and puns in the development of diplomatic interactions as mechanisms to create a bond between the agents, but they also prove the strength of the emotional components embedded in the relationship between these two characters, emotions so well-established that gave rise to



a secure and stable scenario in which both the Queen and the ambassador were able to play jokes on each other.

That same summer, the traditional and yearly royal process in which the Queen left the city and visited different royal palaces and noble houses, provided the scenario for the next interaction between the Spanish diplomat and the English Queen. It was standard for resident ambassadors who had active businesses with the Queen to follow her during the summer process in order to proceed with their negotiations; in this case, Silva was with the Queen during the 1565 trip. The ambassador from the Empire was also staying with Silva, since they were both trying to further the Archduke's claim to marry Elizabeth, and it was in this process of arranging the inns for both of them that Elizabeth came to interact with Silva, believing that he had not been given a location to spend the night. Infuriated and insulted by such treatment, not only to a resident ambassador but to a person so close to her, she said: “¿Cómo no os han dado á vos posada? Los míos lo sentirán de manera que entiendan lo que con vos se debe hacer, y estareis en mi mesma Cámara y os daré mi llave, y tomóla para dármela” [What! have they not given you a lodging? My people shall learn in a way they will not forget how you are to be treated. You shall occupy my own chamber and I will give you my key. She took the key to hand to me]. After seeing her reaction, the ambassador was quick to calm the Queen down and explained to her that it was not a lack of an inn but his personal interest in not leaving the ambassador of the Empire alone, so that it would not be necessary to sleep in her chamber (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.89, 169; *Calendar* Vol.1, 458-470).

Silva should have created, by now, his own opinion and understanding of both the Queen herself and her character, after being a resident ambassador for more than a year

and having been in so many personal encounters with Elizabeth. Most of the businesses that they dealt with concerned the matter of marriage and the importance it had for both England and foreign powers. In that regard, Silva had reported several times on the indecisive character of the Queen and the tendency of her people to lie. Taking into account all of this information, the ambassador had created his own profile of the Queen in relation to marriage:

No creo que hay cosa que dé mayor contentamiento á esta Reina que tratarse de casamiento, aunque me dice á mi que no la hay que le dé más enfado; pero es *vana* y entiendo que querría que la buscasen todo el mundo.

I do not think anything is more enjoyable to this Queen than treating of marriage, although she assures me herself that nothing annoys her more. She is *vain*, and would like all the world to be running after her (Ibid, 174; 458-470).

Silva here pictured to perfection the use of courtship as a diplomatic weapon and the interest of the Queen in using marriage as a stalling mechanism. He also pointed out Elizabeth's vanity and need for attention, characteristics which were also intrinsically linked to male, foreign, diplomats. By acknowledging this, the ambassador was giving strength to the performative character of diplomacy and the connections between the agents of diplomacy and the actors on the stage.

Only some days after this last encounter, Elizabeth held an audience with Silva and, this time, she found herself talking to the Spanish ambassador concerning the arrival at the island of the sister of the King of Sweden. After these and other conversations about piracy and its damage to Spanish trade, the Queen brought about what seemed to be a concerning report of Silva's apparently dubious work:

Díjome: yo no puedo acabar conmigo de no os decir una cosa de que me han avisado de que estoy muy *maravillada*, porque así por el *amor* que yo os tengo, como por el que vos me *mostrais*, teniéndooos por tanto por mi Embajador, como del Rey mi hermano tratais contra mí por otro Príncipe.

I cannot prevail upon myself to keep silent on a thing that has been told me and which has greatly *surprised* me. My own *affection* for you and that which you appear to feel for me have made me consider you almost as much my Ambassador as that of my brother the King, and I am *astonished* you should act against me for the sake of another sovereign (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.89, 186; *Calendar* Vol.1, 470-483).

The claim stated that Silva was aiding the administrative rulers of the Low Countries, the Duchess of Parma and Cardinal Granvelle, in a mission to send support to Mary Queen of Scots, an enterprise which could put Silva's mission in England at risk. The ambassador was quick to reassure the Queen of the falsity of the statements and his lack of interference in the matter, which seemed to satisfy her. Furthermore, the diplomat took his chance to shift the situation around and retaliate at Elizabeth for such an assertion:

Le dije que más razon tuviera yo de quejarme della que no ella de mí; pues tratándose pláticas tan largas con los que aquí estaban de Francia, no me habia dicho nada, siendo yo su tan *aficionado*.

I told her I had much more reason to complain of her than she of me, since of all these long discussions she was having with these Frenchmen she had not told me a word, although I was so *attached* to her (Ibid, 186; 470-483).

The crucial point of analysis for these interactions revolves around the usage of emotion words and the importance of their embedded meaning. As stated above, the importance of words is crucial not only for the development of diplomatic relations which orbit around the mastery of rhetoric but for the intrinsic emotional meaning that they are able to convey. Words do not only express a plain meaning but they can also transmit an emotional component. In this case, both Elizabeth and Silva were putting emphasis on

their reciprocal care and love for each other, qualities that rendered the truthfulness of the statement virtually impossible. That built-up care and trust that both agents shared since the early stages of the embassy had added an extra layer of meaning to their interactions, thus making the exchange not only about the plain meaning of the words themselves but also about the added emotional weight they carried.

This scenario is also interesting in its contrast with an audience that had taken place between Quadra and the Queen in which the former was called out for his unlawful dealings by ministers of the Queen; however, she expressed her trust in the ambassador at that time. The passage was analysed as proof of the existence of performance in the Queen's emotional diplomacy, where it could be understood as a performed feeling of trust due to the real outcome of the enterprise for Quadra. Yet, in Silva's embassy, there was a plethora of cases in which both the Queen and the ambassador shared scenarios of trust, care, and support that seemed to point out the existence of a relationship based on these emotions. Furthermore, the outcome of the interactions between the Queen and Silva is completely opposite to that between her and Quadra, which also supported this emotional component and its veracity. In summary, the regularity of the examples and the outcome of the interactions render the exchanges between the Bishop and Elizabeth as most likely performative, whereas those with Silva appear to be genuine.

It seemed as if the atmosphere and the relationship were at a perfect stage, for both the Queen and the Spanish ambassador continued having fun interactions with each other in which both took turns in initiating the joke. First, Elizabeth hosted an audience with the ambassador and they had their regular talks concerning business; after that, the Queen called for Robert Dudley and said to the ambassador: “¿Conoceis á este gentil-

hombre? [Do you know this gentleman?]. To what the ambassador replied that it had been such a long time since he saw him last, that he might not be able to recognize him any longer. Elizabeth then replied: “¿Tanta presuncion tiene que no os va á visitar cada dia? [Is he so presumptuous that he fails to wait upon you every day?] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.89, 203; *Calendar* Vol.1, 483-499). This particular joke was played at the expense of Robert Dudley, who, as it is well known, tried to keep a close relationship with the Spanish ambassadors with the aim of furthering his own position at court. However, time had passed and the marriage question still remained unanswered, making Dudley’s chances of obtaining Elizabeth’s hand quite slim. This might have been the reason behind Dudley’s lack of interest in the Spanish diplomat, what the Queen there called “presumptuous”.

The other example of a joke happening between the Queen and the Spanish resident ambassador took place soon after, in this case initiated by Silva and concerning the marriage suit with the Archduke. At this stage, reaching the beginning of the year 1566, the suit was at a stall due to religious discrepancies at the foundations of the potential treaty. With regard to this, the Queen seemed to be complaining about the lack of resolution on the Emperor’s side due to religious concerns, which put the negotiations at a halt. Precisely, the Queen appeared to be bothered by not being able to know the true religion Archduke Charles worshipped, to what the ambassador replied with a teasing statement: “díjele riendo si sabia ella cuál era la suya propia que me la dijese, porque su entendimiento no podia dejar de conocer la verdad, como yo entendia” [I then asked her jokingly whether she knew what her own religion was and would tell me, since her understanding could not fail to see which was the true one]. The Queen laughed at this,

and, by potentially seeing herself cornered on a question she was not ready to give a definitive answer to, decided to change topics (Ibid, 263; 517-527). Despite this joking manner and the good relationship, it seemed as if the ambassador was unable to put an end to his mission of furthering a marriage suit beneficial to his King. It all revolved around the constant changes of the Queen and her avoidance of a definitive commitment. Those were the issues that Silva reported as the reason behind the stalling of the suit with the Archduke, since the Queen: “no es persona que se ata á lo que se dice en su nombre” [she is a person who never holds to what is said on her behalf]. So, the value of a written treaty or the actual word of the Queen could be regarded as useless in the pursuit of a final alliance (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.89, 281; *Calendar* Vol.1, 527-538).

Despite having plenty of scenarios to prove the existence and importance of emotions in everyday diplomatic dealings, and even though his relationship with the Queen seemed to be more solid and amicable than with any of the other Spanish diplomats, Silva was still plagued by the same issues and complaints of his predecessors. In between these two examples of great emotional trust illustrated by the use of jokes, the ambassador complained repeatedly about the mutable character of the agents and the negotiations and their lack of resolve. His mission was easier than others' due to his closeness with the Queen, which provided him easy access to her and, probably, a gentler negotiating approach; however, they were still unable to find a resolution: “escribo con miedo cuando no es ya pasado, por las *mudanzas*, porque me da pena escribir lo que no sucede, aunque á su culpa” [I always write in fear about things that are not actually past as changes are so continual, and I am grieved to communicate things which do not happen even though the fault be not mine] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.89, 232; *Calendar*

Vol.1, 499-509). Determination was crucial when the ambassador had to use every bit of information at his disposal in order to make the right calls, being this crucial for his own safety and from the success of his diplomatic duties, since he was initiating secret dealings with the Queen of Scotland: “con todo el secreto del mundo y disimulacion que se require para que no se entienda” [the utmost secrecy and dissimulation must be used to avoid any knowledge of it getting abroad] (Ibid, 210;483-499). His mission was beginning to cross the aforementioned boundaries of light into those of shadows and it was at those times that the availability of information was key for the safe fulfilment of the enterprise. Tired of these constant changes and in need of certainty for both his lawful and unlawful duties, the ambassador had the solution to the problem: to turn words into action. He might have been so frustrated by the situation that he directly told both ministers and Queen how to act: “tengo dicho, no hay que ordenar, sino ejecutar lo ordenado” [what is required now is not new orders, but the fulfilment of those already given] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.89, 322; *Calendar* Vol.1, 547-555).

Together with his secret negotiations and the impossibility of striking a definitive deal due to the English lack of constancy, the ambassador proceeded to report his personal take on Elizabeth and on the likelihood of her marrying. He had defined her before as someone vain and with an interest in being liked by both her people and foreigners; perhaps, these statements came as a result of their extensive interactions with each other and were not influenced by preformed ideas stemming from religious or political beliefs. Nonetheless, Silva wrote to his King that everything Elizabeth did was to look for attention and to lie to everyone:

la Reina querria que la quisiesen todos; no s3e si ella querr3a alguno por marido [...] es gran entretenedora; el pueblo y 3un gente m3s que principal parece que est3a ofendida desta manera de proceder, mas todo se pasa.

the Queen would like everyone to be in love with her, but I doubt whether she will ever be in love with anyone, enough to marry him. [...] She is a great chatterer, and the people, even the aristocracy are offended at her manner of going on, but everything is put up with (Ibid, 282;344;527-538;564-549).

Despite having a close relationship with the Queen and serving as a confidant to her, don Diego saw right through her and understood that Elizabeth's core diplomatic tool was being dubious and uncertain, remaining irresolute about politics until she got her chance to act in her own benefit.

Closeness with the monarch could be an obstacle for the proper and peaceful development of domestic policy. First seen as an issue during Feria's time as an ambassador to Elizabeth, being too close to the Prince could only bring jealousy and insecurity among those in power. Silva's case was not too different since his connection with the Queen was a sight for sore eyes for some members of the inner Elizabethan circle, especially among those who saw Spain and its interests as an obstacle to the advancement of England. This scenario started to bring about problems to the Spanish diplomat and it ultimately made his job more difficult:

porque como la Reina me muestra buen rostro y platica conmigo, mas que con otros, ponen con m3s cuidado los ojos en lo que digo y hago, y son tan sospechosos que es menester tenerle con ellos.

As the Queen shows me favour, and converses with me more than with others, they watch more closely what I say and do, and they are so suspicious than [sic] one must be even with them (Ray3n and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 89, 325; *Calendar* Vol.1, 547-555).



This nearness with the Queen brought all the eyes upon the ambassador, not only those within the English government but also among foreign ambassadors. For another resident diplomat at the court of Elizabeth to be neglected or disregarded in favour of Silva would prove to be excruciating, to say the least.<sup>5</sup>

Another recurrent theme that required Silva's attention was the evolution of the religious state on the island. Though, so far, he had taken a milder approach with regard to the judgement of the religious settlement and even though he had proven capable of discerning the person from their faith, he still complained about the ill deeds performed by the *heretics* that ruled the country. The approach taken by both the Queen and her ministers in terms of religion was never accepted by the Spanish diplomats and even Silva's hand was being influenced by religious prejudice in his reports to Philip; thus, he stated that the insults towards the Old Faith would never cease: "estos herejes nunca paran" [There is no stopping these heretics]. He also analysed Elizabeth's stance among her people: "la Reina no está bien quista [sic] ni es amada de los católicos ni de los herejes; de los unos por no ser católica, y de los otros por no ser tan furiosa y apasionada en la herejía como ellos querían" [the Queen is not popular or beloved, either by Catholics or heretics; the former do not like her because she is not a Catholic, and the others because she is not so furious and violent a heretic as they wish] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.

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<sup>5</sup> In diplomatic history, there is an important matter to take into consideration when two or more ambassadors seek to further their own claim with a foreign monarch and that is the notion of precedence. This was an issue particularly between France and Spain and, in many occasions during the reign of Elizabeth, the Spanish ambassadors reported back to King Philip and complained about this, resulting in a conflict between the two nations. To properly understand the importance of this notion, see: Brun 2003; to see its impact in action check: Roosen 1980.

89, 338;363 *Calendar* Vol.1, 555-564;569-576). This religious characterization of the Queen represents a stark contrast with reports coming from within the country and even with early-modern scholars that have analysed the Elizabethan period. The religious settlement remained to be a crucial point both for domestic and foreign policies but it might not have been as extreme as the Spanish diplomats seemed to paint it.

In the summer of 1566, Silva travelled again from his usual residence in the pursuit of obtaining an audience with the Queen, who was out in her summer process. In order to do this and in the need of keeping the relationship strong, the ambassador journeyed a long distance between his London residence and Oxford, where the Queen was staying at that time. Both enjoyed an afternoon of hunting and, once it was over, Elizabeth rejoiced at hearing that both Philip and his wife were healthy. They did not tackle any prominent business on that occasion so Silva's trip did not seem to have been especially necessary; anyway, he decided to pay Elizabeth a visit. Aware of this circumstance and understanding that Silva had travelled that distance mostly to perform routinary ceremonial procedures, the Queen decided to repay the ambassador by requesting that they both travelled the distance back as long as the royal litter would allow it. Elizabeth's action was also not intrinsically necessary, but it served the purpose of showing care for the ambassador, another plain example of the emotional relationship at play between the two. Elizabeth's trip to Oxford had a schedule and a plan behind it and it did not allow the ambassador to further any of his own enterprises; however, he reported to his King the true meaning behind his going: so long as Elizabeth did not initiate the talk herself, he would be in Oxford to prove to the Queen that his sole purpose was to accompany her:

Las ocupaciones de los ejercicios en Oxonia fueron tan largos y tan continuos, que no hobo lugar de poder tratar con la Reina de otra cosa, ni yo lo quise hacer si ella no me hablase en ello, porque no pensase que mi ida habia sido más de sólo acompañarla.

The ceremonies and exercises at Oxford were so long and continuous that there was no time to speak to the Queen of anything else, nor did I wish to endeavour to do so, unless she commenced as I wished her to think that I had taken the journey only to accompany her (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.89, 367;371; *Calendar*, Vol.1, 577-582).

Silva would have, without a doubt, preferred to make certain advances in the enterprises that were open between the two countries and that required some resolution; however, he clearly understood the meaning that accompanying Elizabeth could convey and the importance of the emotions embedded in making a journey with the Queen just for the sake of being together and not to further any political negotiations.

By this time, Elizabeth was approaching a decade on the throne of England and some of the first and basic issues laid for her at the beginning of her reign were still unsolved; among them, the question of her marriage and the royal succession. Despite having been a recurrent and ever-present matter of negotiation in the early years of the Elizabethan period, marriage was still unsettled and both country and ministers were becoming restless. It was not only that by this time, 1566, Elizabeth was already thirty-three years old, but she had also faced bouts of illness such as smallpox in 1562 that put her life in serious danger, a danger that would also take its toll on the realm and its peace. With these scenario in mind, marriage was not only important as a means of controlling Elizabeth by providing her with a male-guiding figure, but it also became a state issue due to the uncertainty posed by the lack of a clear succession. It was in this particular environment that Silva seemed to break out of his usual character and reprimanded

Elizabeth for her tendency to deal with minor issues, neglecting major ones. Both were having a conversation about the possible journey Philip might take from Spain to his dominions in the Low Countries and the likelihood that he would pay Elizabeth a visit during that trip. Elizabeth joked around with Silva regarding the virtual impossibility of this coming to fruition due to her being unworthy of such a royal visit; however, the Spanish ambassador was not in the mood for more jokes and he told the Queen to focus on what was important and urgent: settling the succession and finding appeasement for her realm by appointing an heir. Elizabeth, following her usual tone regarding the matter and in a manner that the ambassador had already witnessed, said: “respondióme que nombrar sucesor era cosa pesada y peligrosa como algunas veces me habia dicho, y así está bien conocido, que en este particular no se hará efecto ninguno” [She said that appointing a successor was a troublesome and dangerous thing, as she had told me before. It is well known now that nothing will be done in this] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.89, 381; *Calendar* Vol.1, 582-591).

This unsettled situation was not only crucial for the development of Anglo-Spanish interactions but also for the country itself. The unrest concerning the lack of a marriage and an heir was starting to mount up among the English population and the social uncertainty was brought to the attention of the Queen in the Parliament of 1566. They urged Elizabeth to marry, or, if she was not ready to make up her mind concerning who to choose, at least to bring peace to the realm by appointing a successor, thus avoiding the chances of a civil war should the Queen die prematurely. Elizabeth did not take pressure well and she also disliked being told what to do without her asking for advice, so she did not take the actions of Parliament lightly, and, afterwards, complained to Silva:

Porque queda, segun me han dicho, muy mal contenta con los Procuradores del pueblo que se hallaron en él, y habiéndose de llamar adelante Parlamento, vengan otros y no éstos, que cierto le han apretado en la sucesion y en los artículos de la Religion y otras cosas. Pero habiendo salido con su intento, queda contenta aunque mal satisfecha de algunos, y así se me quejó antier de nuevo de que la hobiesen dejado todos sola, doliéndose dello y encareciéndome el peligro en que habia estado, y el mal miramiento y pertinacia que habian tenido muchos, y así los reprendió en un plática que ella misma les hizo el último día.

As I am told that she is dissatisfied with the representatives of the people who form it, and wishes in another Parliament to have different men. It is true that they have pressed her very hard about the succession and in the matter of religion and other things, but as she got her way at last she is pleased, although annoyed at some of the members. She again complained to me yesterday that she was left alone and grieved thereat, magnifying to me the peril in which she had been, and the pertinacity and disrespect of many towards her. She reprehended the members in a speech she made to them at the dissolution (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.89, 422; *Calendar* Vol.1, 607-615).

Complaining to the Spanish ambassador about the actions and demands placed on her by her people was not a rare occurrence during Silva's embassy, since it had happened before regarding the pressure on the Queen to choose a husband. Silva and Elizabeth shared a common diplomatic relationship solidly founded on trust and these interactions were just proof of it. Elizabeth regarded the ambassador as a character that she could trust in times of need and peril and she also seemed to value his advice more than that of many of her own advisers; thus, it was only natural that she sought Silva's comfort, even more so when it seemed as if her inner circle had failed her: "ella, con la confianza que muestra hacer de mí, me trató del negocio quejándose mucho de todos, en especial del de Leicester" [she, with the confidence she usually shows in me, began to speak upon the subject, complaining greatly of all of them, and particularly of Leicester]. Following Silva's report, Elizabeth appeared to have lost the ability to trust some of her closest confidants as regarded the particular question of her succession. She might have resorted to Silva for

she felt: “que la habian dejado sola” [saying that they had abandoned her] (Ibid, 395;591-598).

These complaints were mostly addressed at the members of Parliament for their direct demands for the Queen to either marry or settle the succession. Elizabeth felt extremely pressured and judged by seeing that her Parliament did not support her particular course of action. She had mentioned before, after her initial statements of remaining a virgin married to the state, that she would marry if and when God saw it fit and that she would always look for the benefit of her country. Parliament became tired of waiting for the resolution of those claims and that was why they decided to pressure the Queen with the blocking of the subsidy until she gave them the requested answer. Elizabeth placed the blame for these interactions on the parliamentarians themselves, accusing them of being unfit for that role: “no se maravillaba de los de la Cámara baja que hobiesen tratado desto como mozos y de poca experiencia en negocios de tanta consideracion” [said she was not surprised at the members of the Lower Chamber treating this matter like inexperienced schoolboys instead of as a matter of so great importance] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.89, 398;399; *Calendar* Vol.1, 591-598). Throughout this whole period, Silva remained at the Queen’s side attentive to her complaints and requests for support; he listened to the Queen and offered advice when asked for, probably aiming to better both his position and his King’s by proving to Elizabeth that they did not seek to pressure her as much as her own citizens, but also providing emotional support, thus earning Elizabeth’s appreciation: “agradeciéndome el afición que en este tiempo le habia mostrado, jurándome que jamás lo olvidaria” [thanking me at the same time for the attachment I had shown to her at this juncture, and swearing she would never forget it]

(Ibid, 399;591-598). Silva remained at her side and, for Elizabeth, this was clear proof that the use of emotion —care and trust— from the very first day that Silva had set foot on the island reaped its fruit by obtaining the support of a foreign ambassador and, ultimately, bettering the relationship between the two countries. This scenario proved that, even at times of peril and dispute, the relationship between Silva and Elizabeth could remain intact and, even if the matters at hand were not directly on the agenda of the Spanish diplomat, he would serve his role as a friend due to their established mutual trust.<sup>6</sup>

It has been stated above that this reluctance on the part of the Queen to accept or to consider the possibility of marrying or appointing an heir came from her particular and complex upbringing and early life, when these same issues caused her trouble and pain. Silva had also previously reported to the King on Elizabeth's lack of interest in choosing a husband and, now, after her confrontation with Parliament, he did the same again, proving that Elizabeth's decision-making would not be swayed by urgent Parliamentary requests or, in this case, by the use of another play staged before the Queen:

es extraño el aborrecimiento que la Reina muestra de casarse. Representándole anoche una comedia que duró hasta casi la una, se acabó en un casamiento y mostró desgusto de lo que representaba la mujer. Y así me lo dijo.

the hatred that this Queen has of marriage is most strange. They represented a comedy before her last night until nearly one in the morning, which ended in a

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<sup>6</sup> Parliamentary analysis of the events and their particular importance for the development of the current state of affairs lays outside the main scope of this thesis. For the readers' own interest, I would like to refer them to a classic work that maintains its value and importance in the absence of more recent studies with the same scope and depth about the Elizabethan Parliaments. See: Neale 1953 & 1957).

marriage, and the Queen, as she told me herself, expressed her dislike of the woman's part (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.89, 467; *Calendar* Vol.1, 631-638).

Silva seemed to be hinting here at an interesting notion that many researchers have pointed at as regards Elizabeth's lack of interest in fulfilling traditional womanly roles: to understand contemporary studies that might stem from this particular prejudice towards the female gender means to understand the importance of gender and its role in everyday life during the Elizabethan period; to sympathize with the pressure and doubts placed on Elizabeth's shoulders concerning her lack of qualities to rule a country; to regard the role that Elizabeth played during her own time to bend and change these gender roles by her constant representation of her alternate personae, a character that resembled a man at some scenarios and a goddess at others; to understand political and cultural representations of the Queen in their two different natures: those created by her own hand and those that came from external sources such as art and literature. All of these concerns, and many more, have shaped the way we see and understand the Elizabethan period, the agency of the Queen and other members of the realm in the shaping of her image, and the prefabricated image of the Queen that shielded her from direct attacks within and without her country.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> A detailed analysis of all of these matters would be virtually impossible in a work that studies the diplomatic and emotional relationship between the Spanish ambassadors and the English Queen and her ministers; however, they have served a crucial point in my understanding of Elizabeth's own decision-making and character-building that might ultimately lead to the image of her that we see through the ambassadors. Furthermore, the Spanish diplomats were also indirectly and unconsciously affected by beliefs and traditions that remained at the centre of Elizabeth's own issues. Her own take on gender roles, femininity, marriage, rule, and other matters that were pivotal for her life and reign have



After these seemingly continuous representations of trust and care by both Elizabeth and don Diego, the diplomatic interactions returned to their basic course of action and to the recurrent issue of religion in the Spanish diplomatic correspondence. The issues centred, as they did with the previous ambassadors, on topics such as mutability, heresy, or even ill-government. So far, Silva had been, according to the data, the fairest Spanish resident ambassador in terms of judgment and religious beliefs; however, he placed most of the blame regarding the state of affairs and the path taken by the country on the hands of *heretics* and their beliefs: “como lo de esta córte se gobierna por pocos y por éstos herejes y de un parecer y deseo, quanto á esto es dificil el tener la inteligencia de lo que tratan, á lo ménos hasta que se comunica en Consejo” [as this court is ruled only by a few heretics, it is difficult to learn what is going on, at least until it is discussed in the Council] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 89, 466; *Calendar* Vol.1 531-638). Mutability was definitely an issue that plagued the Spanish ambassadors but it appeared not to be directly attached to the English character itself but only to those that professed Protestant views. This might prove that the Spanish views were not unbiased in this regard and that they might have regarded Elizabethan ministers’ indecisiveness in business and decision-making as another of the negative characteristic traditionally placed on the alien, in this case, the “heretic”.

In the Spanish correspondence, as we have already seen, there was always another concern attached to religious complaints and that was the furthering of Catholicism and its increase in numbers and strength. This rise in numbers was usually regarded by the

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been studied from literature to Parliamentary rhetoric, passing through art and sex studies. Some of them are: King, 1990; Gent & Llewellyn 1995; Frye 1993; Levin 2013; Scalingi 1978; Heisch 1980.

ambassadors as proof of Philip's good deeds during his time as King regent of England and to the general admiration that people had towards the Spanish empire. Furthermore, they tended to report that England's government was not only punishing Catholic views while supporting Protestant ones, but it was also portrayed as a bad government for the people, which seemed to trigger the subsequent reaction of an increase of Catholic supporters:

lo de aqú se est́ como suele; los cat́licos van creciendo, es cosa bien contraria á lo que pasa en otras partes, y es cierto, como si por buenas relaciones que muchos de los que en el tiempo que V. M. estuvo en este Reino eran *furiosos herejes*, son ahora de los mejores cristianos.

Things here are as usual. The Catholics constantly increasing in numbers; quite contrary to what happens elsewhere, and I know for certain that many of those who were furious heretics when your Majesty was here are now the best Christians (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.89, 475; *Calendar* Vol.1, 631-638).

Religious winds were changing on the island and those that seemed to be Spanish supporters were now turning their backs on their friends of old. This was the case of Robert Dudley —by then already known as the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Leicester— a figure who had been a member of Philip's retinue during his time married to Mary I, followed by the negotiations between the Earl and the Spanish diplomats seeking Philip's support with the promise of returning England to the Old Faith. At this point, however, Dudley disregarded both the relationship with the ambassadors and his support of Catholic beliefs and Spanish interests, turning solely to defending Protestantism and Englishness. He was not the only member of the inner circle that started to confuse the Spanish ambassador since Cecil, a character that had until now kept a close and polite relationship with Silva, deserving the diplomat's own compliments, was now behind a raid at the Spanish inn.

This meant that the country was seemingly undergoing a double opposing movement: the lower classes, according to the ambassadors, were more prone than ever to support the Catholic case and an Spanish intervention; on the other hand, many of the ministers and nobles at the core of the court were shifting their support to the Protestant and Puritan cause. Don Diego seemed puzzled by these changes and tried to caution Cecil about the possible damage that his actions might bring by placing himself as the culprit behind the Catholic instigation:

Yo me maravillaba de que se hiciese semejante novedad, y por lo que yo estimaba su persona y amistad, le advertia que aunque en esas materia él diese el parecer en el Consejo de la Reina que conviniese á su servicio y al bien del Reino, que no se hiciese cabeza en este negocio que por ventura se le procuraban cargar á él personas que le querian hacer odioso del pueblo.

but was surprised at any such fresh steps being taken and out of esteem and friendship for him I warned him that even though his advice in the Council in these matters was prompted by his desire to serve the interests of the country, it would not be to their advantage to persist in the proceedings, the responsibility for which some people sought to cast upon him for the purpose of making him odious to the public (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.89, 565-566; *Calendar* Vol.1, 695-690).

Don Diego sent another report to his King regarding the state of religion on the island and the damage that the lack of a change would cause to the Catholic population. He reported that the number of Catholic supporters had been rising and that both Mass and sacraments were widely available throughout the island; however, he feared for the state of these Catholics and their possible corruption. Silva painted a picture where Catholics were living and sharing quarters with Protestants and Puritans, seeing their actions and their beliefs at work. Catholicism might have been increasing but it still had to deal with persecution and, most importantly, with temptation or corruption coming from a large amount of the Protestant population that, by lacking the correct guidance, would never be

able to be converted to the Catholic faith. For the ambassador, tackling this issue was crucial to further protect the faith and its development: “porque la falta de la frecuentacion de iglesias y ordinarias doctrinas y oficios santos resfria la devocion y de alĺ se hace mayor caida” [because the failure to attend regularly at church and perform the sacred offices and duties, cools devotion and causes thereby a greater fall still] (Ibid, 26;3-12).

These changes that were taking place within the inner circles of the Privy Council and the principal ministers of the country brought about another problem for the Spanish ambassador that had already been foreshadowed several years before this point: his excessive closeness with the Queen proved detrimental to many of the English ministers, particularly when they aimed at shifting policies and foreign diplomacy or when they failed to obtain Elizabeth’s support. This situation led the ambassador to a double conclusion: first, he stated that much of the issues that stemmed out of the government were caused by the people that surrounded the Queen and their particular zealous or belligerent beliefs. This implied that Silva, like the rest of the Spanish ambassadors, reduced the agency of the Queen to that of a mere puppet in the hands of mighty men such as William Cecil or Robert Dudley, meaning that the Spanish diplomats failed to see the impact the Queen herself really had on policy and on decision-making and that she was, in fact, in control of the advising systems (Mears, 2005). Secondly, the ambassador became the target for many of the ministers as the evil polluter of the Queen’s mind, regarding him and his closeness with Elizabeth as the reason for her failure to support their views and policies. His being too close to the Queen ultimately led to his being avoided by many: “como no hallan tanto aparejo en la Reina como querrian, andan ḿs recatados conmigo de lo que solian” [As they do not find the Queen quite so ready to help

them as they could wish, they are more wary of me than ever] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.90, 16; *Calendar* Vol.2, 3-12). This reaction ultimately indicated that the Queen and the ambassador were close to each other and shared mutual feelings of trust and care; otherwise, the ministers would not have been concerned about Silva's closeness with the Queen and about the possibility that he might be influencing her decisions. Such perspective can clearly be seen in Silva's correspondence: "todo lo que hacen es procurar que la Reina esté recatada conmigo" [everything they do is to make the Queen be cautious with me] (Ibid, 26;3-12).

The time was mid-1568 and the global European situation had taken a turn that might be impacting the mission of the Spanish resident ambassador at the English court. In 1567, the Spanish Tercios under the control of the Duke of Alba were led to the Low Countries and the Duke himself assumed one of the leading roles in the country next to Margaret of Parma.<sup>8</sup> Alba arrived at the Low Countries with the aim of submitting them and appeasing the religious unrest that was taking over the area; his army was at the ready to enforce law and order. It was indeed necessary for the Duke to use force in his unrelenting and harsh enforcement of religious policy, which ultimately earned him the

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<sup>8</sup> Fernando Álvarez de Toledo y Pimentel, 3rd Duke of Alba, was known as the Grand Duke of Alba as he was a pivotal figure for the development and expansion of the Spanish Empire through the reigns of Charles V and Philip II. By many, he was considered the most efficient general of the period, while others feared him with all their soul. The general might have been efficient indeed, but his ways were also ruthless and terrifying. Under his rule, the Low Countries suffered the implementation of the Spanish Inquisition and thousands of books were burned for their heretical content. He played a crucial role in the conquest of Portugal and even though he had been banished from court due to his son's marriage without the permission of Philip II, he was called and accepted back at court just for his expertise and skills as the head of the Spanish armies.

hatred of the population (Parker, 2017). This was the beginning of the Spanish War in the Low Countries and its influence led to the start of diplomatic discrepancies between Spain and England, discrepancies that Silva began to experience. In fact, in May of 1568, Silva had a direct audience with William Cecil where these matters were of crucial importance. Cecil questioned the ambassador about the religious oppression that the Duke was exerting in the Low Countries and questioned the need of armed intervention. Silva replied to the minister that Alba was just following Philip's policy and, as the legitimate ruler, he was entitled to do so; Silva added that, perhaps, Cecil should not support seditious and rebellious views in a foreign Prince's domain. Cecil replied to don Diego with a traditional stereotype that would only gain strength as the period went by, the entitlement and pride of the Spanish people: "replicó riendo que no, sino que la nacion española era extraña y se queria hacer señora del mundo" [He laughingly said, no it was not, only that the Spanish nation was a strange one, and wanted to be mistress of the world] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.90, 58; *Calendar* Vol.1, 26-40). The minister even laughed when uttering these words, a gesture that showed how sure he seemed to be about his view of the Spaniards. This view would become a more-or-less constant trope during the embassies of characters such as Guerau de Spes and, mainly, Bernardino de Mendoza, exponents of these views themselves. Nevertheless, and differing from both his English and Spanish counterparts, Silva did not answer with rage or entitlement; on the contrary, he remained calm and collected, as he had done all throughout his diplomatic career: "no lo creia, ni que él lo creyese que hobiese semejante plática entre españoles, porque era gente muy templada y modesta" [I told him I did not believe, nor should he,

that there was any such talk amongst Spaniards, who were a very temperate and modest people] (Ibid, 58;26-40).

The religious and political situation was not only being affected by the Spanish actions in the Low Countries, but also by the damage that the Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relations experimented after the expulsion of the English resident ambassador at the Spanish court. John Man, the English ambassador appointed to serve at Philip II's court (1567-8), quickly fell in disgrace due to his radical religious beliefs and his extremely ill-timed comments. Before this outcome, though, he had seemed to be a fit candidate for the post precisely for his apparently not-so-extreme religious views and his good diplomatic skills, qualities on which even Silva himself had reported positively. However, the intrinsic opposition to Protestantism that both the King and the inner court expressed, together with the scaling of the situation throughout Europe due to religious rebellions and reforms, created a volatile scenario for John Man, who reportedly uttered some insulting remarks about Catholicism and the Pope. This led to Philip's rage and refusal to see Man at court or even give him an audience. In the end, the King banished him to a village outside the court and asked for his departure, not even giving the ambassador a chance to defend himself. News of this reached the island and Cecil decided to tackle the matter with Silva, looking for a solution. This audience resulted in something quite rare: William Cecil was visibly enraged and even shouted at the ambassador, complaining about Spain's religious bigotry and the ill-treatment given to the English ambassador. Silva was so amused at this and at the chance of seeing Cecil enraged that he placed more importance on the rare occurrence than on the business itself:

Dej́ele decir, y cuando hubo acabado, det́veme un poco hasta que se le remitiese algo la ćlera, y lleǵndome despues á él riendo, le abracé y le dije que habia gustado de velle enojado de lo que le habia referido, teniendo por cierto que entendia otra cosa de lo que mostraba, siendo el negocio de cualidad que no tenía otro bien ni otro mal, sino como la Reina lo quisiese tomar.

I let him talk on, and, when he had done, I waited a little for him to recover somewhat from his rage, and then went up to him laughing and embraced him, saying that I was amused to see him fly into such a passion over what I had told him, because I knew he understood differently, and that the affair was of such a character as to be only as good or as bad as the Queen liked to make it (Ibid, 77;26-40).

Don Diego placed all the importance on the fact that Cecil felt so furious about the situation, aware that the matter of the ambassador's expulsion would only be positive or negative depending on the Queen's views. Philip asked for Man's recall based on his religious views and comments; he did not refuse to have a replacement but he did not request it either. The situation would later be used by the English ministers as a mechanism to complain against Spain's diplomatic policies and they would refer to this case as an affront that justified their own actions in future occasions with regards to Spanish ambassadors. This audience in particular is a clear example of the power of emotions in international relations and the importance that these emotions can have given the right circumstances. Apart from the rareness of Cecil showing himself in an enraged or mad state, it shows that even he, a calm and collected adviser, could lose his temper and let emotions drive him. Both this diplomatic issue and the overall escalation of affairs within Europe left their mark on Anglo-Spanish diplomatic interactions.

By now Silva had been a resident ambassador at the English court for almost 4 years, a long period of time compared to his predecessors, and definitely longer than any other Spanish diplomat at Elizabeth's court besides Bernardino de Mendoza. Apart from the obviously rising tension between the two nations, Silva's own health was beginning



to take a toll due to the English weather, a decisive factor for every Spaniard that lived on the island during that period, being it so different from the weather in the peninsula. Therefore, Philip decided to appoint a replacement for Silva: Don Guerau de Spes, who travelled to the island and was trained in the duties of a resident ambassador by don Diego for some time as it had already happened between Feria and Quadra. Silva did not stop his diplomatic career after his English embassy, as Philip asked him to be the resident ambassador in Venice. In retrospect, the replacement was odd and it only damaged the relationship between the two countries: first, by deciding to change an ambassador that had so far kept a perfect relationship with the Queen; secondly, by appointing an untrained nobleman whose dealings proved to be detrimental for Anglo-Spanish interactions. The matter of Silva's health cannot have been the sole reason behind his replacement, for other ambassadors such as Quadra and Mendoza, respectively during their embassies, repeatedly asked for a recall that would never come: Quadra perished due to those health concerns and Mendoza went blind after his extensive diplomatic mission. Philip might have had a bigger scheme in mind, probably the necessity to take negotiations to another level, one in which the English support and meddling could be stopped from affecting the situation in the Low Countries. This mission might have proved too aggressive for a peaceful diplomat such as don Diego, who had not dwelled on the shadows of diplomacy very much during his tenure. Whatever the reason might have been, Silva had to say goodbye to Elizabeth and this last meeting is another crucial example of the importance of emotions in diplomacy.

Between 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> August 1568, Silva had his last audience with the Queen, an audience with the aim of saying his goodbyes to her and letting her meet the new Spanish

resident ambassador. Let's have a look at Silva's report to Philip on the audience before analysing its importance:

Mostró más *pena* que pensé, y mudando el color, me dijo que pesaba en el alma de que V. M. hobiese hecho *mudanza*, teniendo tan gran *satisfaccion* de mí y de la manera de proceder en los negocios, como ella habia siempre mostrado, y que quisiese Dios no fuese con algun misterio. E hizo en esto tanta instancia, que por quitarle la *sospecha* me quise condenar con ella, certificándola que V. M. se habia resuelto á darme licencia á suplicacion é importunidad mia, la cual yo habia hecho sólo por mi salud, teniendo por cierto que los aires desta tierra me eran muy contrarios, como ella mesma sabía, y que no habia en ello otro misterio; y con esto se quietó algo, agraviándose de mí mucho de que la hobiese querido dejar.

She showed more *sorrow* than I expected, and, changing colour, told me that she was grieved from the bottom of her heart that your Majesty should make any change, as she was so *greatly pleased* with my mode of procedure in affairs. She had, she said, always shown how pleased she was, and she hoped to God that there was no *mystery* behind this change. She dwelt so much upon this that, in order to banish suspicion, I threw the blame upon myself, assuring her that your Majesty had decided to give me leave at my own supplication and importunity, my sole reason being my poor health, which I was sure this climate did not suit. I said she knew this herself, and there was no other mystery behind it (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.90, 119; *Calendar* Vol.2, 63-70).

Here, we can see a lot of information relevant to Silva's embassy and to the analysis of both emotion and Emotionology in Anglo-Spanish interactions. First, Elizabeth's sadness for the ambassador's departure is reported as genuine for a reason. Silva may have been biased due to his closeness with the Queen and he may not have been able to see the performance played by Elizabeth, but this seems unlikely, for he had been able to see through Elizabeth's lies and tricks in many of his previous reports. For example, when reporting the death of Lady Katherine Grey—a key name in the possible succession to the throne—at the beginning of 1568, Silva had referred to Elizabeth's apparent sadness as false and performed. He had not believed the Queen to be sad about the death of Katherine Grey but he did regard her reaction at this last audience with her as true and

genuine (Ibid, 15-16). This would probably have been so because, by seeing Silva leave the country, Elizabeth was losing both a trusted friend and confidant, as well as a dutiful and skilled ambassador at the dawn of a big European conflict that might bring difficulties to the island. Silva's departure was more than just an exchange of resident ambassadors; it meant the departure of trust and friendship; it meant the uncertainty before a new face at tumultuous times; it meant that despite having invested herself in the development of a diplomatic relationship based on trust for almost four years, her work would be for naught since a new envoy with no trust and a yet unknown character would now become resident ambassador at her court. The veracity of Silva's observation can also be supported by the physical reaction apparent on the Queen's face, for emotions might be performed but turning pale after hearing a piece of news seems quite more challenging to achieve. Overall, this interaction is yet another proof of the importance that trust and care played in the development of diplomatic exchanges and their well-being. The relationship between the two countries during Silva's time as a resident ambassador would not be matched by any of his successors and the examples that can be seen in his tenure in terms of trust and care are paramount in the developing of Anglo-Spanish Emotionology. It was not only the Queen that seemed sad, puzzled, and perhaps even mad at Silva's petition for a relocation, since Cecil also had a talk with the ambassador and expressed to him his sadness for the decision: "tambien hablé con Sichel á mi vuelta á esta y le dije la venida de D. Guerau y mi partida, de que mostró *sentimiento*, certificándome que la Reina estaria dello *penadísima*" [I talked with Cecil and told him of the coming of Don Guerau and my departure, whereat he expressed sorrow and assured me that the Queen would be greatly pained] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.90, 120; *Calendar* Vol.1, 63-70).

Both of these central characters at the core of Anglo-Spanish interactions expressed their sadness and discomfort for the departure of don Diego; both, in fact, had had a good, amicable, and close relationship with the ambassador. Cecil seemed to also share the fears of the Queen regarding the uncertainty of future diplomatic interactions for he told Silva that Elizabeth always regarded him as a friend and trusted advisor, even going as far as putting Silva's views before those of her own ministers and councillors. Both Elizabeth and Cecil could suspect the shadowy intent behind the change of ambassador and both doubted the good intentions of Spes. Silva understood this sentiment to perfection; being replaced by a new ambassador in such an uncertain atmosphere—even more so when his own embassy had gone smoothly and seemed to never have caused a single problem amongst the English people—could only be suspicious for the English, so Silva decided to praise the new ambassador's character and skills, presenting him as someone amicable and peaceful with no ill-intentions whatsoever (Ibid, 120;121). Silva could not have foreseen the future and he did not know that his replacement for Guerau de Spes would lead Anglo-Spanish interactions to their end in war by the end of the century. Spes proved to be anything but a peaceful minister, and Silva's departure represented the end of those exchanges of trust and care and the advent of new ones littered with hatred and belligerence.

## 6. The beginning of the decline

By the end of June 1568 and before being introduced to the Queen by don Diego Guzmán de Silva at his last audience as a Spanish resident ambassador at the English court, Guerau de Spes had already received his orders; following his traditional views of policy and work ethics, Philip II had provided his new English ambassador with a lengthy piece of correspondence detailing the current state of affairs and his future duties. As it happened with the rest of the orders that Philip sent to his ambassadors at the court of Elizabeth I, the main goal to be fulfilled should be the bettering and protecting of the Catholic faith with the aim of re-establishing the old religious values in the island. In this particular case and, as we know from the last stages of Silva's tenure, religious concerns were at an apex between the two countries due to the uprisings within the Low Countries and the expulsion of John Man from the Spanish court. It has been stated before that the reasons behind the similarities in character, values, diplomatic approach, and religious beliefs are to be found behind a complex web of social, cultural, and traditional values embedded in the upbringing of these agents; furthermore, a paramount part of the Spanish Emotionology can be traced back to the weight placed upon religious beliefs. The ambassadors were deeply influenced by societal beliefs firmly rooted in Catholicism and the authority of the Papacy, together with the Catholic atmosphere that surrounded both court and Monarch. This scenario, together with Philip's incessant remarks concerning the importance of supporting the Catholic faith, would ultimately condition the ambassadors' personalities.

Stephen Greenblatt studies the processes of self-formation and fashioning and deals with the methods and characteristics in which one can shape and morph one's own character. This fabricated self-image is obtained by the fashioning of oneself and the creation of a personality with which to address the world:

Fashion seems to come into wide currency as a way of designating the forming of a self [...] more significantly to our purpose, fashioning may suggest the achievement of a less tangible shape: a distinctive personality, a characteristic address to the world, a consistent mode of perceiving and behaving (Greenblatt 2005, 2).

Greenblatt connects the importance and manner of these processes with the modes of literary creation and characterization. This allows the reader to link the literary world, once more, to diplomatic exchanges and interactions, understanding that the processes in which authors create their fictional characters do not differ much from the ways in which one can create an image of themselves to appear before the rest of the world. These theories of self-fashioning, intrinsic traits, and characteristics of one's own personality are formed in opposition to whatever we may see as different or alien. Placing that image in the spotlight and portraying it as the Other, would allow our diplomatic agents to fashion themselves in opposition to that figure (Ibid, 3;9). In the particular case of the Spanish diplomats, these Others were the English Protestant ministers and members of the court, different due to their religious views. Thus, the creation of the Spanish Diplomatic Emotionology would come as a result of the self-fashioning of the ambassadors in opposition to the *heretical* characters ruling the island. This antagonism would not only come in terms of religious beliefs but in an altogether intrinsic impossibility of unity caused by their organic differences. These characteristics were already visible during the tenure of the first three Spanish resident ambassadors at the

court of Elizabeth I; however, they became more apparent during this second round of diplomatic exchanges, since the dichotomies One-Other and Catholic-Heretic became ever more present at the core of Anglo-Spanish diplomatic interactions. In Spes' own case, Philip initially led him down the path of religious opposition by stating that the uncertainty afflicting the two countries came from John Man's own wrongdoing and his views, since: "es un *hereje* tan pernicioso y mal intencionado" [is a *heretic* so pernicious and evil-minded] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.90, 123; *Calendar* Vol.2, 63-70). As in the case of Silva, Spes tried to work towards obtaining certain political and economic retribution for the damages caused by the English ships to the Spanish maritime trade and navy. Matters eventually became more heated between the two countries as the years went by and the damages and thefts increased; however, neither Silva nor Spes were able to obtain retribution for the English actions against Spanish interests.

Philip, as any of his resident ambassadors at the English court, was aware of the difficulties in achieving some of these goals due to their antagonising character; supporting Catholic views, beliefs, or even uprisings meant opposing the legitimate rule of England and the Queen herself, so, in order to obtain the desired outcome, Spes had to resort to the well-known diplomatic performance and the masking of his true intentions. Same as his colleagues, the new resident ambassador had to work within the lights of diplomatic dealings with the intent of keeping Elizabeth happy with his work: "quiero que lo hagais, procurando de la tener grata, y asegurándola que de mi parte la corresponderé siempre con voluntad de muy buen amigo, vecino y Hermano" [I wish you to do; trying to keep her on good terms, and assuring her from me that I will always return her friendship as her good neighbour and brother] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.90,

126; *Calendar* Vol.2, 63-70). However, he had to dwell on the shadows of diplomacy and prove to be a minister capable of achieving those antagonising duties. Spes had to keep the channel of communication open between himself and his King and Mary Queen of Scots, rightful ruler to the Scottish throne and possible heir to Elizabeth I: “en siendo en Inglaterra tengo mandamiento de V. M. de servirla en lo que pudiere” [on my arrival in England, to do what I can for her] (Ibid, 129; 63-70).<sup>1</sup> Balancing these duties and enterprises proved a challenge for the newly invested ambassador. Following the pattern of this study, the similarities in character, Emotionology, and diplomatic information were kept in line with the rest of the Spanish diplomats that resided on the island; however, Spes’ particular embassy was most impacted by the maritime and trade issues that ultimately led the Anglo-Spanish amity to an end, together with the increasing influence that religious affairs imposed on the development diplomatic enterprises.

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<sup>1</sup> By the time Spes was serving as resident ambassador at the English court, Mary Queen of Scots was already a prisoner in England. The intricacies of her story are not crucial for this particular study of Anglo-Spanish Diplomatic Emotionology, even though a basic understanding of the situation is necessary to contextualize the events and actions of the Spanish ambassadors. After Mary’s return to Scotland, both cousins tried to keep an amicable and close relationship but failed to meet each other on several occasions. Furthermore, Elizabeth tried to advise Mary in her marriage and looked to find her a suitable husband with regards to English foreign diplomatic interests. Mary ended up marrying Lord Darnley despite Elizabeth’s attempts at avoiding it and his later murder triggered the beginning of Mary’s downfall. Opposed by many of her Lords, she was forced to abdicate in her son James, who was taken from her custody. She ultimately married James Hepburn, Lord Bothwell, again antagonising Elizabeth’s and her own people’s interests, which resulted in her fleeing the country into imprisonment in England until her trial and consequent execution. For a study of Mary’s own life, see: Collinson 1987; Fraser 1994. For Elizabeth’s own letters to her cousin advising her in terms of politics and marriage see: Elizabeth I 2000.



Those first interactions that Spes had with the Queen under Silva's wing and the ensuing ones that took place during the first months of his tenure in 1568, were crucial for the development of his own traits and qualities as a Spanish resident ambassador. The times were becoming more tumultuous for the whole of the European countries and the interactions between each realm were accumulating higher levels of tension. These issues had already been part of Silva's everyday diplomatic work for almost half of his residency in England. As mentioned before, the Duke of Alba was already exerting pressure on the Low Countries, the maritime trade had also suffered its first blows, and the religious uprisings throughout Europe were gathering strength. However, Silva had already created his own personae as a foreign ambassador and both Elizabeth and the Privy Councillors knew his way of proceeding with business. Silva understood his duties and responsibilities and knew that the importance of a good image, the portrayal of friendliness and approachability, together with the proper displaying of emotion were not only necessary but mandatory for the correct development of Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relations. Thus, when the winds started to change, his knowledge was already firm enough to allow him to perform his duties successfully and the deployment of emotional trust that had taken place between the Queen and Silva assured them that the relationship would remain strong. All of these concerns and obstacles were, nevertheless, present for Spes when he was left alone as the new resident ambassador; he did not know the Privy Councillors or the Queen and neither was he known by any of them. In this manner, then, the surmounting issues made it harder for the inexperienced diplomat to firmly establish himself on the island. These and the added weight exerted by notions such as religion or

nationalism would be crucial for Spes' character and its development as an ambassador, ultimately yielding his idiosyncratic Diplomatic Emotionology.

Despite these pre-existing notions and the future obstacles that the new ambassador would have to face in his diplomatic work, Spes did take the first months of his new position to firmly establish a conception: the English ministers were the root of every evil that was taking hold of the country and the Queen, being William Cecil at the centre of it all. The Anglo-Spanish diplomatic interactions developed, from now on, towards a more aggressive, belligerent, and judgemental phase in which ambassadors played a key role in the decision-making of foreign policy; their own actions, choices, and reports were crucial for the development of relations between the two countries. In this instance, claims of religion and heresy served as the answer for anything the ambassador might disagree with regarding English policy. Cecil, as one of the main councillors, an experienced diplomat and minister, and the close confidant and friend of Elizabeth, was targeted as the mastermind behind all of the *wrong* decisions taken by the English government:

Sicel toma estas ocasiones para hacer ódio las nuestras cosas á su ama [...] En toda cosa se conoce el camino de Sicel, enemigo del nombre católico y ganoso, si la ocasion le ayudase, de incomodar á las cosa de V. M.

Cecil takes these opportunities to make bad blood between his mistress and us [...] but in all things Cecil showed himself an enemy to the Catholic cause, and desirous on every opportunity to oppose the interests of your Majesty] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.90, 147;155; *Calendar* Vol.2, 75-82;83-94).

Cecil was perceived as the evil conspirator against the Spanish dominions and the Old Faith, and Spes targeted him as the *de facto* ruler of the island, erasing any notions of

agency Elizabeth could have. This particular perception of the events might have something to do with the misogynistic and patriarchal views already analysed with regards to other Spanish diplomats, where they did not place any of the weight of ruling on Elizabeth's shoulders for her gendered incapability to govern. This way, it was easier for the ambassadors to place the blame on Cecil as the visible male figure behind the sceptre.

The issue that plagued Spes the most, together with anything associated to heretical beliefs, was the maritime trade and the attacks on both Spanish ships and dominions. Such rich and prolific trade did the Spaniards have at this time that it was not a surprise that they were targeted for theft. All the stealing and damaging that was making a dent in the Spanish trade became Spes' obsession during his tenure on the island, and, as it could have been guessed by his descriptions of Cecil as the handler behind policy, it was him that received the blame of these actions. Spes seemed to be blinded by this issue as an ever-present problem in his everyday diplomatic mission. Both damages and thefts indeed took place against Spanish ships and merchants, but the extent of the diplomatic enterprises could not be reduced to only that issue; however, it was the only matter that the ambassador reported on frequently —without forgetting the importance of religious concerns. Consequently, during the very first months at the court of Elizabeth I and before the event that set his embassy astray and led to his expulsion from the island, Spes focused on the wrongs that Englishmen were inflicting on Spanish interests, seeking retribution ceaselessly: “es mucha necesidad que se muestre algun rigor, porque jamás se oye aquí otra cosa sino que han robado a vasallos de V. M.” [but afterwards more rigour will be

necessary, for nothing else is heard of here but the robberies they have committed on your Majesty's subjects] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.90, 141; *Calendar* Vol.2, 75-82).

Spes had to face his biggest diplomatic mission only four months after being introduced to Elizabeth as her new Spanish resident ambassador. In fact, on the 12<sup>th</sup> of December 1568, the diplomat reported back to his King that the so-called payment ships had arrived at the island. These ships were sailing to the Low Countries loaded with money lent to Philip II by Italian merchants in order to pay the wages of the *Tercios* stationed under the orders of the Duke of Alba. Concerned about the weather when crossing the channel and the fear of French pirates attacking the unprotected vessels, they decided to take refuge on English soil until a safe passage could be secured. Spes' orders, directly sent by Philip, were to obtain said passage and to protect the ships and the delivery of the money, as the Spanish army had been suffering a lack of pay that could ultimately lead to mutiny and disbanding.<sup>2</sup> Spes found himself before this scenario as the only link between the two countries in terms of diplomatic negotiations, so his actions and decisions were crucial for the future of Anglo-Spanish relations. The following letter, after the one that informed the King of the arrival of the payment ships, revealed the ambassador's particular view of the events that influenced his own decision-making: "entiendo que su intento es quedarse con este dinero, porque el *miedo* que los suyos tienen

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<sup>2</sup> I have tried to narrow the historical explanation of the payment ships to a version that provides the necessary information for the understanding of the diplomatic actions taken by both countries. However, there is much more to it, not only in the diplomatic sphere but mostly in the foreign policy area, where both the English and Spanish seizure played a key role for the future outcome of international relations. If the reader is interested in more precise background information concerning the payment ships and their importance in terms of political interactions, see: Wernham 1966; MacCaffrey 1968.

es mucho” [I understand her intention to be to keep this money, as her friends are in great alarm] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.90, 160; *Calendar* Vol.2, 83-94). The official story was that the money was being taken from the ships and into a safer place for its proper storing until the time was right for them to sail to the Low Countries. Despite the feasibility or likelihood of this story, Spes instantly opposed it and regarded the English actions as an offence. He began to assume the already familiar position of direct and abrupt opposition to the English court and their decisions and, in fact, he reported to Philip II that Elizabeth: “se *atreve* á tanta *infidelidad* contra la Amistad y confederacion que con V. M. tiene y contra la palabra que dos veces me ha dado” [she dares to show such *treachery* to her alliance and friendship with your Majesty and thus breaks her word, twice pledged to me] (Ibid, 161;83-94).

The same as had happened before in the case of Quadra’s embassy, the wording of the ambassadors was crucial for the proper understanding of their views and perspectives on the enterprises they dealt with. Besides, in the process of studying and understanding emotions and their meanings, the use of language is crucial, for we embed emotional meaning in certain linguistic structures; furthermore, there would be no such thing as a study of emotions without understanding the words we use to describe and express these emotions. Barbara Rosenwein studies Emotional Communities through the Middle Ages and the early Renaissance, developing a pattern of study for groups of people that feel and reference emotions in the same manner; in these cases, the way in which they refer to certain emotions is pivotal:

Because emotions are inchoate until they are given names, emotional vocabularies are exceptionally important for the way in which people understand, express, and indeed ‘feel’ their emotions (Rosenwein & Cristiani 2019, 41).<sup>3</sup>

Spes’ wording denotes feelings of unsafety and scariness, ultimately dealing with emotions of fear. He had begun to develop his particular take on Diplomatic Emotionology where religion was placed at the centre of every diplomatic enterprise and, surrounding it, the ambassador put the attached emotions that distanced him and his work from his English counterparts. In fact, he portrayed notions of both moral and physical superiority, together with a particular entitlement that seemed to express that the ambassador felt the English ministers and Queen were not a match for the Spanish crown. This is the reason why Spes chose to report to his King his surprise at Elizabeth’s daring to take the money out of the ships. This behaviour, as he saw it, went against everything that was built between the two countries. Seeing the events in this manner does not make it hard for an outsider to understand the easiness with which Spes called for a seizure of English goods throughout the Spanish dominions:

como tengo escrito al Duque de Alba, sería cosa conveniente mandase V. M. ser detenidos los bienes de los ingleses en los señoríos de V. M., y cuando vuelvan ese dinero y las naves que han tomado estos corsarios ingleses y franceses, restituirlos; de otra manera, ellos ternán el dinero de ventaja y harán trabajoso y casi imposible el comercio de Flándes, y pienso que es necesario prever en ello con tiempo.

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<sup>3</sup> The study of emotions is also a study of culture, social norms, and language, for the meanings and uses of emotions vary depending on any of these notions. It might pass unseen when we use everyday language but, unconsciously, every single one of us embeds certain emotional meaning in the linguistic and syntactic structures that we form. There have been several studies that focus on the emotional meaning behind construed sentences, sayings, or even metaphors. All of these linguistic traits have underlying emotional content. See: Rosenwein 2010; Kövecses 2003; Lakoff & Kövecses 1987.

I have written to the duke of Alba, it would be advisable that your Majesty should order the seizure of English property in your dominions, and, when they return the money and the ships that these English and French pirates have stolen, your Majesty might restore what you had seized, otherwise they will have the advantage of the money, and will make trade with Flanders difficult or almost impossible. It is therefore necessary to take timely measures (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.90, 161; *Calendar* Vol.2, 83-94).

It is true that Spes had neither the power nor the authority to tell the Duke of Alba or the King himself what decision to take concerning the seizure of the payment ships. The Duke had a higher rank and experience, so he could disregard the comment of the resident ambassador if he thought it unfit; however, it is key to understand that, after the expulsion of John Man from the Spanish court, Spes was the only voice that could narrate the events taking place in the island and the intentions of the Queen and her ministers. There was no other channel of communication from which Philip or Alba could obtain another take on the situation, thus the picture painted by Spes was to be regarded as the only plausible side to the story. Ultimately, the agency of the resident ambassador was crucial for the seizure of English goods in the Spanish dominions, meaning that the worsening of the situation and of Anglo-Spanish diplomacy was, to a certain extent, to be blamed on Spes' own Emotionology and his stark opposition to his English counterparts.

Following this new approach that the Spanish diplomat was starting to display in every one of his diplomatic exchanges, Spes decided to write a memorandum to Elizabeth in terms of religion. His views on this matter, as seen in his attacks on Cecil and his *heretical* policy, opposed Elizabeth's establishment of the church and her policy concerning Anglicanism. In fact, and being more precise, Spes did not write a memorandum to the Queen: he wrote an exhortation to Elizabeth telling her that the path through which she was leading her country in terms of religion was wrong and that a

change would save her from a worse ending. Spes' tone was not only out of place for a foreign ambassador but it clearly resembled notions of entitlement that explained the forward and aggressive course of action that the diplomat had so far chosen. The *legajo* contains four pages of text in which the ambassador proceeded to describe to the Queen the beauties and goods of the Catholic church, its Saints and ministers, the word of God, and why other prophets or religious leaders were in the wrong by opposing the Scriptures. Ultimately, Spes told the Queen to revert England to the Old faith as it was the only way in which: “cobraré este Reino (otras veces tan católico), su antiguo *nombre, lustre y valor*” [this realm (so Catholic before), would gain its old name, lustre and valour] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.90, 165-166). According to Spes, England had lost its name, value, and power once it did away with Catholicism in favour of Anglicanism. The ambassador placed the value of the land and its people only on their religious beliefs; for him, England would only be good and prosper once more should she return to the fold. We have already seen that the previous Spanish resident ambassadors had strong and in some cases zealous Catholic views, but none of them had decided to write to Elizabeth directly to explain to her why the country was not going well; in fact, Spes was teaching the Queen how to fix her so-called issues. From the perspective of a foreign resident ambassador, he found it necessary and suitable under his duties to approach a monarch and enlighten her on how to rule her kingdom. This was undoubtedly caused by his zealous religious beliefs but also by his disregard for a female monarch. The same happened when he started placing the blame of policymaking solely on the shoulders of Cecil, except he was now exerting patriarchal harassment by giving unsolicited advice to a monarch on the basis of her unfitness to rule. Moreover, this view was supported by his



next letter to the King, a letter where he once more placed the blame for the situation on the heretical views on the Council and Cecil instead of doing so on the Queen herself: “*estos bellacos herejes del Consejo de esta Serenísima Reina se quieren perder, y incítalos ó mándalos á todos Sicel, que no se puede escribir lo que está por celos de su herejía fuera de seso*” [These *heretic knaves* of the Council are going headlong to perdition, incited by Cecil, who is indescribably crazy in his *zeal for heresy*] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.90, 169; *Calendar* Vol.2, 94-106).

At the beginning of January 1569, Spes began reporting to his King on certain matters he had at hand regarding that shadowy side of the diplomatic mission. In fact, he reported on two crucial contacts for the events to come but also for the ambassador’s own future. First, he told the King that the Duke of Northumberland, a central character in the English court and a powerful lord of the Northern regions, was ready to pledge his loyalty to Philip II in any regard the King might need him for. In addition, a servant of the ambassador had a meeting with Mary Queen of Scots and reported the following: “*direis al Embajador, que si su amo me quiere socorrer, ántes de tres meses yo seré Reina de Inglaterra, y la misa se celebrará por toda ella*” [Tell the ambassador that, if his master will help me, I shall be queen of England in three months, and mass shall be said all over the country] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.90, 170-171; *Calendar* Vol.2, 94-106). Spes was fulfilling the other half of the mission he was given by the King: to establish contact with Mary Stuart and to further her needs as well as he could in order to either get her to be appointed as the official heir to the throne or to forcefully place her on the English throne. In order to fulfil this mission, the ambassador also needed to have contacts among England’s ministers and nobility, those that might be loyal to Philip or Mary,

mostly due to their Catholic views and their intrinsic interest in returning both England and Scotland to the Catholic faith. This explains the contacts with Mary and Northumberland, which continued, and in fact increased, through his tenure as resident ambassador.

Perhaps Spes was not careful enough with his negotiations or he might have been too daring for the role of ambassador; anyhow, the same day he reported about his secret dealings with these characters, he also stated to Philip that William Cecil had come to his inn and placed him under house arrest. The word had spread that Spes was the one responsible for asking the Duke of Alba for the seizure of English goods, as the English ministers knew that he was the only available channel of communication between what was taking place on the island and the rest of the Spanish dominions. The English placed an important amount of the blame on Spes' own dealings and actions as the trigger for the seizure and that was the reason behind placing him under house arrest. Certainly, the English ministers also knew the power of using emotions at diplomatic exchanges, since the Spanish ambassador himself reported to the King that they had threatened him and that he believed those threats to be true and not performed, which became a reality that very same day when they placed him under house arrest in his own inn. This scenario helps prove, once more, the mirroring qualities of emotions: the use of emotions in order to coerce or scare an opponent was not only available for the Spanish ambassadors but also for their counterparts, who, from this point onwards, started using them as skilfully as the Spanish diplomats had been doing. The ambassador remained with the same vision about the scenario, and he reduced it all to Cecil's own heresy: "*la herejía le trae cegado*" [he is quite *blinded* by his *heresy*]. For Spes, religion was so important in one's life that

the most significant minister at the English court, William Cecil, who had served Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, was not competent enough to take his own decisions based on the information and political requisites, but was rather blinded by his “bigotry” and “heresy” (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.90, 171;211; *Calendar* Vol.2, 94-106).

Philip II replied to his ambassador concerning all of this new information by the middle of February, a bit more than a month after Spes was placed under house arrest. As we have seen, this issue of distance and time was one that plagued the Spanish diplomatic network throughout this period, although it is true that while the Duke of Alba was in the Low Countries, the ambassador was instructed to refer to him first and foremost both for reports and guidance. Philip reassured the ambassador that the seizure of English goods had been put into effect and that it had been a good and clever decision on the part of the Duke thanks to Spes’ reports. Without a doubt, both Philip and Alba would reconsider, further down the line, if this seizure was the best course of action for the bettering of Anglo-Spanish interactions, but, for the time being, they played along with it. Moreover, Philip addressed the bit of information regarding the possibility of supporting Mary Stuart’s claim with the aim of placing her on the English throne:

Que si se pudiese salir con lo que apuntáis en cuanto á quitar la Corona á esa reina que agora la posee, sería cierto de gran momento y yo asistiría á ello de buena gana por remediar lo de la Religion y *amparar*, *consolar* y favorecer los buenos y católicos, cuya parte tengo por cierto debe ser harto grande.

If what you mention about taking the crown away from the Queen were successful, it would be certainly of great moment, and I would assist it most willingly in order to redress religion and *shelter* and *console* the good Catholics, who I am persuading are very numerous (Ibid, 187;108-132).

Once more, the Spanish King was ready to support Catholic uprisings for his firm belief in himself as a religious champion. Philip, his ambassadors, and his ministers believed themselves to be supporters of the better cause and their actions, warlike or peaceful, were always supported and approved for the higher religious good that they might achieve. In this case, supporting the claim of Mary Stuart and placing her on the English throne by ultimately dethroning Elizabeth, the royal heir and current ruler, would be backed by Philip solely due to its possible religious benefits, both for the future of his dominions and for the furthering of Catholicism throughout Europe. His particular emotional vocabulary led to notions of care, safety, and protection, altogether emotional structures that portray Philip and his realm as the protective and caring figure behind the oppressed and repressed Catholics on the island. He also wrote to Elizabeth herself—a rare sight for they barely exchanged letters throughout their coexistence as rulers—and explained to her, keeping a calm and collected tone throughout the entire letter, that his servant's actions were perfectly lawful due to the English being at fault first by taking the money out of the ships without a clear explanation of their purposes. Furthermore, he petitioned the Queen to revert the order and return the goods so that he could do the same with the seized English possessions (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.90, 188-189).

It was then the turn of the ambassador to try and deal with the Queen concerning the matter of the seizure and the potential retribution. However, the boldness and forwardness of the ambassador in suggesting the upfront seizure of English goods throughout any Spanish dominion was not easily let go by neither Elizabeth nor her ministers. Elizabeth regarded the ambassador, from now on, with disdain and, in fact, in March of 1569, Spes had his last audience with the Queen for a long while, for she felt

that the best way of dealing with the diplomat was to shut him down from official audiences and from any court connection as a mechanism to put pressure on Philip. It was in this last audience that Spes could sense the opposing emotions with which he was now being regarded by Elizabeth, since he tried to obtain retribution from the Queen but failed to find any:

procurando entre tanto hacer audiencia de la Reina y darle á entender el agravio que hace, á la cual hallé muy *dura y áspera* con muchas *falsedades y ficiones* para excusarse de volver el dinero.

I tried to gain audience of the Queen, in order to signify to her the injury she was doing. I found her very *hard* and *harsh*, full of *falsehood* and *fictions* to avoid returning the money] (Ibid, 210;132-138).

The Spanish diplomat realized that the Queen had no interest in returning the money that she had seized from the payment ships; in fact, she had no intention of dealing with the ambassador whatsoever. Spes' description of Elizabeth's character mirrored the boldness of the ambassador when taking action, and his particular conception of the court and its ministers had already affected the way in which the Queen and her servants saw the ambassador, thus answering to him accordingly. The house arrest and the lack of any official audience or court dealing reduced the chances for the ambassador to deploy the Emotionology that seemed to favour others like Silva so much in obtaining his diplomatic goals; besides, he was not able to create any sort of relationship with the Queen or her councillors, since he did not have any face-to-face interactions. Consequently, Spes continued to deploy the aforementioned aggressive and bold diplomatic stance where the religious difference and the image of William Cecil were made to illustrate the root of all evil:

A todo el consejo trae Sicel á su voluntad, y como él es tan *hereje* y tan temeroso que este Reino no vuelva á la Iglesia católica, puédese bien temer que querrá revolverlo todo [...] Hasta aquí todo lo gobierna Sicel, y él absolutamente querría romper la guerra.

Cecil does as he likes in the Council, and, as he is such a *heretic* and fears that the country may return to the Catholic Church, it may well be believed that he desires to disturb everything [...] Cecil has ruled the whole business, and he was strongly in favour of declaring war (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.90, 184;190; *Calendar* Vol.2, 106-108;108-132).

This dichotomy One-Other, Good-Evil, or Catholic-Protestant started to gain ground throughout the rest of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in relation to Anglo-Spanish diplomacy. The Spanish resident ambassador continuously fed these oppositions by reporting information about the support of Catholicism, the number of believers, and the supporters of Philip that could be found in the island. Spes and the following Spanish diplomats that lived at the English court placed at the centre of their self-fashioning processes this religious opposition in order to shape their Diplomatic Emotionology. These biased views of religion, where Catholicism was continuously on the rise all along the island and where more and more supporters of Philip rose every day begging for the Spanish monarch to liberate them from their shackles, shaped everyday politics and the emotional patterns embedded into them. Spes then continued to apply this social and religious perspective into his emotional system, providing examples as the aforementioned, where the English ministers were represented as evil, scared, or afraid, whereas the English Catholics were abused, in need of assistance, and rising in numbers. Outside of these representations, Spes and the Spanish monarchy were regarded emotionally as those that provided the care, safety, and protection so much needed by the Catholic supporters in the island. All

of these three examples can be seen in a single letter Spes wrote in April of 1569, where he defined the Queen, the population, and the Spanish views:

este *miedo y remordimiento* de conciencia es el que no la deja sosegar [...] Muchos católicos me escriben cartas secretamente, que en viendo banderas de Vuestra Majestad en este Reino se levantarán todos para servirle [...] Yo les digo que el que fuese *hereje* en tierras de V. M., sea quien quisiere, será *castigado*, y no piensen que allá se *muda* la Religión como acá.

It is the fear and remorse of a bad conscience which make her uneasy [...] Many Catholics write letters secretly to me saying that the moment they see your Majesty's standards raised in this country they will all rise to serve you [...] tell them that in your Majesty's dominions a heretic, whoever he may be, will be punished, and they need not think that we change our religion there as they do here (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.90, 211;219-220; *Calendar* Vol.2, 132-138;138-144).

With these particular examples, Spes prolonged his specific usage of Diplomatic Emotionology. As opposed to our previous resident ambassadors, who used the power of emotions in international relations as a mechanism to affect and modify the outcome of diplomatic exchanges, Spes reduced its use to the reporting of information to the King and the Duke of Alba, since his house arrest prevented him from having face-to-face interactions with the Queen and her main councillors. Perhaps, this is the reason why the diplomat was so firm and harsh in his religious beliefs and in his fluent display of negative and aggressive emotions. In his case, the emotional opposition was clear: the Queen and the councillors belonged within the emotional vocabulary of fear, weakness, and heresy, whereas the Catholic believers living on the island represented bravery, loyalty, and strength. The minister himself and the Spanish realm were described as firm, strong-minded, and mighty.

Spes did not only remain adamant in his religious beliefs and in his defence of the need to support the Catholics in order to return the island to its old lustre, but he continued

furthering a foreign policy based on action and control. He did see the impact of suggesting and ultimately implementing the seizure of the English goods within the Spanish dominions; in fact, he was suffering the consequences himself by not being able to leave his inn or obtain official audiences. However, he continued to suggest to the Duke and his King that an aggressive and direct approach would be the best course of action in order to control and dominate the island:

están sin gente de guerra y *discordes* entre sí, y con tanto *miedo*, que por cuatro navíos que les han tomado los franceses piensan ser *perdidos* [...] y cuando V. M. quisiese mandar emprender de veras con una bien gruesa armada esta isla, es cierto que todos los católicos se levantarían por su servicio en el mismo punto.

as they have no troops, and they are at issue among themselves, and so much *alarmed* that they are already crying out that they are *ruined* because the French have taken four of their ships [...] if your Majesty thought fit to assail the island with a strong fleet, it is certain that all the Catholics would rise for your service on the spot (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.90, 230;237; *Calendar* Vol.2, 144-156).

The ambassador seemed to be actively analysing the best approach for the Spanish to take control of the situation by either subjugating the English by blocking their trade and commerce or directly sending an armed force to the island to free Mary Stuart and place her on Elizabeth's throne. By any means, Spes was portraying a far more warlike and belligerent Spanish Emotionology from what we have seen so far. The situation had escalated, without a doubt, from Feria's scenario at the ascension of Elizabeth to the throne and the tension between the two countries was definitely higher in 1569 than back then; however, the direct course of action which the ambassador was advocating was a far cry from being actively implemented. He tried to further his particular approach by his continued representation of the English people as fearful, incapable, and unprepared for a direct attack. In opposition to this, he also consolidated his views by stating that the



majority of the population was ready to jump to Philip's support once he decided to enter the country, and that any Catholic was ready to accept the Spanish monarch before Elizabeth. Spes went as far as trying to count the possible number of supporters were Philip to launch an enterprise against England; in fact, he said that the entire North was Catholic and ready to help him. His estimation in numbers was: "hay otros infinitos que están con este deseo" [there are numberless others with the same desires] (Rayón and Zababuru 1887, Vol.90, 231; *Calendar* Vol.2, 144-156). His estimation was definitely exaggerated, although it was true that the northern areas of England were beginning to show unrest concerning the uncertainty that surrounded the English succession and the imprisonment of the, at the time, most important heir to the crown, Mary Stuart. For many, Mary became the beacon that signalled the future of the country, and they ran at her side to offer support. This was the case of members of the nobility such as the Duke of Norfolk or Northumberland, who entered conversations with the Spanish ambassador seeking assistance from King Philip II to relieve Mary and dethrone Elizabeth:

con el Duque de Nortfolch y Conde de Arundel, conforme á la guarda que aún se tiene de mi persona, no puedo negociar sino por tercero, los cuales son Roberto Ridolfi, florentin [sic], de quien he escripto á V. M., y Juan Suygo, milanés, personas abonadas á los sobredicho Duque de Nortfolch y Conde de Arundel; yo no los conozco, porque ántes de mi detencion yo no los vi en la córte desta Reina; tengo alguna confianza de que servirán bien á V. M. en este negocio, aunque en ser inglés, y no todos católicos, se ha de ir siempre con sospecha dellos.

I cannot negotiate with the duke of Norfolk and earl of Arundel except through other persons, namely, Roberto Ridolfi, a Florentine, and John Suygo, a Milanese, persons attached to the said noblemen. I do not know them, and never saw them at Court before my detention, but I have some confidence that they will serve your Majesty well at this juncture, although the fact that they are English and not entirely Catholic, makes one always suspicious of them (Ibid, 242; 156-169).

This letter to the King brought a new character to the picture, and a fundamental one at that. Robert Ridolfi was the one person with whom Spes had direct contact once he was under house arrest.<sup>4</sup> Through him, the Spanish ambassador was able to contact the main Catholic lords that sought to free Mary and support Philip. It is interesting to point out the fact that Spes at this time —almost a year after he had been assigned to the post— did not know many of the key figures at the English court due to his house arrest. This gives researchers a perfect opportunity to evaluate and analyse the importance of face-to-face meetings and audiences within diplomatic exchanges, not only for their importance in creating emotional bonds, but for the development of any sort of relationship. For Spes, the characters with whom he had the most contact with, both English Lords and middlemen like Ridolfi, were simply strangers to him; nonetheless, and lacking first-hand knowledge of their interests and loyalties, he went ahead and trusted them almost unconditionally. In fact, the only shred of doubt he had concerning them was regarding their Englishness or lack of Catholic faith.

The lack of audiences and meetings with the main figures of the Elizabethan court also affected Spes negatively on another aspect that was a permanent concern for the Spanish ambassadors: the English lack of resolution and their tendency to shift policies and decisions. This concern was shared by the six ambassadors analysed in this work,

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<sup>4</sup> Roberto Ridolfi was quite a peculiar character for the Anglo-Spanish interactions of this period since he became the link between the Catholic and Marian supporters within the island and Spanish or Papal liaisons. He served as an envoy to the Pope and Philip II, seeking their help to further the plot with which to free Mary Stuart and place her on the English throne. To some, he was clearly a loyal supporter of this goal; to others, after his first reckoning with the English authorities, he was converted into a double agent. See: Parker 2000; Conyers 1965.

but, in the case of Spes, the potential pressure that a resident ambassador might have applied upon the enterprise with the aim of forcing the English ministers to action was reduced since he did not have those audiences in which to get his point across. In the case of Spes, these diplomatic exchanges remained vague, uncertain, and irresolute; however, the likelihood of obtaining anything from the actual exchanges was virtually inexistent for the ambassador did not have a chance to deal directly in diplomatic matters. In fact, when he asked for an audience several times and was rejected, the only answer he could obtain was that the Queen did not want to meet with him: “no quisieron que fuese yo allá, diciendo que esta Reina aún no estaba saneada conmigo” [they could come to no agreement and refused to allow me to be present, saying that the Queen was not yet reconciled with me] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 90, 300; *Calendar* Vol.2, 198-206). The reason behind this refusal seems to have been the grudge that Elizabeth held towards the ambassador for his influence in the seizure. Put into perspective with notions of emotions and their usage within international relations, this seems to be a clear example of how emotions can be shared, mirrored, and mimicked. Spes’ own embassy was a drastic change from Silva’s and the emotional vocabulary shifted from one based on trust and care to one based on power and fear. Elizabeth and her ministers were aware of the importance of *stroking* and mirroring as an emotional mechanism to influence diplomatic exchanges. In this case, they were simply adopting the boldness and forwardness brought to the table by Spes and mirroring it with more examples of fear and disdain. This change in ambassadors and in their approach was clear to the English, as the Queen herself complained about Spes to Philip in several letters that she sent him throughout 1570. In these, Elizabeth regarded the boldness and zealousness of the ambassador as flaws

hindering the proper development of their relationship, mostly basing her complaints on his religious beliefs. The ambassador also stated that several members of the court shamed him for his overzealousness: “echándome muchas culpas, y que Sicel y el Canciller le dicen muchas veces que soy aún mayor papista que el Obispo de Aquila” [complaining greatly of me. He says that Cecil and the Chancellor say frequently that I am a greater papist than the bishop of Aquila] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.90, 366; *Calendar* Vol.2, 245-257). Besides the lack of audiences, he also referred to his King the aforementioned impossibility of obtaining answers from the court:

Como la gente de aquí son tan *variables é interesadas*, cada hora suceden nuevas cosas, y así es menester buena paciencia para negociar con ellos [...] Los negocios de aquí (como V. M. bien sabe), son como la menguante y creciente del mar, que en un instante se conciertan y desconciertan, y esta es la causa que yo escribo diversamente de una á otra carta.

but as people here are so changeable and venal something new turns up every day and much patience is necessary in dealing with them [...] As your Majesty knows full well, affairs here are like the rising and the falling tide, fluctuating from one moment to another. This is the reason why I write so differently in my various letters (Ibid, 260;275;169-183;183-189).

This particular scenario that surrounded the ambassador and his everyday diplomatic duties presented him with a major difficulty. On the one hand, he was not able to further his King's interests as successfully or directly as the rest of his colleagues due to his lack of meetings with the Queen and her ministers. On the other hand, the irresolute character of the Englishmen that so much plagued the rest of the Spanish diplomats became even more apparent now for two reasons: first, the ambassador was not able to directly tackle businesses, which forced him to rely on reports, narrations, and representations by third parties; second, Spes dealt with high-risk, high-reward

enterprises when corresponding with Ridolfi concerning the military support to put Mary on the throne, and the lack of resolution or his own lack of reliable information made him unable to report as much useful information as his colleagues had.

Furthermore, since he was not able to form an opinion on Elizabeth and her ministers as well-founded as his predecessors by their constant transit through court, he was forced to apply his own wits and industry. In turn, this meant that the ambassador was puzzled at times by some of Elizabeth's own answers to the policy, as he was not able to discern what part was true and what a performance: "podría ser *bravata* y verdad" [It may be brag and yet be true] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.90, 323; *Calendar* Vol.2, 225-233). With this uncertainty surrounding the diplomatic duties of the ambassador, another familiar issue to the Anglo-Spanish interactions of the period assailed Spes: courtship and the Elizabethan marriage suits. In this case, the English Queen was no longer dealing with the Habsburg marriage, but with a possible union to the French kingdom, in particular with the Duke of Anjou. Spes was not able to understand the state of the affair and, like the rest of his colleagues, was swayed from believing the marriage to be true one day to swearing that nothing would ever be done: "así creo que este casamiento se hará [...] porque está esta Reina bien fuera de casarse, sino para pasar tiempo" [I therefore think that this marriage will be effected [...] for nothing is further from this Queen's thoughts than marriage, but only to keep the matter on hand (Ibid, 447-448;401;302-306;273-280). The marriage question recovered the importance of the past and it became an everyday issue for the resident ambassadors at the English court. In this particular case, Elizabeth's suitor did not benefit the Spanish crown but, rather, enhanced the possibility of an Anglo-French alliance that could

threaten the powerful position of Philip II in the world context. Spes, once more, continued to deploy the Spanish Diplomatic Emotionology so focused on representing the Englishmen as fearful of a constant outside threat, Spanish retaliation: “la Reina nos ha sentido flacos, y así nos acomete con *invenciones* y con *miedos* de que se casará en Francia, y no se casará más con el Duke de Anjou que conmigo” [the Queen has felt our weakness, and so assails us with *inventions* and *fears* that she will marry in France. She will no more marry Anjou than she will marry me] (Ibid, 457;306-317). Those feelings of fear that the Spanish diplomat was so adamantly trying to instil in Elizabeth were being apparently mirrored by the Queen, who tried to scare the Spaniards by making them believe in the possibility of an Anglo-French alliance against Spain. Spes had a concrete reason to believe that the Queen would dare do this and it revolved, again, around notions of strength and power, since the ambassador stated that Elizabeth only used courtship to threaten Spain because she saw them as weak. In this game of diplomacy, seeming or being strong and powerful appeared to be Spes’ obsession.

By July of 1569, the house arrest was lifted, and the Spanish ambassador relocated to a different inn where the English authorities let him roam freely while having an easy control of his whereabouts. However, the damage was done and Spes was not able to develop a relationship with any of the major figures within the Elizabethan government. Perhaps due to these difficulties and the number of secret dealings in which he was taking part, a new figure began to join in the correspondence with the King: Antonio de Guaras, an Italian merchant that had been on the island since the rule of Mary Tudor and who had served the Spanish crown before as a diplomat merchant. Guaras served as a sort of secretary to Spes, aiding him in the gathering and reporting of diplomatic information.

Although he lived on the island for a long period of time, longer than any of the other Spanish resident ambassadors, Guaras seemed to have been leaning between the different spectrums of the Spanish Diplomatic Emotionology and, during Spes' tenure, he deployed the same type as the ambassador. In a letter to the King, Guaras aimed to assess the current situation within the island and the humour of the authorities. His emotional vocabulary and view of the events were exactly the same that Spes had represented before:

Como he avisado, esta Reina y los de su Consejo están con mucho *recelo* de novedad de Estado, y al presente están con *gran temor*, y la Reina ha estado tres días sin salir de su aposento, dando públicas voces contra el Secretario Sichel y contra otros, y declarando que ellos la ponian en grandes trabajos y que ella y ellos se *perderían* [...] Están tan *aterrorizados* en esta tierra que sin saber por dónde los ha de venir el mal, lo *temen*.

have reported that the Queen and Council are in *great alarm* for *fear* of some trouble in the State, and the Queen has been three days without leaving her room, exclaiming publicly against secretary Cecil and others, who, she declared, were bringing her into great trouble which would end in the *ruin* both of her and them [...] They are so *much alarmed* here that they *fear* the very shadows (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.90, 378; *Calendar* Vol.2, 245-257).

This particular quote illustrates the views that Guaras seemed to have of the current state of affairs and the fear that he attributed to the Englishmen lied on the Spanish armada assembled to take Philip's new wife —Anna of Austria— to Spain. The similarities in vocabulary are so many, in fact, that were we to remove the name from the author of the letter, it would be impossible to discern Spes from Guaras. Furthermore, and analysing with a retrospective lens, the English were indeed cautious of a possible invasion of their land because they were aware of Ridolfi's dealings. If we go as far as accepting that he was a double agent or if we decide to only assume that he was indeed interrogated by one

of the best intelligence agents of the time, Francis Walsingham, it is hard to believe that Ridolfi's plot was completely unnoticed. Nevertheless, the importance of these matters does not add or subtract any value from the data that proves that emotions do play a fundamental role in diplomacy and that their shift can be determining for the outcome of the relations.

On the other hand, Spes continued his contacts with the members of the Marian party that were trying to obtain outside support for their cause, such as the Earl of Norfolk or Ridolfi himself. In this process, he obtained the support of the English nobles that aimed to flock to Philip's banners while he also served as the middleman in Ridolfi's plan, a plan that was taking him to the Papacy and the Spanish court in search of support. The situation was not easy and the number of people that were part of the plan only served to increase the risk of failure and reduce the likelihood of success. Philip himself saw that the failure of such a plan could not only mean positioning Elizabeth and her country against Philip, but risking the death of many important people as a result: "es mucho de temer que no sea el cuchillo de la Reina de Escocia y del Duque de Nortfolch" [it is greatly to be feared that it will be the death blow for the queen of Scotland and the duke of Norfolk] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.90, 473; *Calendar* Vol.2, 317-321). Nonetheless, Philip told the Duke of Alba to provide anything Ridolfi might need for the enterprise and jumped on board, since his religious concerns were so radical that they could not let him see any further: "sino pura y sencillamente por el servicio de Dios" [but purely and simply for the service of God] (Ibid, 478;312-325). It wasn't only Philip that was joining the enterprise, but the entire Spanish court seemed to be in opposition to Elizabeth and her *heretical rule*, absolutely ready to put an end to it by any means



necessary. In fact, one of the previous resident ambassadors, the now Duke of Feria, reported back to Spes stating that the Queen was not aware of how wrongly she was ruling England, as all she could do was lying while they: “pensaban que engañaban al mundo, y se engañaban á sí” [they thought were deceiving others, whilst they themselves were really the persons deceived] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.90, 467; *Calendar* Vol.2, 306-317).

The plot was discovered in 1571 and the English authorities started to act accordingly, sending the Duke of Norfolk to the Tower of London and changing the residence of Mary Stuart to a new one with tighter security. The possibilities of liberating Mary dwindled drastically and the relationship between Spain and England deteriorated almost to its breaking point. Spes’ correspondence, suggestions, and his very own actions made him part of the plot against Elizabeth’s life, and, for this, he was expelled from the country. No matter his actions or role in the plot for Elizabeth’s dethroning, Spes adamantly remained in his position of entitlement and superiority over the Englishmen and their “wrong” beliefs. Instead of accepting the blame for his role in the plot and leaving the country without a fuzz, he persisted placing the blame on the English and their religious beliefs. In this particular case, he stated that the issue with the country and, more specifically, with the prominent members of the council was their “disease”, Protestantism:

Es cosa de maravilla cuán *pertinaces heréticos* son, que hay dellos hombres de cargos que dicen que es más expediente sujetarse al turco, dejándoles el ejercicio de su secta, que sufrir alteracion en ella por mano de Príncipes cristianos [...] conozco por *incurables* los corazones de Burle y Leicester, y el de la Reina misma y de la mayor parte de su Consejo.

It is perfectly marvellous how *pertinacious* these *heretics* are. There are men in office who say that it is more expedient to submit to the rule of the Turk, if he will let them have freedom for their sect, than to allow any alteration in it to be made by the hand of Christian princes [...] I know that the hearts of Leicester and Burleigh, as well as those of the Queen herself and most of her Council, are *incurably* bad (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.90, 521;486; *Calendar* Vol.2, 349-354;325-334).

Spes left the country with the same Diplomatic Emotionology that he had expressed at the beginning of his duties as resident ambassador, but the damage to Anglo-Spanish diplomatic interactions that his actions had caused were permanent and ultimately led to the break between the two kingdoms.

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With Guerau de Spes out of the country for his first-hand dealings in the negotiations to dethrone Elizabeth and replace her with Mary Stuart, Philip II needed a liaison in the island that could keep him updated on Elizabeth's moves. As mentioned before, for the last years of Spes' tenure as resident ambassador, Antonio de Guaras joined his team to help in the processes of gathering, processing, and reporting the information, so he could be an adequate replacement to the noblemen. In fact, Philip decided not to name an official new ambassador to fulfil these duties at the English court but to appoint Guaras as the official middleman between the English and the Spaniards. The crucial piece of information in Guaras' case, and what would validate the way in which the English proceeded with him further down the line, is that he never received the official investment of powers as an Spanish resident ambassador at the court of Elizabeth I; thus, Antonio the Guaras was a private merchant with years of experience in businesses and enterprises surrounding the English court and he used this expertise to advise and communicate with

the King of Spain as a middleman. He fulfilled all of the duties of an ambassador *de facto* but he was never officially appointed as an official ambassador. This meant that when the Italian merchant got in trouble for his diplomatic negotiations and actions he was not treated as the mouthpiece of a monarch that aimed to represent his image at a foreign court or as a diplomat protected by international law; he was prosecuted as any other ordinary citizen. Though diplomacy and international relations were not as developed as they are nowadays, the Renaissance had established a solid ground in which diplomatic exchanges and their regulations could be grounded, so the fact that Philip II avoided giving Guaras ambassadorial powers could only work detrimentally for the merchant. Due to its style, format, content, and procedure, the correspondence of Antonio de Guaras is exactly the same as any of the other Spanish resident ambassadors of the period. For this, and with the general consensus that he acted as one of Philip's foreign ambassadors at the court of Elizabeth I, he will be analysed in the same manner so as to explore the role of Spanish Diplomatic Emotionology in his dealings.

With this scenario in mind, Guaras reported his first meeting with the Queen in the first days of April 1572. Before meeting the Queen, he had an appointment with William Cecil, by then Lord Burghley, in which he first served as the liaison for the Duke of Alba and Philip's inquiries. Cecil was pleased to have someone new with whom to exchange information concerning Spanish matters and he gladly conversed with Guaras. Both seemed concerned about the warlike atmosphere in which their countries were living after the uncovering of the Ridolfi plot and the scaling of the situation in the Low Countries. Also, both tried to comfort each other in the goodwill of their monarchs and their lack of interest in war; in fact, Cecil seemed to only seek peace in the name of the Queen:

“*abrazar* con mucho *amor* y voluntad lo que conviene á la amistad y la paz” [to embrace with much affection and goodwill everything which tended to peace and amity] (Rayón and Zababuru 1887, Vol.91, 7-8; *Calendar*, Vol. 2, 379-386). Cecil seemed to be trying to actively descale the situation and reduce the chances of another plot against the Queen, another open rebellion, or a full-on Spanish attack on the island to liberate Mary Stuart. The importance of this specific passage revolves around the use of language and the emotional vocabulary that Cecil implemented in this first official talk with Philip’s new envoy. This shift in emotional approach had already been used before, in Silva’s ambassadorship, when he came into court after the downfall of Quadra. In this case, Guaras relived the same situation, coming as a non-invested emissary that was taking the place of a diplomat expelled for treasonable actions. Cecil was trying to use the emotional quality known as *stroking*, using positive emotions before the ambassador to try and impact Guaras’ perception in their first audience. This would not only sway Guaras into feeling comfortable and appreciated before the English minister, but it would ultimately impact his decision-making in future interactions. In fact, an example of how this might have impacted Guaras can be seen in his personal description of William Cecil as an individual and as a minister; several months after this first encounter, he reported something that only one other ambassador had done before him:

el más buen consejero de todos es el dicho Milord Burle, porque sigue la voluntad y afición de la Reina [...] como es tan elocuente y tiene razon en la causa, ha sabido persuadir á sus compañeros que eran de contrario parecer y contra la amistad, y así me ha declarado, como entre él y mí, que tiene ganada la voluntad á la mayor parte de los contrarios, y especialmente al Conde de Leicester.

but the best councillor of all of them is Lord Burleigh, as he follows the will and tendency of the Queen, which is towards concord. As he is supreme in the country and in the Queen's estimation, in all the important Councils which were held during

the days that I was at Court, he with his great eloquence, having right on his side, was able to persuade those of the councillors who were opposed to him. He assured me privately that he had gained over the great majority of his opponents, and especially the earl of Leicester (Ibid, 39;417-434).

No one before had gone as far as complementing William Cecil, except for don Diego Guzmán de Silva. Guaras has already been portrayed as a clear example of the Spanish Diplomatic Emotionology for his aggressive, religious, and perhaps warlike reports while he was helping Guerau de Spes in his residency. But, in this case, he was able to represent the English minister as something more than a heretical figure; actually, Cecil is portrayed as someone capable of those good qualities and skills necessary for diplomatic duties.

These representations of positive emotions that can be analysed from the wishes for friendship and goodwill, could be extended on the part of the Queen herself. Guaras left the meeting with William Cecil to take a boat across the Thames on his return home. On this trip, he spotted the Queen and her entourage on a boat in the river, crossing between banks too. This was the first official meeting between the two and the importance of emotions as mirrors and modifiers was crucial once more for the morphing of the new Anglo-Spanish interactions. In the middle of the river Thames, surrounded by ministers like Robert Dudley and several English citizens, the Queen called out to Guaras:

Dijo en lengua italiana, mostrándome mucha amistad y favor y con cara muy *alegre*, si venía de la Côte y que si habia estado con Milord Burle; e yo poniéndome de rodillas como lo debia, respondí: sí, Señora, á servicio de V. M.; y como los barcos iban y venian, esperó un poco la barca de S. M. mostrando con *alegría* que queria decirme más, y procurando que mi barco se llegase hasta la barca de la Reina.

called out to me in Italian, my boat being somewhat distant out of respect for her and asked me very gaily and graciously if I was coming from the Court, and if I had seen Lord Burleigh. I knelt, as was my duty, and replied, "Yes, my Lady, at your Majesty's service." As the boats approached the landing-place her Majesty's barge was delayed a moment, when she smilingly seemed to desire to say something more to me,

whereupon I endeavouring to bring my boat alongside the Queen's barge (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.91, 10; *Calendar*, Vol. 2, 379-386).

This passage proves that the Queen went out of her way to start a conversation with Guaras, and she also seemed to be pleased at seeing him and understanding that he had been dealing with William Cecil. She even stopped the traffic and got her boat closer to the diplomat's so they could exchange some words in the hassle of the Thames. It is interesting to mention that Guaras stated that Elizabeth addressed him in Italian; we know that the Queen mastered several languages and that Italian tended to be a standard language for diplomacy, but it is also true that Latin was the *lingua franca* back then. So, perhaps, knowing that Guaras was Italian, the Queen decided to approach him in his own language as proof of care or interest. Furthermore, the emotion that can be extracted from this fragment is that of happiness; it seemed that Elizabeth was as happy about seeing Guaras now as she had been about seeing Silva eight years before. This is the deployment of Emotionology at work once more since calling out for Guaras, taking the time for the boats to come together, and showing him a genuine expression of care and happiness for his coming served as mechanisms to affect Guaras' own perception. In fact, the next excerpt of the same letter is clear proof of how the diplomat was affected by these expressions of care and interest for his person and his ambassadorial duties. He was reassured of the Queen's goodwill and her interest to resume amicable and friendly interactions with Spain and its dominions. Most important of all, Guaras reported the importance of this public show of interest since everyone there, both court and populace, were able to see the interactions, acting as a public show of friendship between the two countries:

siguió su camino diciéndome adios, con tan buenas demostraciones de tener contento dello, que cierto la gente lo notó mucho, e yo más, tales favores y mercedes, sin jamás haber hecho á S. M. servicio ninguno; y como se puede bien considerar, se vé claramente la conformidad que S. M. y Milord Burle tienen en la certeza [sic] y deseo del acuerdo y el parecer tan ciertamente como la Majestad del Rey, nuestro Señor y V. E., y deste improviso se pudo bien conocer el buen deseo desta Serenísima Reina.

[her barge] then proceeded, she bidding me farewell with so many signs of pleasure and favour that people noticed it much, and I most of all, surprised to receive these favours from the Queen, to whom I had never rendered any service. All this confirmed the certainty that the Queen and Lord Burleigh are in accord in their desire for an amicable settlement, and her behaviour on this unpremeditated occasion is a further proof of her good intentions (Ibid, 10;379-386).

These first exchanges seemed to aim at reinforcing the state of Anglo-Spanish interactions after the Ridolfi plot; by using positive emotions in their everyday diplomatic exchanges, the English targeted the mirroring capabilities of emotions to affect their counterparts and sway their diplomatic actions towards positive and amicable ones. The same as had happened with Silva, the deployment of this Diplomatic Emotionology seemed to have the right impact on the new ambassador since he turned to a more friendly discourse than that previously used by Guaras.

Despite the new usage of emotions and the apparent interest in the recovery of friendly diplomatic interactions between the two countries, the traditional issues that plagued the Spanish embassies did not change much and Guaras had to face the same concerns that his predecessors did. As a matter of fact, and even though he was one of the only ambassadors that regarded Cecil on a positive note, Guaras soon went on to criticize the lack of action and resolution that the English ministers always showed in the diplomatic business. Furthermore, this particularly irresolute character was the centre of the everyday dealings of the Queen and her ministers in the game of diplomacy:

postponing, evading, and refusing to give a direct answer were tools that the Englishmen had at their disposal in order to play for time in their various diplomatic interactions. In this case, the outward portrayal might be one of friendliness and interest in keeping the peace, but both Elizabeth and her council knew that the plots against her life would not diminish so long as Mary Stuart remained a clear contestant for the English throne and a hope for Catholic supporters. Thus, the fact that Guaras stated, in this case, the inconstancy of William Cecil in his proceeding with business was not directly a quality intrinsic to the English ministers, but, rather, a technique used to avoid giving resolution to matters that required further thought or to keep the other parties waiting without engaging any new actions:

No es esta la primera vez que ha usado conmigo estas inconstancias, porque muchas veces muestra buena voluntad al negocio que se trata, y lúego despues de pocos dias es otro hombre muy diferente en palabras y gestos.

This is not the first time he has treated me in this fickle way, as frequently he displays great goodwill towards the business in hand and then, in a few days, becomes quite a different man both in words and actions (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.91, 44; *Calendar*, Vol.2, 417-434).

Guaras soon got used to having to deal with this particular diplomatic technique so commonly used by the English throughout this period; used to great success, it had been able to hinder the diplomatic actions both in foreign policy and in courtship since Elizabeth's ascension. In fact, Guaras had to deal with this so regularly that he even tried to come up with an answer for it. He believed that the daily changes of policy and the lack of resolution was not strange since Englishmen:

cuelgan de los sucesos de otras tierras, y es de estimar que desean la paz más que jamás, pero quiérenla tratar con gran consideracion de honor, y como no tienen cartas



de S. M., que es lo que en mucho desean, están con recelo de que no serán rescibidos en nuestra amistad.

they all depend upon events elsewhere. It may be supposed that these folks wish for peace more than ever, although they want to settle it with great consideration and honour for themselves, but, as they have no letters from your Majesty, which they so much desire, they are still suspicious that they will not be received into our friendship (Ibid, 53;434-448).

The diplomat believed that the reason behind this behaviour was their need to gather more precise information before being able to take a decision and the lack of a regular and direct channel of communication between the two monarchs hindered the resolution of any diplomatic enterprise. The evolution of Guaras' Emotionology is visible here if it is contrasted with the letters analysed throughout the tenure of Guerau de Spes. Back then, Guaras had displayed an aggressive and warlike position where fear and power were the core emotions; now, he was presenting the same country and ministers, but the feelings attached to the reports were not those of fear but of caution.

It is interesting to observe the changes in the usage of Diplomatic Emotionology in the case of Antonio de Guaras since, if such a change is visible, it would serve as clear proof that the usage of emotion does in fact sway agents and their decision-making. Guaras wrote this last letter in November of 1572, seven months after his first meetings with Cecil and Elizabeth. This meant that, in this lapse of time, the positive emotions expressed by these agents would have been impactful in the perceptions developed by the Spanish diplomat, ultimately shifting his way of deploying the Emotionology. Moreover, Guaras would never again portray the same negative emotions that he had several years back, and he stuck to this new vision of diplomatic exchange in which emotions turned to a much more positive vision. In another report to the King, Guaras portrayed Elizabeth

and her council as not as afraid or scared of the Spanish fury, but cautious and careful of their actions: “y así ella y su Consejo [...] no están sin cuidado” [All this has caused the Queen and Council some anxiety (...) but they expect to find a way out] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 91, 164; *Calendar*, Vol. 2, 542-544). However, the core elements of the Spanish diplomacy and the Spanish sentiment in itself would not vanish out of the blue during Guaras’ tenure, as he still placed great importance on religion and on the need to subdue the newer branches of the faith in favour of the main and true one. Thus, he portrayed certain members of the council negatively due to their religious beliefs. In this case, and with the passing of time, the Privy Council had been replaced with some new faces and one of the most visible ones during the second half of Elizabeth’s reign was that of Sir Francis Walsingham, who took the role of principal secretary of the Queen and spymaster. He was seen, together with other members of the inner circle like Robert Dudley or Philip Sidney, as the bannermen of Protestantism; so Guaras reported him accordingly: “Wale Vigham, sobre todos los apasionados herejes, es el principal” [This Walsingham is of all heretics the worst] (Ibid, 71;486-489). Although the blame for all the evil that was taking place in England was shifted towards another Privy Councillor, the disdain and even hatred placed on English ministers due to their heretical beliefs kept its importance during Guaras’ tenure.

As well as dealing with the same duties and businesses as the rest of the Spanish resident ambassadors, Guaras also had to deal with the recent worsening of certain affairs that had taken the centre of international relations: the religious uprisings in the Spanish dominions in the Netherlands, and the matter of the English succession and Mary Stuart. In this case, the interest still revolved around the figure of the Scottish Queen, but instead

of having Ridolfi search for Catholic armies to support an internal rebellion in the country to dethrone Elizabeth, Spanish interests shifted to marrying Mary Stuart to Don Juan, Philip's half-brother and commander general of his armies stationed in the Low Countries. This marriage would settle the English succession in the best possible way by uniting the Spanish possessions with the British Isles and re-establishing the Catholic church. Guaras was in charge of corresponding with Mary with regards to this matter, as Spes had done previously, and despite the challenges of the affair itself and the outcome of the previous attempt, the new diplomat believed that it was something plausible: "Tratar desto, en dicha su cifra se podrá hacer seguramente, pues es tan oscura, y que sin el abecedario es imposible descifrarla" [communications have to be carried on with the Queen about it, this cipher can be utilised for the purpose, it being so obscure, without an alphabet, that it is impossible to decipher it] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.91, 74; Calendar, Vol.2, 486-489). Guaras believed in the feasibility of this enterprise by relying on the safety of the cypher used for the correspondence; however, soon enough, Spaniards would learn that a cypher was not sufficient to keep matters secret for long, since the spying services working for Francis Walsingham would prove them wrong.

Around the time of this report where Guaras stated that the plan of marrying Mary Stuart to Don Juan could be possible, in 1574, Elizabeth had still not been able to find a husband or appoint an heir to the English throne, so the general atmosphere surrounding the court was becoming tenser. This problem was enhanced by the outside interference of other countries seeking to obtain a piece of the prize for themselves. The plots against Elizabeth's life and the plans to liberate Mary Stuart slowly but surely became the centre of the English diplomatic scene and they called for drastic action. Certain measures had

already been required since Elizabeth was forced to execute the Earl of Northumberland for his implication in the Ridolfi plot. The threats became more apparent coming both from within and without, and the mood surrounding the population definitely called for action, as Guaras himself stated in a report: “murmuración secreta que en Córte y en este pueblo y en todo el Reino se trata de los trabajos en que se vería todo el Reino en caso que la Reina muriese” [the secret murmurs in Court, and amongst people all over the country as to what will become of the country in case of the Queen's death] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.91, 76; Calendar, Vol.2, 490-491). He claimed that the word spreading in the streets and at court was that were Elizabeth to die suddenly, the country would divide into two bands: one formed by Catholics seeking to support Mary Stuart, and the other led by Protestants aiming to go up in arms against the former (Ibid, 76;490-491).

Guaras proceeded with his affairs in this same manner, less bold and belligerent than he appeared to be while he was aiding Guerau de Spes, but still invested in the darker sides of diplomacy, where he was seeking to obtain help for Mary Stuart and further the possible marriage with Don Juan. These dealings, as it had happened with his predecessor, ended up coming to light and the English authorities decided to act accordingly against the Italian merchant. In 1577, Guaras was apprehended in his residence and taken to prison under the accusation of being part of seditious negotiations against the crown and the country. Later on, he was taken to the Tower of London, where he suffered long and tedious imprisonment for treasonable acts, and, since he had never been invested with the powers of official ambassadorship or had a letter from the King in which to prove that he was fulfilling a royal mission, the English authorities proceeded with him as with any

other public person accused of such crimes. This was the end of the diplomatic mission for Antonio de Guaras, who, in fact, remained in prison for several years until the new Spanish resident ambassador, Bernardino de Mendoza, managed to obtain his freedom (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.91, 171;174).

## **7. A brief light that wanes and dies out**

In January of 1578 Bernardino de Mendoza was appointed as the last Spanish resident ambassador at the court of Elizabeth I during the reign of King Philip II of Spain. By this time, it had been four years since the expulsion of Guerau de Spes due to his dealings in the Ridolfi plot back in 1574 and a bit over a year since Antonio de Guaras had been apprehended for his dealings with Mary Stuart. Throughout all this time, Anglo-Spanish relations had changed drastically from the time of Elizabeth's ascension to the English throne. The likelihood of striking a match between the Queen and one of the Princes from the Habsburg house was now virtually impossible; instead, the game of courtship was focused on sealing a match with the Duke of Anjou, the French heir apparent and the biggest opposing power to Spain. Furthermore, Mary Stuart had turned from Queen of France to Queen of Scotland to, ultimately, an English prisoner and the focus of Catholic plots aiming to dethrone Elizabeth and return the island to the Old Faith. Several plots had been devised and attempted at obtaining this particular goal, which led the English authorities to higher levels of control and repression over the Catholic population. On the Spanish side, the Low Countries had shifted from the jewel of the crown to the bane of its existence by the religious and iconoclast uprisings; these were forcing the Spanish crown to act militarily within the territories in order to settle the disputes, a goal that would never be obtained due to outside support coming from England and France. This was the state of affairs in which the new Spanish resident ambassador found himself after his appointment.

Philip II procured a lengthy instruction set for the ambassador as he had done for his predecessors and, in this case, it was comprised by not one but two sets of instructions, which amounted to more than ten pages of information in the proceedings and duties of Mendoza for his residency at the English court. It is mandatory to understand the character and background of the ambassadors in order to locate their particular Emotionology and agency in the process of performing their diplomatic duties, and, in this particular case, as happened with some of the other resident ambassadors who were especially tainted by their background —the case of Álvaro de la Quadra, who was known for his particular overzealous religious treatment of the diplomatic enterprises— Mendoza also displayed a certain predisposition to his diplomatic approach. The instructions from the King were headed: “Lo que vos D. Bernardino de Mendoza, mi Capitan de caballos ligeros, habeis de hacer en Inglaterra” [The things which you, Don Bernardino de Mendoza, my captain of light horse, are to do in England] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 91, 181; *Calendar*, Vol.2, 552-560). This heading is particularly interesting to understand the aforementioned predisposition of the new ambassador since he was a captain of the Spanish Tercios, a light cavalry captain to be precise, and he had had extensive experience in battle and command during the Spanish military interventions under the orders of the Duke of Alba from 1567. We must understand that, in the post for six years, Bernardino de Mendoza was going to be the resident ambassador at the court of Elizabeth I for the longest period of time, but he was, first and foremost, a disciple of the Duke of Alba, a captain of the Spanish Tercios, and a soldier at heart. Mendoza was born and raised in one of the most powerful and important noble houses of the period, which imprinted in him well-founded feelings of love and respect for both his house and King. These factors had a great impact

on the development of his duties as a resident ambassador and would lead him to act in ways unknown to any of his predecessors, as well as to portray scenes of particular importance for the development of Anglo-Spanish diplomatic interactions.<sup>1</sup>

The instructions of the King served not only as a guiding road map for the ambassador in his new diplomatic endeavour, but it also helps researchers understand the reasoning behind Philip's choosing Mendoza for the role of ambassador at the English court. In fact, besides his military experience, Mendoza had served as a diplomat before at the court of Elizabeth and the King was pleased with his dealings and experience:

habemos acordado de os enviar á vos por la posta con esta comision; así por la noticia que teneis de los dichos mis Países Bajos, en que me habeis servido tantos años, como por la satisfaccion que yo tengo de vuestra corduda y buen entendimiento y tambien por creer que sereis tan acepto á la dicha Reina, como lo fuistes cuando el Comendador mayor de Castilla, mi gobernador, que ent́nces era de los dichos Estados Bajos, os envío á negociar con ella en mi nombre algunas cosas que ent́nces ocurrían de mi servicio.

we have therefore decided to send you, post, with this commission, both on account of the knowledge you have of my Netherlands dominions, where you have served for so many years, and because I am convinced of your intelligence and good understanding, and believe also that you will be as acceptable to the Queen as you were when you were sent to negotiate with her in my name certain things then pending, by the Grand Commander of Castile, my former Governor of the

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<sup>1</sup> Bernardino de Mendoza had both extensive military and diplomatic careers. Besides serving under the orders of the Duke of Alba in the wars of the Low Countries throughout the 60s and his residency in England until 1584, Mendoza also served as resident ambassador at the French court from 1584 to 1590. Out of all of the six agents analysed in this particular thesis, Mendoza is the one with the longest serving period as ambassador and the one with the most advanced systems of diplomacy. He would also be renowned for his literary qualities, writing various works concerning the war of the Low Countries and the systems and rules of warship. Furthermore, he would be well-known for his spying capabilities and his complex systems of cypher that aimed to protect the sensitive information in his correspondence. To see more about these characteristics, see: Mendoza 1998; De Lamar 1964.



Netherlands. You will bear in mind the following points (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.91, 182; *Calendar*, Vol.2, 552-560).

In the eyes of Philip, Mendoza had all the necessary qualities to fulfil the role of resident ambassador since he had some experience in the world of diplomacy, and, most significantly, he had great expertise on the matter of the Low Countries and their importance in the development of the Spanish empire and the control of European international relations. Philip believed that Mendoza would be able to negotiate with Elizabeth successfully because his previous diplomatic enterprise had been a success; however, the King was not taking into consideration that a resident ambassador and an ordinary embassy of negotiation were two completely different matters. The first required the ambassador to deal extensively with court members and ministers alike with the intention of garnishing their support and confidence; the latter only involved the negotiating of a concrete business given beforehand to the ambassador and in which he would have no say whatsoever. The character, views, and beliefs of an ordinary ambassador could be seldom impactful for the fulfilment of a task whereas those of resident ambassadors would leave a permanent imprint in their dealings. As a loyal soldier and servant of his King and the crown, Bernardino de Mendoza accepted his new mission without a shred of doubt or complaint. However, he found himself on a new ground in which he had not been trained before, so his grasp of the situation was not as strong as the one he had in his sword; thus, Mendoza asked for help from Gabriel de Zayas, the secretary for foreign affairs, in order to mask some of the flaws that might appear due to his lack of practice: “suplico á V. merced cubra parte dellas considerando que soy principiante y que S.M. me ha trocado la silla” [I beg your worship to overlook any shortcomings in this respect as I am only a beginner and his Majesty has changed my

mount]. Even in doing this, the ambassador referred to his military background as the most tangible matter to which he could draw attention in his daily correspondence (Ibid, 198; 561-573).

It was with all these notions in mind that Bernardino de Mendoza set out in his journey to England to become the new resident ambassador at the court of Elizabeth I. His duties began with a first official audience with the Queen that took place the 16<sup>th</sup> of March 1578 in the Private Chamber, where they engaged in the traditional ceremonial exchanges before committing to business. This first interaction between the Queen and the ambassador was perfectly cordial according to standards; after the initial salutation, the Queen, as usual, took a closer approach to the matter:

Y habiéndole dado cuenta muy puntual de lo que V. M. me había mandado, porque se asentó en una silleta pequeña y mandó que me trujesen otra, me lo quiso oír despacio, haciendo salir á todos de la pieza, y mandó venir á todos los que estaban allí de su Consejo, que fueron seis, á los cuales referia ella misma y por muy buen término lo que yo le habia dicho.

I carefully made the representations to her which your Majesty ordered me, the Queen being seated on a low stool, and another being brought for me, in order that she might listen to me at ease. She ordered the chamber to be cleared of people and summoned thither the members of the Council who were at Court, to the number of six, to whom she repeated very fairly what I had said (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.91, 203; Calendar, Vol.2, 561-573).

Elizabeth tended to act in this manner with regard to ambassadorial meetings. If we recall the audiences with Diego Guzmán de Silva or Álvaro de la Quadra, the ambassadors were taken into a private chamber or a separated area of the room to talk more privately about the enterprise at hand, most of the times being joined only by the closest advisors to the Queen, the main ministers or Privy Councillors. In this case, Elizabeth asked for a chair both for herself and Mendoza to talk more calmly and comfortably. This could be a sign

of Elizabeth's ageing or tiredness since by this time she was already 45, but that does not seem to add up with the general reports of her health at that time, having reports of her dancing even to a very old age. Perhaps this could be another type of emotional expression aiming to make the ambassador comfortable. Instead of holding a conversation for hours standing still in a corner of a palace chamber, choosing to sit down in a separated area of the room close to each other and surrounded by the members of the Council could be regarded as an expression of kindness and care. I have already referred to instances in which the Queen and her ministers used the strength of emotions to recreate feelings of safety or protection, always with the aim of influencing Anglo-Spanish diplomatic interactions. The same can be seen in this case with the use of the chair; even more so, when this was not an isolated event and the Queen procured a chair to sit with the ambassador and talk about businesses in several occasions throughout the early years of Mendoza's embassy. Furthermore, Elizabeth's statement allows us to see her views concerning the arrival of a new Spanish resident ambassador and some of the issues that Mendoza would have to face during his mission:

La Reina volvió á hablar conmigo, diciendo que se *holgaria* de verme segunda vez en su Reino, aunque la habian avisado que yo venía á *urdir* muchas cosas en él; yo le respondí que desto no le queria dar mayor *satisfaccion* que mis obras y manera de proceder le darian; ella me replicó que aunque yo no fuera ministro de V. M., creia muy bien que no vendria á hacerle *malos officios* ni á *inquietarle* su Reino, entreteniéndome con esto y con otras cosas de la misma sustancia gran rato hasta que me despedí della.

The Queen again spoke to me and said she was glad to see me again in her country, although she had been told that the object of my coming was to plan many things to her prejudice. I answered her that the best proof I could give her that this was not so would be my actions and proceedings whilst here. She said that, even if I were not a minister of your Majesty, she did not think that I should try to do her any harm or disturb her country. She entertained me with this and other things of a like nature for

a long while until I took my leave (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.91, 203; Calendar, Vol.2, 561-573).

Elizabeth had some important matters to take care of during this first audience and she was interested in knowing the missions and dealings that Mendoza would be taking care of during his residency. Her words denote a sense of doubt and uncertainty surrounding the assigning of a new Spanish ambassador to her court; perhaps she could be questioning why a new ambassador was necessary now after four years without one present, or even if the appointing of Mendoza could carry some secret underlying significance. Besides, taking into consideration that two of the main Spanish diplomats preceding Mendoza — Guerau de Spes and Antonio de Guaras— had been discovered plotting against the stability of the reign and the life of the Queen, it was perfectly understandable that Elizabeth might have had the same doubts about the new ambassador. Mendoza displayed here one of his best-known qualities and also one of his recurrent forms of expression: his need to deal directly with facts and actions, and not with words. As a captain and a man of war, Mendoza leaned into acting and obtaining, not discussing and mesmerizing. Anyhow, the Queen reassured the ambassador that she did not believe his interest laid in meddling in the country's affairs and that she was glad of his arrival. This seemed to match with the previous patterns of interaction used by the Queen with Mendoza's predecessors: first, the Queen used traditional ceremonial to greet the ambassador, after which she discussed a topic close to their person with the aim of breaking the ice and establishing an interaction; in half of the cases —Silva, Guaras, and Mendoza— the Queen deployed a certain use of Emotionology with the intention of influencing the diplomat's view of herself and her Ministers, as well as impacting future decision-making. Once this was all done, it was time for the audience to be called off and wait for another one soon after the

first, in which this emotional component could sink deeper into the diplomatic relationship.

After a couple days and some general talk, the Queen tried to move the ambassador into more concrete matters; in this case, general duties that were of interest for the country, such as religion:

Despues desto me removió algunas pláticas sobre materias de Religion, las cuales yo hice que no entendia, divirtiéndola dellas con otras á que yo estaba cierto habia de dar oídos, como decirle cuan buena estaba.

she raised some religious questions which I pretended not to understand, and diverted her from them by other subjects which I knew would interest her, such as saying how good she was, and so on (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.91, 212; *Calendar*, Vol.2, 561-573).

Despite Mendoza's own statements about his lack of diplomatic experience, he seemed to act in perfect accord with the rest of the Spanish ambassadors, cleverly avoiding matters that were not beneficial for their interests or for which they could not provide a clear answer. In this case, Mendoza avoided talking about religious matters—a topic that was gaining importance daily within and without the country for its relevance with regards to the English succession—Mary Stuart, the wars of religion in France, and even the religious revolts in the Low Countries. Engaging in that particular conversation was bound to deprive the ambassador of any diplomatic benefits and, perhaps, might weaken his position by providing a wrong answer, so he did what ambassadors knew how to do best: perform and make Elizabeth believe that he did not understand the extent of the information or the matter at hand. In order to successfully swap the topic of the audience to a different one, he resorted to flattery. The game of diplomacy was one created and

played for and by men, and, in it, Elizabeth was a rare sight; thus, many ambassadors did not treat her with the same manners as they would use with another diplomat or a male monarch, but dealt with her as a woman rather than as a Queen. Together with the general belief that Elizabeth was someone that appreciated care and interest being placed upon herself, Mendoza decided to appeal to the Queen's vanity and her concern for beauty and for how she was portrayed to the world as a mechanism to dodge the discussion on religion. This particular statement coming from the ambassador also allows researchers to see the importance of sex and gender in the diplomatic world and how misogyny was the norm in a world of men where a single woman was taking the highest office. Besides understanding the perspective through which the ambassadors tended to look at Elizabeth, this event allows us to see why Elizabeth created certain tools and mechanisms to elaborate a system in which her gender could be accepted, or, perhaps, where her gender could be altogether avoided.

These were the first interactions between the English Queen and the Spanish diplomat, cordial and amicable all around, aiming at restoring the friendship between the two countries in times of turmoil throughout Europe. However, Mendoza's true self and character did not take long to appear in his diplomatic dealings with the Queen and, mostly, with her ministers. A character that, as stated above, had a lot to do with his background as a proud member of the Spanish army and defender of the crown and Catholic religion. Another audience with the Queen took place on the 10<sup>th</sup> of April of the same year, when Mendoza and Elizabeth discussed the current state of affairs for the Low Countries, the proceedings of the current commander in general of the Spanish armies, Philip's half-brother, Don John of Austria, and the English support given to the rebels.

Mendoza was not content with Elizabeth's underhand dealings with the rebels and her support against the Spanish settlement, and he adamantly stated that the territories were Spanish and, as such, they should yield to the will of their master, Philip II. Mendoza now displayed his first expressions of Spanish Diplomatic Emotionology which, in his hands, was similar to Spes' but more aggressive. For Bernardino de Mendoza, the need to keep the English controlled and humbled was an ever-present requirement, and he aimed to do that by instilling fear in them regarding the strength and might of the Spanish crown and the power of its armies:

que V. M. tenía muy *largas manos* y dándole ocasion para que les entendiese, que le aseguraba que eran tan *poderosas* que cualquier Reino donde se pusiesen, por mucho que lo fuese, las *sentiria*. Respondió, tragando un poco de saliva, que ella no los tenía por rebeldes, pues no se contentaban de lo que V. M. les habia concedido antes.

that your Majesty had very long arms, and, that if need arose, their strength would be felt in any country upon which they were placed. She swallowed this with rather a wry face, and replied that she did not consider these people to be rebels, as they were satisfied with what your Majesty had granted them before (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.91, 215; *Calendar*, Vol. 2, 573-578).

Mendoza found the need to express himself in this regard only a month after his arrival at the English court. In such a short period of time and, having only received positive and amicable expressions coming from the Queen and her Privy councillors, he decided to threaten them with the might of the Spanish armies and their reach, possibly hinting that if the English kept on meddling in the affairs within the Low Countries, Philip's hands would stretch through the channel and reach the island ultimately to submit it to his will. Both Spes and Guaras—the first through his time as ambassador and the latter during the period when he served as assistant to the former— displayed emotional patterns based on moral and military superiority that focused on representing the English as scared or afraid

of the possibility of Spanish intervention in their country. Mendoza went further and directly threatened them with this likelihood, at first, and, later, he altogether threatened them with war. This evolution took place at the same time that tensions began to escalate both within and without the island. Mendoza was anything but subtle, as can be seen in his reports, but even if there was a glimpse of subtlety in his dealings, this faded away as time went by and he was left with bluntness and boldness as the main mechanism of his Diplomatic Emotionology.

Despite this shift in Emotionology with regards to his closest predecessors, Mendoza still had to deal with the same issues and concerns as they had done, being the first the English tendency to mutability and lack of action:

que aquí *mudan* tan fácilmente las resoluciones que hacen que se puede avisar mal cuál es la última, por la *inconstancia* y *variedad* con que las hacen, pareciéndoseles bien ser insulanos.

things here change so rapidly and continually, it is difficult to keep pace with them, and to send their latest decisions. These people are so fickle and wavering that they are indeed insular (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.91, 215; Calendar, Vol.2, 573-578).

As it happened with all of the other five Spanish ambassadors working at the court of Elizabeth I, the biggest concern surrounding the reporting of information back to the Spanish court was the lack of constancy in the English diplomatic dealings, forcing the ambassadors to report outdated or incorrect information regularly by the continuous changes of policy. In scenarios such as the one Mendoza found upon his arrival, where the stakes between the two countries were high and the threat of war loomed on the



horizon, this matter was even more crucial since the need for reliable information played a key role in the development of diplomatic exchanges.

The situation between the two countries and, most importantly, between Mendoza, the Queen, and the ministers maintained, more or less, the same cordial tone throughout the first few years of the new ambassador's residency. In the first year, indeed, the audiences that took place reminisced much of that first time that Elizabeth greeted Mendoza as the newly appointed ambassador. The Queen attempted to build a good and stable relationship through the use of Emotionology, as she had done before with previous ambassadors, potentially aiming at keeping Mendoza content with her actions in case another bout of plots against her kingdom should arise. In fact, the resemblance with the first use of a chair as an example of closeness and care for a comfortable and calm conversation between the monarch and the diplomat took place again in May of 1578:

me ha hecho la Reina mucha *honra*, porque fuera del *entretenerme* grande rato en los negocios, mandó que trujesen [sic] en qué sentarme en la sala de presencia donde bailaban, y se entretuvo conmigo mucho tiempo.

the Queen treated me with much consideration, because, in addition to the long interview she gave me on business, she ordered a seat to be brought for me in the presence chamber, where dancing was going on, and entertained me for a long time (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.91, 237; Calendar, Vol.2, 578-587).

Elizabeth did not only deal in business with the ambassador, but she also took the time to show appreciation towards his work and express to him how pleased she was with both his dealings and himself. As it had happened in their first encounter, the Queen combined diplomatic business with personal matters in an attempt to pull the ambassador closer to herself and make him feel useful in the furthering of his duties, but she was also showing

care and appreciation for the ambassador as an individual. This event was not isolated; at least for the first two years of residency, Elizabeth regularly reminded the ambassador of her happiness with his way of managing business —something that the reader might recall as being a compliment used before with Diego Guzmán de Silva. Thus, Elizabeth continued to remind the ambassador of this mood by granting him regular audiences, even without being asked for, with the interest of listening to Mendoza:

no me veo con la Reina que no me diga que se *huelga* mucho que esté aquí, dándome muy libremente la audiencia, y para el oirme de buena gana la tengo muy *granjeada*.

I now never see the Queen but she tells me how glad she is for me to be here. She gives me audience freely and I have her now in an excellent humour (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.91, 376; Calendar, Vol.2, 609-618).

In fact, the Queen went so far as to complain about the lack of important businesses that should allow them both to meet more frequently: “le pesaba de que no se ofreciesen negocios que me forzasen á verla muy á menudo” [she was sorry that opportunities did not arise for her to see me very often] (Ibid, 410;683-694).

The only concern that could be pointed out about these interactions was the sporadic doubt placed into Elizabeth’s mind regarding the likelihood of Mendoza’s plotting her demise while serving as a foreign ambassador. These doubts had been placed in Elizabeth’s mind before, not as fabricated and fictional ones but as perfectly real doubts that had materialized in various plots throughout the years. The last two characters that had served as ambassadors to the Spanish crown had indeed been found guilty of having a certain degree of interaction with key members behind the plots, so it was only natural for the councillors and the Queen to be wary of the possibility of this happening again.

However, it seemed that since the situation was calmer, at least for the time being, Mendoza was not in any particular rush to further any plots, Catholic or not, against Elizabeth. Therefore, with the use of his diplomatic skills and by keeping the Queen “muy granjeada”, he managed to remove her doubts temporarily. So far, and after a full year, there did not seem to be a stark contrast between the atmosphere, situation, and matters at hand from the beginning of Mendoza’s appointment as a resident ambassador; in fact, it appears as if the relationship between the two was growing closer by the deployment of a positive Emotionology. Nevertheless, as hinted before by Mendoza’s own words, not all that glitters is gold and the Anglo-Spanish relationship deteriorated coming to the end of the decade for external reasons, but also due to the particular character of the ambassador, who began to lash out against certain Privy Councillors. First, the religious conflict that had affected the rest of the diplomats started to be part of Mendoza’s everyday diplomatic interactions, and he began to condemn some of the main councillors for their religious beliefs: “[referring to Walsingham] que es tan *endemoniado* hereje” [he is such a devilish heretic] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.91, 252; *Calendar*, Vol.2, 587-604). Once more, the overzealous character of the Spanish resident ambassadors came to light regarding religion and anything other than the Old Catholic faith was presented by them as *deviant*, *heretical*, and even *satanic*, since many of the references use vocabulary related to the occult such as *demon*, *possess*, or *devil*, among others.

Bernardino de Mendoza would also be known among English diplomatic circles as a bold and direct ambassador that directly struck at his enemies both with the sword on the battlefield and with his speech at court. For instance, and connected to the figure that was garnishing all the Spanish hate as of late, Sir Francis Walsingham, the ambassador

did not lose a chance to try and put him in his place, in this case, by portraying himself as bolder and braver. A conversation took place around the summer of 1578 between Lord Cobham, Walsingham, and Mendoza, regarding the travelling of the first two to the Low Countries to serve as mediators in the conflict between the Dutch and the Spanish, and, ultimately, to try to help the States Generals. The conversation was not recorded in the ambassador's correspondence, so we are unable to reproduce it and analyse both sides of the encounter; however, we can understand that the Spanish diplomat felt attacked by the tone of the English ministers, so he felt compelled to tackle them and put them in their place by showing that he was superior and better than them: "de que ellas me empezaron á *bravear*, yo les repliqué con mucha mayor *braveza*" [At one time they began to bluster, but I replied even more loudly in the same strain] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.91, 256; Calendar, Vol.2, 587-604). Mendoza probably felt that the English were getting too cocky with their audacity to meddle in the affairs of what every Spaniard felt as their own territory. It was known that to Philip II and his country the conflict in the Low Countries was regarded as an intrinsically domestic problem that should not be meddled with from the outside. Thus, the intervention of the English and the apparent over-confidence that Cobham and Walsingham were using with the Spanish ambassador forced him to show again his true colours and increase his level of confidence or cockiness, as it were, to try and keep them in their place. On a future occasion, several months later, the ambassador took another chance to prove this Spanish superiority over the English or to try and make them feel minute and useless. When asked about the potential marriage of Elizabeth to the Duke of Alençon and the union of France and England —potentially against the interests of the Spanish empire— he used the occasion to give them a lengthy history

lesson explaining to the English ministers why and how England had fallen from his long-gone military superiority into a small set of islands with no continental representation, while Spain had grown into a vast empire. Mendoza exploited the occasion to, once more, remind the English of their need for Philip's care and friendship, for he was, in the eyes of the Spaniards, the only friend that Elizabeth had and the only one that could help her in dire straits (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.91, 318).

Mendoza had to continue dealing with the aforementioned English lack of resolution and their constant changes in policy; however, he did not just complain about it in his correspondence to the King as many of his predecessors had done, or tell him English counterparts that more action and less talk was needed, as Silva often did, but he confronted them with this issue to try to make them deal with the matter in his own way. Following his military background, Mendoza wrote after the conversation he had with Cobham and Walsingham, and took a peculiar approach to the matter:

He pasado grandes hablas con esta gente, y para no descomponerme sólo echo de ver en mí la escuela del Duque y haber sido su *soldado*, y de la tentativa que me hicieron por *fieros*, sospecho que se han *arrepentido* por lo que les respondí, paresciéndome que lo pedia la ocasión.

I have had some long talks with them, and the only way for me to keep my temper is to bear in mind that I am one of the school of the Duke (of Alba) and a soldier of his. I fancy they have repented of their attempt to bully me, seeing that the answer I gave, which was such as I thought the case demanded (Ibid, 258;587-604).

In this excerpt, as in most of the correspondence from Bernardino de Mendoza, we can clearly see the importance given to strong emotional patterns connected to fear, strength, power, or war. Instead of asking for a faster resolution or altogether waiting for the English council's final decision, Mendoza decided to confront them and probably demand

in his own way—that is, the military way of being a soldier in the Duke of Alba’s army—<sup>2</sup> an answer to his concerns. Ultimately, he saw the occasion fit to demand an answer and to prove to the English ministers how things were handled around in the Spanish dominions and what a true soldier of the Spanish army looked like.

As always, the Spanish resident ambassador leaned towards those figures at court that had the most power over the Queen and those that shared political, but mostly religious, beliefs with the Spaniards. In this regard, Robert Dudley had been a close confidant of the early ambassadors, mostly Quadra and Silva, and some of the Catholic noblemen had done the same with others like Guaras or Spes. Dudley seemed to be constantly changing sides; at the beginning of the reign, he was asking for Spanish support to marry Elizabeth and re-establish Catholicism on the island. However, by the end of this period, he was commanding the English reinforcements to support the rebels in the Low Countries. His mutable character appeared to be masked by his wit, charm, and other qualities, for the ambassadors seemed to always regard him as a friend of their cause.

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<sup>2</sup> Mendoza was proud of being a soldier in the Duke’s army and having been able to serve his country under such a powerful man; he even claimed, as in the quote, to act in his diplomatic mission by the same patterns that he had learned under the Duke. As a note of who the Grand Duke of Alba was and the image that half of Europe had of him, I would like to refer the reader to a letter he wrote during the siege of Lisbon: “*imaginando las armas, vuelva los ojos y mírelas dentro de esa real ciudad de Lisboa: note y parézcale verla siendo tan resplandeciente en él todo el mundo, de súbito con furia y llamas caer toda, y los montones de míseros ciudadanos hechos pedazos sin sepulcros*” [Imagining these weapons, turn back yours eyes and look at them inside this city of Lisbon: picture it shining, and then, all of a sudden and furiously, engulfed in flames and all of its poor citizens decimated and without sepulchres] (Parker 2017, 725; my translation).

Now, Mendoza did the same his predecessors had done before and he happily accepted

Dudley's support:

el de Lecester trae gran cuidado en obligarme en todos los negocios que él puede, y en cuanto es en mí, yo no pierdo tiempo en agradescérselo y granjearlo, para que tenga la misma voluntad en lo de más importancia.

Leicester is very careful to oblige me in all matters that he can, and, for my part, I lose no opportunity of thanking him and gaining his goodwill, so as to use him for more important things (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.91, 302; *Calendar*, Vol.2, 623-626).

Knowing the Earl of Leicester and the importance he had always placed in furthering his own interests and improving his position by any possible mechanism, one can see that supporting Mendoza and helping him out at court was nothing more than yet another stratagem to obtain his goals. He might have even done so, not to further his own cause, but to stop or diminish someone else's at court. In fact, the rivalry at court and the existence of different opposing teams is something that comes up constantly in the correspondence of the Spanish ambassadors and to some scholars like Sir John Neale (1971) it serves as a clear proof of the lack of homogeneity in the English inner circle. However, to more recent scholars such as Stephen Alford (2002) or Natalie Mears (2005), the bipolarization of the court was not clear or even existent until the last decades of the realm with the disappearance of key characters such as Robert Dudley or William Cecil; thus, the explanation for this reported opposition is based on political difference. This would justify Robert Dudley's dealings as just political manoeuvres to better his position and not as real attempts to destabilize the realm.

This dual approach consisting of the positive audiences with the Queen containing expressions of care and interest for each other, together with the opposing instances in which the ambassador lashed out to the English ministers became the everyday diplomacy of Bernardino de Mendoza, at least for a while before the end of the decade brought about the beginning of the end for Anglo-Spanish interactions. Thus, we come across more examples of the first type of interaction that are pretty similar to the ones that had been taking place since the arrival of the ambassador on the island. In fact, before confronting Cobham and Walsingham, prior to their departure to the Low Countries, the ambassador had an audience with Elizabeth in which the use of the chair was repeated once more. After sitting down to talk aside from the rest of the members of the court, the Queen dealt with the important matters of the time: the talks of her possible marriage with the Duke of Alençon, the question of the heir to the throne and Mary Stuart, and, finally, the religious concerns and the rebellion in the Low Countries. The Spanish ambassador went over these with ease, sometimes giving his opinion on how the enterprise should be carried out, and others skilfully avoiding giving an answer in order not to engage in potential diplomatic holdups. Finally, and when confronted with the matter of the Low Countries, the ambassador had to break with his traditional amicability towards the Queen and used with her the same boldness and aggressiveness that he had previously used with the ministers. By this time, Elizabeth was starting to be concerned, once more, with the possibility of Philip's retaliation or even with his intentions to put an end to their friendship, so she asked the ambassador what the King thought about her. Mendoza tried to assuage all the concerns and fears of the Queen, but, instead of reassuring her of Philip's goodwill, he erased her doubts in quite a different manner:



Díjele que el día que V. M. quisiese romper con ella no sería con los *engaños* y tratos que otras gentes, sino *descubiertamente* y de manera que por lo que la deseaba servir me pesaría mucho que la experiencia le diese á conocer cuan *poderosa* era la *espada* de V. M., la cual no la había visto hasta agora desenvainada.

I said that when your Majesty wished to break with her, you would not do it with deceit and trickery, like some people, but openly and in a way that, for her own sake, I should be very sorry for her to learn by experience the power of your Majesty's sword, which she had never yet seen unsheathed (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.91, 317; *Calendar*, Vol.2, 626-642).

So, intrinsically, the ambassador made it clear to the Queen that his King meant no harm but not because he was pleased with Elizabeth's actions or with their friendship, but because, when the time came for Philip to take action against the island, it would be so clear and unavoidable that Elizabeth would not be questioning the possibility of such an action and she should see it coming clearly. This instance was not a direct attack against the Queen and her actions, as it had been with Walsingham, but it was already clear proof that the ambassador was ready to lash out at anyone, Queen or minister, if the situation called for it. Nevertheless, the relationship between Mendoza and Elizabeth still remained friendly and the correspondence with the King continued to be full of examples of the goodwill between the two. For instance, just a couple months after this exchange, in February of 1578, the ambassador reported to Philip how glad he was that the Queen always was fair and nice with him, thanking God for making his duties much easier due to Elizabeth's positive predisposition towards him: "hízome el favor que siempre y grandes regalos, entreteniéndome con ella más de tres horas [...] por estar muy *sabrosa* conmigo" [She was as gracious as usual with me, caressing me much and entertaining me for three hours [...] she was so very friendly and gave me opportunities to do so] (Ibid, 347;642-655).

At this time, the marriage suit between Elizabeth and the Duke of Alençon began to gain even more importance and came the forefront of English diplomatic interests. With courtship came the diplomatic game that Elizabeth best played and the possibility of keeping everyone in suspense looking at the Queen and waiting for her move. Mendoza seemed to have been more prepared for this game of diplomacy and, according to the analysis of the data, he appeared to be slightly less subjective to the constant shifts of Elizabeth between marrying and not marrying one of her suitors. The ambassador seemed to be directly drawn to the performative and fictional character of courtship and the importance of understanding what was real and what was fictional:

que por las *muestras y apariencias* que se ven en esta Reina, de ninguna cosa la puede haber mayor hasta agora sino de que se casará si puede con el de Alençon.

as far as can be judged by appearances and the Queen's own actions, nothing more certain can be imagined than that she will marry Alençon if she can (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.91, 358; *Calendar*, Vol.2, 655-662).

The ambassador seemed to be clearly capable of recognising this characteristic of diplomacy and courtship in particular and referred to it as the core of the matter instead of trying to discern, by his own wits, the outcome of the affair. Once more, we are capable of seeing the impact that performance and fiction have in the unfolding of diplomatic interactions since, according to the ambassador, there was nothing else to report but to believe that the Queen would marry the Duke. However, Mendoza continued to refer to the atmosphere surrounding the court and the impact that ceremonial and performance were having in the mood of the agents that were taking part in the game of courtship; in fact, even the King himself picked up this particular performative character and addressed his ambassador accordingly:

que por más que se diga no creo que ha de llegar á efecto, porque de ambas partes debe haber poca voluntad y mucha *fiction* [sic], pero si viniere á concluir, está claro que siendo Rey Alanzon os habeis de haber en todo de la manera que con la Reina.

whatever may be said, I do not believe that it will take place, as there can be on either side no great desire for it, but on the contrary a large amount of pretence. If, however, it should be effected and Alençon should become King, you will, of course, bear yourself towards him in the same way as you do towards the Queen (Ibid, 400;683-694).

Caution was advised concerning the possibility of all being a façade to benefit the English in the unfolding of European diplomatic matters, but should it come to fruition, the ambassador should be prepared to act.

Furthermore, Mendoza referred to the suit in a similar manner when, in May 1579, the situation between the Queen and Alençon seemed to be at the exact same point: “y así los unos como los otros quieren que sea la tela de Penélope” [In this way both parties are weaving a Penelope's web] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.91, 482; *Calendar*, Vol.3, 29-32). Here, the ambassador drew from the ancient trope coming from the *Odyssey*, where the fabric from Penelope was twined and untwined daily so her remarrying could never be accomplished. With this analysis, the ambassador was trying to report to his King that the affair would never go anywhere since none of the two parties had any actual interest in it, but they both used courtship as a mechanism to keep other political and diplomatic matters alive. By keeping the possibility of marrying Alençon on the table, Elizabeth was pressuring Spain not to take direct action against her or her country or else she would be able to retaliate with the help of her newly acquired ally, France. For Alençon, marrying Elizabeth was the tool through which he could rise to honour and glory by taking action within the Low Countries and bringing them under French control. Both

had a keen interest in keeping the suit alive for their own sake and Mendoza appeared to be aware of this from the beginning.

The decade was coming to an end and with it came the war between Portugal and Spain in which Philip defended his position as the rightful heir to the throne and took it by force, launching an invasion of the country that resulted in its conquering and the beginning of a long and winded fight with the last pretender to the Portuguese throne, Don Antonio. The analysis of the war and its details are not of relevance for the study of the ambassadors at the English court, but the general impact that the annexation of Portugal to the Spanish dominions had on general politics and international relations was indeed paramount. The empire benefited incredibly from obtaining the Portuguese trade routes and possessions overseas by directly increasing the crown's revenue at a time when money was crucial for Philip. Furthermore, the vastness of the empire and its power became a threat to everyone within Europe, so England took an active role and supported Don Antonio in subtle ways with the aim of destabilizing Philip's control over his newly acquired possessions. Even more importantly, Philip had massed an incredible army and navy for the conquering of Portugal and great naval victories had been obtained, like the battle of Terciaría, where the commander-in-general of the Spanish navy, Admiral Santa Cruz, proved his great value to the crown and the Spanish troops. Such a military force was a looming threat to the English, since the unsettled succession and the imprisonment of Mary Stuart were an ever-present issue for the island. Besides, Ireland was a clear objective for Spain and, apart from serving as a potential rear door to invade England, the

number of Catholic supporters that the island had was of interest for Philip's well-known religious zealotry and his intentions to be the champion of the Old Faith.<sup>3</sup>

Despite the existence of this combination of issues in the horizon of Anglo-Spanish diplomatic exchanges, the everyday interactions between the Queen and the Spanish ambassador still provided us with great examples of the importance placed on emotions and Emotionology. Regardless of the sporadic use of threats towards Elizabeth coming from the ambassador, their relationship had been stable and positive since the beginning, thanks to the care first placed on the ambassador by Elizabeth as a token of her interest in renewing the amicable interactions between the two countries and the subsequent positive feedback given by Mendoza. Thus, their interactions grew closer and tighter through the first two years of the embassy. However, the ambassador still had to deal with the recurrent doubts that plagued the Queen with regards to the possible plots being devised against her country, doubts that had to be put out by the Spanish diplomat:

la alteró y avivó la *sospecha* alargándose conmigo en la plática, de suerte que á lo que yo pude colegir, no era con *género de artificio ni falsedad*, porque se apartó á un rincón de la pieza conmigo.

this troubled her and revived her suspicion, and she then prolonged the conversation, in a way which I was convinced was not false or artificial, because she took me apart into a corner of the room (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.91, 411; *Calendar*, Vol.2, 683-694).

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<sup>3</sup> Ireland had long been a point of interest for Spain, mostly for the possibility of sending a small force that could rally the Catholic supporters in the island and take control of it with ease with the aim of launching an attack on England from that position afterwards. The restlessness of the island with their constant clan wars made it more appealing to the eyes of the King. In fact, several papal, Italian, and Spanish forces were sent to Smerwick between 1579 and 1580, which ultimately culminated in the Siege of Smerwick (Parker 2017, 733).

In this case, the importance of the fictional aspects of diplomacy came to the forefront again, since Mendoza reported to the King the restlessness that Elizabeth showed towards him when tackling the issue, which was the French support apparently sent to aid Ireland. This time, the ambassador believed the emotions portrayed by Elizabeth and regarded them as truthful. We have analysed this scenario before in instances when the ambassadors used their own knowledge and take on the situation to discern if the emotions portrayed by the Queen were real or performed. As stated before, judging this from their point of view was almost as impossible as doing it from ours, since the representation of emotions can be different depending on the scenario and the person; however, it is important to see that emotions were indeed part of the interactions on a regular basis and that their value was being recognized by the agents that were taking part in the events. The importance that Elizabeth placed on Mendoza's opinions and reports was also crucial here, since she took him to an isolated part of the room in order to safely and calmly deal with the business, and she even got annoyed by the amount of noise in the room at the time, which was hindering the conversation between the two.

Directly after this last report, Mendoza felt the need to report to his King, once more, how good his relationship with Elizabeth was and how it was starting to cause him certain problems at court. According to these reports, it seemed as if the two had a pretty close and friendly relationship with regular and lengthy audiences that tackled every possible matter at hand. That closeness and probably the power that Mendoza might have had to influence the Queen in certain enterprises was beginning to make some members of the court uncomfortable. Perhaps these very same members were those that Mendoza decided to attack directly for matters of religion and policy; those that were threatened

with the Spanish might and with the wrath of God for their heretical views. Anyhow, Mendoza was following Silva's steps and his closeness with the Queen would be the cause of delays, confrontations, and lack of sympathy from key members of the court and the Privy Council. Same as happened with don Diego, this jealousy or zealousness might have been caused by the ambassadors' closeness to Elizabeth and her interest in listening and understanding the ambassadors' views on diplomatic business:

háme hecho Dios merced de avenirme con esta Señora de manera, que me oye de buena gana, cosa que sienten harto algunos de sus Consejeros, y esta última audiencia me la procuraron dilatar, pero ella no quiso, sino que fuese el día siguiente de como yo se lo había pedido, en la cual me hizo *mayores regalos y caricias* de lo que aquí sabré decir; yo procuré (como vuestra merced verá) usar de algun *artificio* para descubrir tierra y *entretenerla* en amistad.

I have had the great good fortune of being able to propitiate this good lady, so that she willingly gives ear to what I say, to the great disgust of some of her councillors. They tried to delay my last audience, but she would not allow it, and insisted that it should be on the following day, as I had requested. She caressed me more than I can describe, and I will try, as you will see, by every *artifice*, to feel my ground and keep her friendly (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.91, 414; *Calendar*, Vol.2, 683-694).

This excerpt proves that the Queen had an interest in seeing the ambassador with regularity and we have already mentioned before in the analysis of Mendoza's correspondence that Elizabeth had expressed certain sadness due to the lack of important businesses that would make the ambassador be at court with more consistency. The response from some of the opposing members of the court was to try and delay the audiences and ultimately prevent them from happening, perhaps in hopes that they would be able to convince the Queen of a particular policy that could be otherwise hindered by dealing with the ambassador. As expected, the ambassador thanked God for his help in enjoying this particular relation with the Queen and also took a chance to refer to his

traditional course of action: when matters got to a certain point in which he felt that it was better to avoid giving an answer or to divert the Queen to another matter, he resorted to artifices and fictions to keep her happy and hide the dealings that she should not be aware of.

This closeness, care, and good relationship between the Queen and the Spanish diplomat started to dwindle as the tensions throughout Europe rose and as the Spanish dominions and power increased once Portugal became part of the empire. As mentioned before, the possibility of an attack on the island with the aim of liberating Mary Stuart and dethroning Elizabeth to establish a Catholic kingdom served as the beginning point of aggression. On one side, the English court tried to push Spain and avoid direct attack by supporting those that were already disturbing Philip's dominions, like the rebels in the Low Countries or Don Antonio and the Portuguese supporters. On the other, Mendoza began to take a harsher and more aggressive course of action in his everyday diplomatic exchanges and the importance of emotions such as fear or pride became the centre of his Emotionology. These hostilities between the two sides gave rise to particularly tense audiences between Elizabeth and Mendoza in which everyone seemed to be ready to break up the entire diplomatic relationship and engage in a war, but, at the same time, both waited for the other to be the first to initiate such hostilities; it all turned into a waiting game, where both parties took subtle measures to affect the other while waiting for someone to take the lead and use that first affront as the excuse for future retaliation:

Dijome la Reina la primer palabra antes que yo le pudiese hablar ninguna, si venía como Rey de armas á declararle la *guerra* ó no; respondíle que ella me parecía que la quería hacer á todo el mundo, pues ordenaba se levantase muy gran número de gente y se armase tanta cantidad de navios; replicóme que todo esto era para que no



entendiesen que estaba *descuidada*, que ella jamás la haría á V. M., sino fuese servido de romper primero.

Before I could say a word she asked me whether I came as a herald to declare *war* upon her; to which I replied that it was she, apparently, who was going to *war* with all the world; seeing the great number of men and ships she was raising. She said that was in order that she might not be thought *neglectful*, and she would never make war upon your Majesty unless you began it first (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.91, 458; *Calendar*, Vol.3, 4-16).

Seeing this reaction and the apparent restlessness on the side of the Queen concerning a possible breach of friendship between the two countries, Mendoza took the chance to continue his “war of fear” by trying to use in his favour the Queen’s unsettled state of mind and enhance it with more fear with the likelihood of a Spanish intervention: “yo me alargué en la materia cargándole la mano con la buena ocasion de hallarla tan *tímida*” [I dwelt upon this subject, and pressed it home seeing her so *timid*] (Ibid, 458; 4-16). In fact, the Spanish ambassador continued to use the opportunity given to him by this audience to follow this route and increase, as much as possible, this fear that he was seeing in Elizabeth: “me pareció acrecentarle sus *miedos* con palabras *ambiguas y preñadas*” [I tried to increase her *alarm* by ambiguous and significant words] (Ibid, 460; 4-16). The technique used for this purpose was to give Elizabeth no clear answer concerning the intention behind the Spanish policy and the movements or usage of the army, while increasing the doubts of another third-party contender that might be able to also threaten the English and their dominions. Mendoza was cleverly using empty words and unclear statements, not with the intention of lying to Elizabeth directly, but to perhaps persuade her in such a way that she would be the one creating her own scary story. Ultimately, his goal was to play on that fear he was so clearly seeing and enhance it with the threat of outsiders while making the Queen believe that the Majesty his King would never break

their old friendship. In this way, Mendoza was trying to better his position with Elizabeth and make her believe that the threat would always come from outside, thus retaining his trusted and close position at the English court:

la dejé con más *miedo* que ántes y muy *sabrosa*, que es una de las cosas á que ha de atender el que estuviere aquí en el servicio de V. M., porque con esto da libremente audiencia, y se puede entender tratando los negocios con ella.

This *frightened* her more than before, and she was very amiable. It is important that those who may represent your Majesty here should bear this in mind, as when she is in this mood she gives audience freely, and her disposition towards affairs and that of her ministers can be better understood in personal conversation with her (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.91, 460; *Calendar*, Vol.3, 4-16).

Mendoza also took this opportunity, while reporting his interactions with the Queen, to enlighten those back at the Spanish court on the ways of conducting an efficient embassy with Elizabeth I. The key factor to having plenty of audiences with the Queen, in which to further the King's interests and gather useful information for the bettering of the empire, was to keep her "sabrosa", a term used repeatedly by the Spanish diplomats and the goal they all searched for in order to make the Queen more prone to listening and interacting with them. If the Queen was pleased, she would summon the ambassadors more often and she would also allow them to go see her with more frequency, opening the possibilities for interactions. The key to the embassy for Mendoza lied, seen in retrospective, in the availability of audiences. However, the lack of audiences, the refusal to be seen, and the obstacles placed before the ambassadors in order to communicate with Elizabeth would also become a problem for him as it did with the other ambassadors — except for Silva— and it would be utterly destructive both for their embassies and for the evolution of Anglo-Spanish interactions. Not having an audience with the Queen

prevented the ambassadors from gathering intelligence on the state of affairs and the evolution of international relations; lack of interaction with Elizabeth barred them from being able to deploy the Spanish Diplomatic Emotionology, or any type of emotion whatsoever, with which to influence their counterparts and better their position at court. Ultimately, audiences were the basic mechanism of interaction in the game of diplomacy, and they were a pivotal requirement for a healthy Anglo-Spanish diplomacy.

Those doubts that plagued the beginning of Mendoza's tenure as a resident ambassador at the court of Elizabeth I and those same doubts that were skilfully and easily put down, or kept at bay, by the ambassador with the use of emotions, returned to the everyday interactions between the two agents and, this time around, this was not effortlessly settled. In fact, the ambassador saw that the international tensions reached such an apex that the solution could not be obtainable by the use of deceit or care, but by a bolder pathway based on fear and threat; thus, the Spanish ambassador continued to use such emotions even with more regularity in his interactions with Elizabeth:

Repliquéle que por lo que la deseaba servir, la advertia que cuando V. M. extendiese su brazo para hacerle *guerra*, sería con tan *poderosa* mano, que áun para *alentar* en aquel estado donde estaba no ternia [sic] tiempo, quanto más para *cargar* en Flándes, con que se desnudó mucho.

I replied that, having her interests at heart, I warned her that if your Majesty did extend your arm to make war upon her it would be with such a heavy hand that she would not have time to breathe, even in her present position, much less to do anything in Flanders (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.91, 472; *Calendar*, Vol.3, 16-23).

Mendoza took every single chance he could get to make sure the Queen understood the power and might of the Spanish army and their far reach, since, as a soldier of that very army, he was proud to describe the effectiveness of their skills and the quality of their

work. With this use of the emotions attached to war, fear, and death, the ambassador sought to discourage the Queen from taking sides in the war of the Low Countries or meddling with it altogether. This arrogance and boldness that the ambassador seemed to be portraying on a regular basis was once more a clear example of the mimicry attached to emotions. The expression of emotion has been defined as a mechanism used to understand the mood of the interlocutors, as a tester for the atmosphere surrounding a given situation; furthermore, emotions are typically mirrored or mimicked by those that receive them as an unconscious body mechanism. Thus, when the ambassador acted with boldness, arrogance, or aggressiveness, the Queen and her ministers were forced to flinch and cringe at those emotions accepting their weaker position, or brace themselves against the diplomats' remarks and oppose them by mirroring the given emotion. This led the Queen and the diplomat to escalate matters into a regular expression of boldness on both sides: "replicóme con grandes *bravezas*" [she replied arrogantly] (Ibid, 498; 39-44).

These bold, arrogant, or even daring remarks that were often exchanged during diplomatic interactions did not alter the course of the relationship into a dead-end or a standpoint, but they affected these interactions in a small manner that would ultimately lead to a future breakpoint. Since these remarks were not determining the outcome of the relations, we are able to see that in the same audience in which Elizabeth uttered the last abrupt remark to the diplomat, she did, later on, call him aside and tried to reduce the tone of the conversation:

Despues se apartó sola conmigo y me dijo que ella habia hecho este oficio por cumplir con sus Consejeros, y que no dijese que faltaba en lo que tanto le iba que no deseaba sino conservar la antigua amistad que habia tenido siempre con V.M.

After this she took me apart and told me that she had only taken this step in order to satisfy her Councillors, and that they might not say that she was neglecting a subject of such great importance to her. She had no other desire but to maintain the old friendship which had existed with your Majesty (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.91, 500; *Calendar*, Vol.3, 39-44).

In fact, the Queen said that the boldness with which she had treated the ambassador previously was altogether a performed reaction and that she had done it to please her ministers. This adds value to the importance of performance in the study of diplomatic interactions and how big a part of the information that can be seen and extracted from it comes from the ceremonial and performative character that many of the diplomatic norms and traditions have. Furthermore, and in this case, not only diplomacy seems to be affected by performance, but also emotions. By being bold, aggressive, or rude with the diplomat, Elizabeth was expressing and transmitting emotions and feelings that had an impact on Anglo-Spanish interactions, and, as it happened on previous occasions, the value of the emotions and their impact does not disappear or diminish by their performed or fictional character. Aside from this, the use of these particular emotions allowed Mendoza to ascertain that the Queen was in fact scared or afraid of the Spanish intervention and that the Armada that had been crucial in the conquering of Portugal was a threat looming on England's horizon: "entendí de la Reina el estar con grande *miedo* de la armada" [I could see that the Queen was in great fear of the fleet] (Ibid, 500; 39-44).

As time passed and tensions escalated higher with the troops sent to Smerwick, the naval intervention directed by Drake that aimed to support Don Antonio in his claim for the Portuguese throne, or even the Catholic tensions and the reported increase in their numbers, the ambassador reduced the English reaction to all of these affairs to fear of Spanish intervention. In fact, the ambassador reported this fear concerning the likelihood

of a Catholic rise or revolt supporting the claim of Mary Stuart to the English throne: “*miedos que los católicos no se levanten*” [fear that the Catholics may rise] or even those attached to the threat of the mighty Spanish Armada that could direct an attack to English soil. The ambassador’s course of action continued to be based on provoking the inaction of the Queen by using emotions of fear or threats regarding the possible retaliation coming from the Spanish dominions: “no ofendiendo a Rey que tenía tan *poderosísimo brazo y larga espada*” [not to offend a King who had so strong an arm and so long a sword] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.91, 501; 505; *Calendar*, Vol.3, 39-44;44-51). Making a display of his background as a member of the Spanish Tercios, Mendoza repeatedly used warlike metaphors in his everyday diplomatic duties, which served as another clear indication that his personality and background affected his Diplomatic Emotionology; his background as a soldier and the imprint that it left in his character was crucial for the understanding of his way of proceeding with his diplomatic duties.

The importance of courtship and the value placed on Elizabeth's potential marriage with the Duke of Alençon and the ensuing union of the realms of England and France was of crucial importance throughout this period for various reasons. First, it could have been the solution to the disputes in the Low Countries by joining forces that could be powerful enough to erase the Spanish control over those territories; besides, it could have prevented the direct war between England and Spain by turning the former into a more powerful and recognizable opponent that could be able to hinder Spain’s actions more easily. In any case, and despite the importance of the suit itself, here the Spanish ambassador was not going to play a crucial role in the development of the negotiations as some of his predecessors had done, since the suitor was not part of the Habsburg line. In this way,

Mendoza took the time to sporadically report on the matter—as he had previously done—or even to describe the evolution of the general mood around the court concerning the issue; but he did not directly have a purpose in it.<sup>4</sup> Everything that his correspondence showed regarding this matter amounted to his skilful analysis of the fictional and performed qualities of Elizabeth’s diplomatic dealings with regard to courtship: “ella se casaria con él [the Duke of Alençon], que es el *siñuelo* con que de ordinario ha hecho sus *tramas*” [she would marry him, this being the ordinary lure with which she baits her traps] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.92, 13; *Calendar*, Vol.3, 103-119).

As it had been the norm in the Anglo-Spanish diplomatic exchanges of the time, the resident ambassador’s secret dealings were once more discovered, and they damaged the general relation between the two countries. This time, Mendoza had been dealing with some citizens from the Low Countries in a joint intervention that sought to take control of one of the ports in the country to serve as a base of operations for the Spanish military

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<sup>4</sup> Geoffrey Parker has an interesting study of counterfactual history and the possible different outcome that Anglo-Spanish interactions during the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century could have had (Parker 2000, 281-296). With regards to the importance of courtship and the reports of Bernardino de Mendoza, it is interesting to know that he reported on both the impact and the views of the marriage upon the members of the court; first, there was opposition to the marriage due to the health and age of the Queen; secondly, the majority of the powerful figures and the general public seemed to be against the candidate for the hatred and opposition that Englishmen showed to Frenchmen during that period of time. In this particular matter, Mendoza reported the opposition in Parliament by certain members, the appearance of John Stubbs’s *The Discovery of the Gaping Gulf* and its importance in the creation of an anti-French character throughout the country. Mendoza also reported Sidney’s own letter to Elizabeth; this work, however, had a much more gentle and candid tone than that of Stubbs, but ultimately also asked the Queen not to marry. Despite the crucial role of these works in the shaping and morphing of the historical paradigm, they are of little use for the study of Diplomatic Emotionology.

movements. This mission came to the knowledge of the English authorities, probably by the effort of Walsingham's secret service, and several constables and members of the retinue of the Prince of Orange went to the ambassador's inn to ask for an explanation. One of the members of the expedition was present there at the inn and he resourcefully saved the diplomat from taking any of the heat for the enterprise. Mendoza, using his cleverness, sought to ask for a retribution for such an insulting and hurting action:

la *gocé*; que aquello no era demostración para una tan gran *insolencia*, respondiéndolo con *cólera* que me diesen de vestir, que quería ir á la Reina y partirme luego para España.

I took advantage of it, and said that this was no excuse or fitting explanation of so daring an insolence. I then called angrily for my garments, and said I would at once go to the Queen and leave for Spain (Ibid, 46;119-134).

He bluffed to the authorities, clearly knowing that Elizabeth could not allow the ambassador to leave the country hurt by such a minute affair, and therefore risking retaliation from Philip. The ambassador was well-aware of this and that was probably the reason behind his act, since he stated to the King in his correspondence that his wrath and rage were nothing more than a performance “*mi cólera que fué con artificio*” [the anger itself was feigned] in order to sway the English in their actions (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.92, 46; *Calendar*, Vol.3, 119-134). Besides, Mendoza continued to use every single occasion at his disposal to increase their fear by the use of his particular Emotionology: “yo de nuevo les crecí el *miedo*” [I again increased their alarm], as a result of his particular view of the Queen and her ministers' mood: “conocer cuán *pavorosa* y *pusilánime* es de suyo la Reina” [I also knew how timid and pusillanimous the Queen is by nature] (Ibid, 48;53;119-134).



At this very same time and waiting for his audience in order to explain the affair with the Dutch ships, Mendoza was told by Elizabeth that he should wait a bit longer since the ambassadors from France were dealing with the matter of royal marriage and they had precedence over his affairs. As we have already seen, precedence was a complex issue for the diplomacy of the Renaissance, and it was the root of many conflicts throughout this time. In fact, the issue of precedence between France and Spain was an ongoing one for the resident ambassadors at the court of Elizabeth I, and also for other Spanish diplomats throughout Europe (Brun, 2003, 422-438). Not accepting to be left waiting due to French affairs, Mendoza threatened Elizabeth once more with leaving if not listened to, to which the Queen remained unmoved. Seeing that Elizabeth was not flinching, as usual, at the threats of the ambassador, he went even further with his bluff and told the Queen that he would leave within a certain time frame if she did not give him a formal audience. Elizabeth was learning how to match the ambassador's Emotionology, so she mirrored his boldness once more and waited to give him an audience until the very last day of Mendoza's time frame; with this, she was mirroring his diplomatic use of emotions by aiming to sway him in the same manner as he had been doing to her (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.91, 54).

By now the time had reached July of 1581 and Ireland was one of the most turbulent and active theatres in Anglo-Spanish interactions, since the Spanish policy was aiming to take control of the island and use it to launch operations into England from their own backdoor. Besides, the enterprise of Smerwick had already taken place and resulted in a massacre which had a positive outcome for the English, as they caused far more casualties than they received. But the fear of a bigger and stronger enterprise into Ireland was a real

possibility. The English authorities were by then realising that the revolts in Ireland were an easy target for outside powers to volatilize English stability by supporting the rebels and taking control of the island, since England's security came from its isolation and advantageous position given by the sea. Having an Spanish stronghold in Ireland would destroy this security. This matter would also be appreciated in the diplomatic exchanges between the Spanish ambassador and the English Queen, and the heat of the interactions continued to rise as it had been doing since the end of the previous decade. Mendoza, as it was the norm when an ambassador was confronted for having taken part in certain obscure or unlawful dealings, denied any involvement in the matter, something Elizabeth did not like:

á lo cual me respondió con muchos mayores *gritos* cargándome que yo tenía la culpa de todo; yo le repliqué *sonriéndome* que aquello lo decia como dama, cuya condicion era mostrar de ordinario pesar y *desagradecimiento* de las cosas en que les hacian mayor servicio, no habiéndole sido pequeño el entretenerme yo tanto tiempo.

She *screamed* out louder than before at this, saying that I was to blame for everything that had happened, and I *smilingly* told her that she was speaking as a lady; those of her sex usually displaying most annoyance at the things that were done in their interest, and I said that it was no small service that I had rendered her to await her pleasure so long (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.92, 71; *Calendar*, Vol.3, 139-152).

Mendoza's answer serves again as an example of the importance of gender roles and norms in this period, and to the beliefs attached to women as the centre of courtship: agents of passion, or incapable of having the necessary leading skills known to men. The ambassador regarded the shouting and yelling as natural answer mechanisms intrinsic to the sex of the Queen and as women's natural ungratefulness towards acts of service. Here, the ambassador was making reference to the chivalric code and male codes of conduct

towards women where the former were seen as protectors and servants. Mendoza claimed that everything he had done for the Queen had been for her benefit, but he also believed that, by her being a woman, she would be ungrateful for such deeds coming from a man. Despite this answer, the Queen continued to push the ambassador for concrete answers regarding the actions taken in Ireland and their ownership. The ministers of the Queen also joined in the conversation and called out the diplomat on his wrongdoing towards his King and their Queen, something Mendoza did not take lightly and he made sure the ministers understood that if he ever did anything wrong towards his King he would be the first to pay with his own head. Understanding that the ambassador would not budge in his position and that no information would be collected regarding that matter, Elizabeth decided to call him out in his own words for the unclarity of his dealings: “que como Ministro de V. M. díjome que los Embajadores afirmaban muchas cosas por cumplir, siendo *fiction* de su cabeza” [that I spoke as your Majesty's Minister. She said that ambassadors often invented fictions out of their own heads for the purpose of their mission] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.92, 72; *Calendar*, Vol.3, 139-152). Mendoza himself was, once more, making connections between diplomacy and its fictional character; in this regard, about the importance of creating and reporting fictions in everyday diplomacy as a mechanism to further interests and enterprises. Seeing himself caught by his own words, Mendoza tried to weasel himself out by making reference to the goodwill and good deeds that he had been performing for the Queen and her country during his residency: “á que le dije que yo trataba verdad como ella habria visto en más de tres años que habia estado aquí” [to which I replied that I always spoke the truth, as she had seen during the three years that I had been here] (Ibid, 72;139-152).

Portugal remained as one of the central pillars surrounding Anglo-Spanish relations through the 80s and the figure of Don Antonio was present with great regularity in the correspondence of Bernardino de Mendoza, who strived to find every possible information regarding the support given to Don Antonio and his moves towards the recovery of the country. In relation to this surveillance of Antonio's moves, Mendoza was able to find certain information stating that several ships were coming out of the island of Terceira with money to support the claimant to the Portuguese throne in his quest for its recovery. However, the gathering of proper and useful intelligence was faltered again by the uncertainties surrounding the ambassador's diplomatic interactions and the lack of clarity in the reports that he could provide to the King; besides, Mendoza realized this and connected it with the same issue of the previous quote, the fictions of diplomacy: "no se puede aclarar ninguna de las dos cosas, que hace pensar ser *ficticia*" [I have been unable to find out anything, which makes me believe that it is all a fiction] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.92, 73; *Calendar*, Vol.3, 139-152).

The situation between the two countries was growing tenser and both required each other for their own safety and betterment. Spain needed to stop the support coming from the English into the Low Countries in order to subjugate the citizens back to their previous state and the latter needed to support them as much as possible to keep the Spanish armies busy in that territory and out of their own interests in other areas, like the Spanish dominions overseas, where pillage and trade were turning out to be quite profitable for the English. The aggression became clearer and so did the waning of feelings of amicability and friendship between the two countries, as can be seen in the diplomatic exchanges; thus, Mendoza continued to use, with even higher frequency,

emotions of fear and references to war to coerce the Queen: “el darle cuenta de los negocios lo hacía por término que ella *temblaba* de oirme” [but I communicated affairs in such a way to her that she *trembled* to listen to me] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.91, 123; *Calendar*, Vol.3, 175-185) He continued to believe that both Elizabeth and the Privy councillors feared the Spanish threat and that if he maintained his fearful performance, this would prevent them from acting against the Spanish dominions. In fact, the diplomat reached a point in which pleasantries would no further be of any use so the direct approach should be the solution: “que sería necesario venir á los cañones para que las oyese” [it would be necessary to see whether cannons would not make her hear them better] (Ibid, 159;185-203). Mendoza was tired of Elizabeth’s lack of interest in listening to his complaints and requests; of constantly postponed audiences due to the precedence of the French ambassadors; of the repeated complaints regarding his and his King’s aggression towards the English borders and citizens. However, Elizabeth had already stood her ground before the ambassador on several occasions, so flinching before a threat would not be an option again:

respondió que no pensase *amenazarla* ni hacerla *miedo*, porque mandaria meter donde no hablase palabra, y esto no con *brio* ni *cólera*, sino como quien relata dicho de *farse* [sic], hablando muy bajo, echándosele de ver en su semblante el haberle impuesto que me lo dijese.

She told me I need not think to *threaten* and *frighten* her, for if I did she would put me into a place where I could not say a word. This she said without any passion, but as one would repeat the words of a farce, speaking very low, and showing signs in her countenance that she had been instructed what to say (Ibid, 159;185-203).

Interestingly enough, Mendoza seems to have been the ambassador who most regularly analysed the truthfulness or fictionality of the performances given to him by the Queen

and her ministers. He appears to have been keen on deciphering the emotions and feelings behind the actions that Elizabeth performed before him and he reported his beliefs regarding the value of said performances. On previous occasions, Mendoza had stated that some of his actions were embedded with fictional emotions in order to sway the course of the enterprise; other times, he had said that the emotions employed by the Queen in matters of courtship or negotiation had been nothing but poor performances. Now, he was directly confronted with Elizabeth's wrath, yet he was capable of disregarding it all together as a performance imposed on the Queen by her closest ministers in order not to look inferior before the Spanish diplomat's aggression. Furthermore, it seems as if the ambassador believed Elizabeth to be nothing more than a puppet in the hands of her ministers. This is not news for this analysis, as most of the Spanish resident ambassadors regarded the Queen —at times if not always— as an incapable ruler that needed the direction and support of male figures beside her.

Elizabeth seemed to be avoiding the Spanish diplomat himself as well as his demands and complaints in order to potentially reduce the confrontation between the two countries, or perhaps aiming at reducing the chances that the ambassador might have to meddle in English affairs. Nevertheless, the lack of action earned the complaint of the ambassador once more in his quest to obtain accurate and persistent information coming from the Queen. In his spirit of a writer, Mendoza referred to this mutable character with another metaphor:

con quien me sucede lo que á las veletas que por luenga costumbre tienen gastado en alguna parte el fiel, de donde no se mueven si no viniendo alguna bocanada de viento, que en faltando torna al mismo lugar.

My efforts to turn the Queen remind me of an old rusty weather cock, which long use has worn away, and which will only move at a strong gust of wind (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.92, 139; *Calendar*, Vol.3, 185-203).

This constant mutability that the Queen had been using throughout her entire reign and that every single ambassador had had to deal with in their everyday diplomatic duties, subsided for a short period of time around the end of Bernardino de Mendoza's embassy, being replaced first by indifference and later on by utter lack of interest. In fact, from around September of 1581 to the departure of the ambassador in January of 1584, the relationship between Elizabeth and Mendoza took a drastic change that had already been foreshadowed and, together with the general actions taken between the two countries and the discovery of the Throckmorton plot and Mendoza's involvement in it, meant the end of Anglo-Spanish diplomatic interactions for the rest of the century. Actually, this gradual shift from care and affection to disregard and aggression would be more abrupt and noticeable on the side of the ambassador and more subtle and polite coming from the Queen.

At first, the ambassador continued to enjoy royal audiences in order to do business with the Queen, but those instances in which he was greeted pleasantly and offered a chair to pass the hours with Elizabeth debating policy became shorter and sporadic contacts that yielded little to no benefit to either part, being characterised by the indifference of the Queen: "me recibió sin hacer la *demonstracion* que solia del salir para mí del estrado al pedirle las manos, diciendo siempre V. S. sia il ben venuto, signor Ambasciator" [She received me without making her usual demonstration of stepping down from the dais and advancing when asked for her hand to kiss, and saying, as she always did, 'V. S. sia il ben venuto, signor ambasciatore'] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.91, 157; *Calendar*, Vol.3,

185-203) The greeting was more basic and rougher, and the interaction with each other was reduced purely to diplomatic exchanges, devoid of any personal contact. Mendoza recognized this lack of interest coming from Elizabeth and was puzzled by it, understanding that the diminishing of closeness and care towards each other would ultimately lead to a worsening of the relations, and, together with the rest of the political affairs going around Europe, would lead to a breach in the relationship: “despidiéndose de mí con mucha *sequedad*” [took leave of me very drily]. Even the ambassador saw that dealings with the Queen at this point could not yield any benefit, so he suggested to her that from that point onwards the matters should be reported to the Council. To this, Elizabeth began to leave the room and let out a sigh: “Volesse á Iddio che ognuono avesse il suo, e fosse in pace” (Ibid, 162;185-203).<sup>5</sup>

Despite having started his fall from grace, Mendoza continued to serve his duties both in the lights and the shadows of diplomacy. As for the former, he continued trying to obtain retribution for Drake’s pillaging and the damage caused by privateers to the Spanish dominions overseas; for the latter, he continued to support Catholics and their dealings to re-establish the Old Faith and to take Mary Stuart out of imprisonment. In fact, he kept a private correspondence with Mary, as Spes had done before. Regarding the public side of his duties, Mendoza proceeded to report on the evolution of the courtship and the negotiations for the marriage between Elizabeth and the Duke of Alençon, which occupied much of his time during the last years of his embassy. As it had become the norm for the ambassador, he tried to analyse the truthfulness of Elizabeth’s actions and

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<sup>5</sup> “Would to God that each one had his own, and was at peace.” My translation.



report their value to Philip in an attempt at understanding the real message behind diplomatic performances. Mendoza could be seen as a prototypical example for any researcher who, like Timothy Hampton, strives to prove the existence —and mostly the importance— of fictionality in diplomacy, as the ambassador reported these qualities with regularity: “las lágrimas y ternura que responde la Reina que no son con ménos *fiction* que las suyas [Alençon’s]” [both the Queen's tears and his tender regrets are equally fictitious and feigned] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.91, 215; *Calendar*, Vol.3, 238-254). Analysing the ambassador’s reports and what seems to be his point of view regarding the usage of fiction in everyday diplomatic exchanges, we can draw lines between the existence of fictionality in diplomacy and the value that it provides to an analysis of emotions in the world of diplomacy. Most scholars accept the existence of fiction and performance in the diplomatic exchanges and, in fact, regard its value as pivotal for a proper analysis of these interactions. However, the study of emotion in Renaissance diplomacy is not so widely supported, so by using Mendoza’s reports we can try to establish a clear union between performance and emotion, and the existence of both as pillars for diplomatic interactions. The tears of the Queen and her apparent “ternura” are representations of emotions and feelings, they are even physical representations of an emotion: sadness. Understanding this type of scenario allows us to link the use of emotion to that of performance, which might lead us to state that, in the same manner that performing is crucial for the development of diplomacy, so is the use of emotions, performed or not, for that same development. This is not the only of Mendoza’s reports that could be used to understand the importance that emotions played in the deployment of Elizabeth’s courtship. Furthermore, it seems as if this embassy was the clearest in terms

of recognising the usage of emotions as mechanisms to influence the minds of the agents that take part in the game of courtship: “la Reina con cien mil *palabras fingidas* y juramentos le aseguró de la *aficion* que le tenía” [The Queen with a hundred thousand false words and oaths assured him of her affection for him] (Ibid, 217;238-254). Mendoza’s analysis implies that the Queen was consciously using emotions and their power to influence someone’s decision as a tool to obtain the support or interest of her suitor, thus keeping him attached to the never-ending game of courtship that would always keep Elizabeth in an advantageous position. Understanding this undeniably places emotions and their influence in IR at the centre of diplomatic exchanges, where they should be, by proving the impactful character that emotions have in affecting and changing negotiations through qualities such as *stroking* or mirroring. Both of these events occurred surrounding the departure of the Duke of Alençon from the island, who had gone there in order to further his suit to marry Elizabeth. His leave took place at an important moment: he was to go to the Low Countries and provide aid to the rebels in their war against Philip. The Duke departed after being unable to obtain a signed statement that Elizabeth would marry him; the most he could get were vague promises and exchanges of care such as a ring, but never clear valuable proof to validate his stay on the island. Seeing him depart might have made Elizabeth truly, and not fictionally, sad, for she was watching her last possible suitor leave and she was forced to abandon the game of courtship that she liked and needed so much. Alençon’s departure meant the departure of the last plausible suitor for the Queen, which opened the eyes for everyone that might have wanted to accept the lie that Elizabeth would ultimately marry and provide an heir for the realm.

As the uncertainty remained for some time between Elizabeth and Alençon and the possibility of their marriage, Mendoza's influence within the English court began to dwindle and his usefulness suffered the same fate. He had become, like Quadra or Spes before him, an unwanted character at the English court and nobody seemed to have an interest in doing business with him:

habiendo llegado ya la mal querencia que me tienen á términos, que áun cuando envío por pasaportes ú otros negocios tan ligeros á hablar á Walsingham, entretienen á mi criado desde la mañana á la noche.

My hands are thus tied, as I can only get personal conference by extraordinary means, and their dislike to me has reached such a point that when I send to Walsingham for passports, or about other trifling affairs, they keep my servant there from morning till night (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.92, 327; *Calendar*, Vol. 3, 321-339).

In fact, the ambassador fell in disgrace since neither minister nor Queen provided him with an audience, keeping him in the dark about the development of public affairs and hindering his intentions of bettering his status with any of the core members of the court. He was not required at court, and even his servants were treated in the same manner: “llegando el negocio á términos que no solo quiere nadie hablarme, pero ni á mis criados” [things have reached such a point now that no one will speak to me or even to my servants]. The ambassador was unable to fulfil his diplomatic duties due to the atmosphere between himself and the court, which was one of stormy weather: “están aborascados conmigo” [are on somewhat bad terms with me] (Ibid, 419;368;405-420;352-370). This situation proved to be excruciating for the diplomat, since not only the mutable character of the English was an issue, but his lack of regard within the English

court reduced his usefulness to an almost non-existent level; thus, he found himself in a new situation in which he even sought guidance from his master:

ya no me queda juicio para poder entender en la forma que me pueda avenir con esta gente, por no ser, no sólo *mudable*, pero *exorbitante* su término de proceder, sin serme parte y género de *artificio* para poder contemporizar con ella, lo cual me hace *suplicar* humildemente á V. M. sea servido de mandar se me avise lo que es servido que haga.

I am quite at a loss to devise any means by which I can agree with these people, as they are not only *changeable* but perfectly *scandalous* in their mode of proceeding, and no *artifice* of mine will enable me to temporise with them. I therefore humbly *beg* your Majesty to send me orders as to what I am to do (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.92, 391; *Calendar*, Vol.3, 370-379).

This was the state in which the ambassador found himself in the last months of his residency at the English court. Outside of his own diplomatic dealings, the war in the Low Countries remained unsettled after more than 15 years due to English support; furthermore, the Irish enterprise became a crucial concern for the Spanish diplomat with regards to Mary Stuart and her liberation. In this particular scenario, the Throckmorton plot<sup>6</sup> was discovered and with it the possible implication of the Spanish ambassador in it. Thus, the end of Mendoza's days on the island would shortly come to an end but not

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<sup>6</sup> The Throckmorton plot was another attempt to disrupt the political state of England coming from her enemies, in this case, a union of French and Spanish forces that aimed to invade the country and liberate Mary Stuart with the intention of putting her on the English throne. We can consider the Throckmorton plot—and also the Babington plot several years later—as an extension of the Ridolfi plot, or, at least, an attempt to resurface the plots that would dethrone Elizabeth and allegedly eradicate Protestantism from the island. In this case, the English secret service found the link between Scottish Jesuits, English Catholics, and the Spanish ambassador: Francis Throckmorton, a young English Catholic who lost his life as a result. As was the norm with all the plots taking place after Ridolfi's discovery, Sir Francis Walsingham and his secret net of informers and spies were crucial for the discovery and termination of the plot (Cooper 2001; Read 1967).

without a final performance. The council, but not the Queen, confronted the diplomat concerning his unlawful involvement in the plot to liberate Mary Stuart and replace Elizabeth —the same that had happened with Spes and Guaras, in whose cases the Queen remained outside of the direct prosecution. The Privy councillors aimed to trigger Mendoza's rage since, by now, they clearly understood the ways in which his character worked and what strings to pull in order to infuriate him. Therefore, they exploited the possibility of enraging Mendoza by pointing out that he had been working behind his monarch's back and had muddied Philip's name by involving him in treacherous acts; to this, the ambassador did not answer lightly:

que habia *deservido* á V. M., negocio que me encendió la *cólera* diciendo que la Reina no tenía para qué tratar dello ni ninguno del mundo por ser sólo V. M. á quien habia de dar cuenta, por lo cual no pasase adelante ninguno dellos en la materia sino fuese con la *espada en la mano*; que lo de castigarme la Reina era *risa* para mí.

The least of them was that I ought to be very thankful that the Queen had not ordered me to be punished for what I had done, and that I had injured your Majesty. I lost my temper at this, and told them that the Queen had nothing to do with that, nor had anyone in the world but your Majesty, to whom alone I was responsible, and they had better say no more upon that subject unless they were prepared to fight. I said I laughed at the idea of the Queen punishing me (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.92, 530;Calendar, Vol.3, 512-517).

There is much to unravel in this first excerpt coming from the last audience that Mendoza had as an official resident ambassador at the court of Elizabeth I. First, it seems as if the mere thought of being judged by the English and the likelihood of his wrongdoing towards his country and his King enraged the ambassador to limits unknown to date. He had been depicting the English as *weak, fearful, heretical*, and, above all, inferior to the power and qualities of the Spaniards, so it is understandable that he was not going to allow them to judge him, a faithful and loyal captain of the Spanish army. Besides, the

ambassador proved once more that his expertise rested on the field of war and that his mettle could only be tested in battle, for the only references he made had to do with war and its characteristics. He was not going to allow anyone to affront him in such a manner unless they dared to do it grasping their sword. Lastly, to the ambassador, the judgement, prosecution, or even the complaints of the Queen were nothing but the stuff of laughter, as he did not recognise her authority to either judge or exert her rule over him.

Once more, and for the last time, Mendoza referred to the sex of the Queen as the root of her ungratefulness: all the good deeds and duties the ambassador had done for her during his stay in England seemed to him to have been of no importance for the Queen and he believed this to be caused by her nature and sex. In fact, this reference is almost exactly the same as that he had made previously, where the ambassador had confronted Elizabeth for her lack of appreciation for Mendoza's acts of service to the Queen: "no pareciéndome novedad por ser dama el tener ménos agradecimiento con los que la deseaban servir, más como yo lo habia procurado" [as she was a lady there was nothing strange at her being the least thankful to those who desired to serve her, as I had done] (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol.531; *Calendar*, Vol.3, 512-517). Mendoza provides the reader with one of his most famous quotes throughout his entire history as a diplomat, a statement that defines him perfectly as a soldier-ambassador and one that leaned more towards war than towards diplomacy: "pues no le habia dado satisfaccion siendo ministro de paz, me esforzaria de aquí adelante para que la tuviese de mí en la guerra" [but as I had apparently failed to please her as a minister of peace she would in future force me to try to satisfy her in war] (Ibid, 533;512-517). Mendoza had his priorities straight: he had served the Queen for six years and, in his eyes, he had done everything in his power to

please her and better her position as a minister of peace; however, now he was faced with the expulsion from the country for serving treacherously, something that did not register neither in his mind nor in his correspondence. Nonetheless, he did not acknowledge this second part, so, in his mind, everything that was left for him to do was to reveal to the Queen and her country the real Bernardino, the one tested on the battlefield.

After this event, Elizabeth ordered Mendoza's expulsion from the country. She even refused to give him an audience in person in order to finalise his dealings before his departure or even to provide him with transport to leave the island —the reader might remember that this course of action was the same taken by Philip with John Man— which led the ambassador to utter one final threat before he was done with his tenure in England: “no podia dejar de decille que Don Bernardino de Mendoza no había nascido para revolver Reinos, sino para conquistallos” [I could not avoid telling her that Don Bernardino de Mendoza was not born to disturb countries but to conquer them] (Ibid, 533; 512-517). Even in his last words before departing from the island and ending his duties as resident ambassador, Mendoza clearly stated his personal background and way of thinking, letting everyone see that he was a disciple of the Duke of Alba, an honourable man that was destined to accomplish great things for his country in the theatres of war and not in those of diplomacy. From his very first day as a resident ambassador at the English court, Mendoza had apologized to Philip for his lack of experience in the diplomatic game, describing himself as a captain of light cavalry and not a man of negotiations and talks. Certainly, we have been able to clearly see the impact of his background and warlike character in the deployment of his Diplomatic Emotionology.

Finally, and once already out of England, Mendoza sent a letter to Juan de Idiaquez, the minister for foreign affairs and the one in charge of the spy network at the Spanish court, stating that his mission concerning England had not yet been done. He would strive with the rest of his energy to make them pay for what they had done to him:

*la desvergüenza desta gente me ha reducido á estado que no deseo vida mia sino para vengarme della, lo cual espero en Dios que ha de ser presto y el darme gracia para ser instrumento dello.*

The *insolence* of these people has brought me to a state in which my only desire to live is for the purpose of *revenging* myself upon them, and I pray that God may let it be soon and will give me grace to be His instrument of *vengeance* (Rayón and Zabalburu 1887, Vol. 92, 534; *Calendar*, Vol.3, 512-517).

Mendoza continued his diplomatic career and he became the Spanish resident ambassador at the French court, from where he persisted meddling in the affairs of the island for a long period of time, being of key importance in the gathering and reporting of information on events such as the Babington plot or even the launching of the Spanish Armada.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> The Babington plot was the last plot of the Elizabethan period in which we can see the Spanish influence or impact in the plot itself. Bernardino de Mendoza left England in 1586 but this does not mean that he stopped his meddling in English affairs. From his embassy in France, the Spanish diplomat continued to keep frequent correspondence with members within and without English territory with the intention of gathering useful information that could give the upper hand to Spain; he was not a prominent figure in the planning of the Babington plot but he was, perhaps, more aware and better informed than most people. I would go as far as to say that the Babington plot was not only an stratagem on the part of Anthony Babington and his Catholic supporters to liberate Mary Stuart and murder Queen Elizabeth, but also a clever device used by Francis Walsingham to obtain Mary's own confession to her part in the plot. Thanks to his skilful spy and masterful decipherer, Thomas Phelippes, Francis Walsingham was able to tamper with the correspondence that Mary Stuart was having with Anthony Babington and his supporters and to control the information the former Queen of Scotland was obtaining without anyone noticing. Modifying the letters before and



Mendoza's last letter, written once he was already outside of the island, exposes a new feeling that had not yet been seen in Mendoza's correspondence, let alone in any of the other Spanish resident ambassadors: vengeance. Revenge as an emotion stems from other similar emotional expressions that the ambassador had used before in his warlike and aggressive diplomacy. From hatred to inflicting fear in his counterparts, Mendoza had tried to remain, for the majority of his tenure, within the realm of these stronger, darker, and more intricate emotions so it was only natural that vengeance should appear in the development of both his character and Emotionology. In his mind, the only thing left for him to do with regards to England was to get his revenge by destroying and conquering everything that Elizabeth and her ministers had built. Bernardino de Mendoza continued his work as a diplomat at the French court, focused on the affairs of the court, the League, and the war in the Low Countries, but he always kept an eye on the island and its affairs, trying to do everything at his disposal to achieve his much-desired revenge.

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after they reached Mary allowed Walsingham to alter the information and tricked the former Queen to acknowledge treacherous statements. Thus, the tampering of the letters was successful in obtaining Mary's confession to her active part in the plot to ultimately eliminate Elizabeth. In the end, Mary was executed thanks only to this written correspondence and the connection it had with the Bond of Association: this gave the right to its signatories to execute anyone that would attempt to assassinate the Queen or usurp her throne. There is a plethora of works that analyse the English secret service and its actions but, for this particular plot, I would direct the reader to Conyers Read's (1967) biography of Francis Walsingham, where the procedures of gathering Mary's confession are clearly and minutely described to fully comprehend the impact that the work of spies had during this second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

## 8. Conclusions

In November of 1558, when Elizabeth ascended to the throne of England, G3mez Su1rez de Figueroa y C3rdoba, by then the Count of Feria and Spanish ambassador at the English court, was given the task to propose to the newly invested Queen the opportunity to marry King Philip II of Spain, former husband to the late Queen of England, Mary I, and, hence, brother-in-law to Elizabeth. That was the beginning of the Anglo-Spanish diplomatic interactions between these two monarchs and this thesis has aimed to analyse the evolution of that relationship through the study of the emotional components present in both the English and the Spanish agents. With that idea, the narration has reached the end of the relationship with the expulsion of Bernardino de Mendoza in January of 1584. Twenty-six years had passed from the amicable state in which Elizabeth received the Count of Feria and politely and pleasantly declined the offer of marrying Philip II to the point in which the Queen ordered Mendoza out of her country, being gentle towards him and deciding not to charge him with treasonable acts against herself and the English crown. This change came about not only due to international and political concerns within the global European scenario, but also by the singular actions of the diplomatic agents analysed in this work.

After Mendoza's departure from England in 1584 there would be no other resident ambassador at the court of Elizabeth I during her reign or Philip II and the situation would ultimately lead the two countries into a war with famous events such as the Spanish Armada or the Capture of C1diz. This thesis has studied the evolution of this relationship from its beginning, when both monarchs were family in law, to its end, when both

declared war to each other. During this period, the importance and agency of the Spanish resident ambassadors have been tested and studied in order to decipher the importance of their actions in the development of Anglo-Spanish diplomatic interactions and, particularly, the value of the emotions that these diplomatic exchanges contain. According to the documents analysed, it is fair to say that emotions are indeed a pivotal part of diplomatic relations, and they can be found with more regularity than previously believed. Both the Queen and her ministers, as well as the Spanish diplomats, used different emotions throughout the period in order to influence the development of Anglo-Spanish interactions.

On the one hand, emotions were used as diplomatic tools to influence the conceptions and beliefs of the agents with regard to their counterparts, their policy, or even their beliefs; so by using certain emotions, both Elizabeth I and some of the ambassadors were able to sway a particular scenario into their favour by deploying the correct set of emotions. This has been seen throughout this work with examples at the arrival of don Diego Guzmán de Silva, Antonio de Guaras, and even Bernardino de Mendoza, when Elizabeth decided to shift the mood or the state of Anglo-Spanish diplomatic interactions by performing a close and welcoming first audience; this audience filled the ambassadors with positive emotions of care, trust, and even happiness, in order to impact their preconceptions of the Queen and her ministers, unconsciously swaying them to her side. In this particular regard, these examples took place at times when the relationship between the two countries was low or damaged by previous actions, so the display of positive emotions served as a mechanism to impact this situation and redirect it into a more friendly or amicable state.

Conversely, there have also been plenty of examples of the complete opposite paradigm: when the ambassadors themselves create scenarios where the emotional component is much stronger and darker, and the emotions performed are mostly of fear, hatred, or pride. This set of scenarios usually took place when the situation between the two countries was undergoing a rough patch and the ambassadors believed themselves not to be understood, or cared for, or even when they perceived that the actions of the English people were hurtful to the state of the Spanish dominions. In this case, the ambassadors deployed these emotions that exist within the fields of war or fear in order to influence their counterparts with different aims, sometimes to prevent them from acting against Spanish dominions, others to threaten them with the intent of coercing them from interfering. This particular set of emotions was usually deployed by Guerau de Spes and Bernardino de Mendoza against the Queen and her ministers. They used fear as the main pillar in their Diplomatic Emotionology and, with it, they aimed to sway the English from taking actions against Spain and its citizens. Both ambassadors might have arrived at this particular way of embedding emotions into diplomacy by their strong and adamant characters, based in the belief that Spain was not to be subject to anything or anyone and that the Spanish pride and prowess was their best quality. Antonio de Guaras had also followed this emotional pattern or warlike opposition in his early stages as a diplomatic agent, when he was working as an informant for Guerau de Spes; however, when he served as an ambassador *de facto* but not *de jure* he was much calmer and more eloquent in his conversations with the Queen and the council.

The last emotional pattern that can be seen with recurrence in the diplomatic interactions between the two countries is the one that links all of the ambassadors with

each other and with the societal and political context: the religious background. With the evolution of religious affairs during the Renaissance and, mostly, during the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, these ambassadors were forced to live in a country that seemed to differ altogether from their religion; even one where their rites and beliefs could not be openly supported. In this scenario, they were required to form and develop their character in opposition to their counterparts who were mostly Protestants or even Puritans. Therefore, the development of the ambassadors' religious understanding went always along a path of confrontation and even clash with that which they regarded as alien and *wrong*. In this process of self-fashioning, they did not look into themselves to shape their character but onto the Others that were opposing them, seeing them as the *heretical* enemy that became so common in their correspondence. When the ambassadors arrived in the island they did not have to change or adapt their religious beliefs in order to serve as diplomatic liaisons, but they did reshape their views or religion and based their own characters and actions against their counterparts, who became an enemy in religious terms. They found that the court and a big part of the population were not sharing their rites, codes, and beliefs and, instead, they were the odd ones out; thus, they prided themselves on their Catholicism and Spanish prowess and fashioned themselves in opposition to the *heretics*. The ambassadors managed, with this self-fashioning, to never feel like the Other, something that very well may be the reason behind their recurrent reports of the increasing number of Catholics in the island.

All of these interactions and even the processes of self-fashioning are filled with emotions that could be categorized into two different groups. First, there are the emotions that can be seen with regularity during the tenure of Silva and the first years of Mendoza;

these emotions are created through processes of interactions and relations between the ambassadors and the English court. In this first case, the emotions tended to be mostly positive and connected to fields of care, trust, and appreciation, due to the atmosphere in which they grew. Regularly, if not daily, the ambassadors and the interactions between the agents contained expressions of personal and diplomatic care for each other, emotions that, as mentioned above, served the purpose of creating a bond that could influence the emotional pattern used in future occasions. This set of emotions can only be expressed, developed, and harvested in this concrete scenario, since the interactions were crucial for its development. As data has proved, when the ambassadors were barred from the court or banned from royal audiences, the evolution of these kinds of emotions became stale and could not advance. On the other hand, when they attended regular audiences with the Queen, it seemed as if emotions of this kind could not be stopped and bloomed at high speed.

Secondly, we are able to see the emotions that could be defined as personal or private, since they thrived at times when the ambassadors did not have the opportunity to keep close contact with Elizabeth, so they had to develop their character and duties in more isolated or individual ways. In these scenarios, the emotions came about when the diplomats were reporting back to their King during the process of describing the state of affairs or describing their English counterparts; these are the types of emotions that Feria, Quadra, and Spes developed the most. We can see the evolution of these emotions through the diplomats' narrations as crucial events within and without the island were taking place, forcing the appearance of different emotional patterns. As we have been doing all along, emotions can be found, described, and analysed through the ambassadors'

correspondence, and analysing this as a private or individual mechanism of communication tends to yield a different emotional component than analysing the open and public exchanges between the Queen and the Spanish diplomats. The private correspondence with the King offered the ambassadors a perfect scenario to express themselves without fear of being discovered or judged, at least until Spes' tenure, when the escalation of international events placed more importance on intercepting letters and deciphering them to obtain crucial information, thus decreasing the safety of this private system of communication. Analysing these letters has allowed me to find the emotions embedded into the correspondence and how these were usually more abrupt or open than the ones the ambassadors decided to use with the Queen in person. Together with this, it has also provided an understanding of the evolution of the ambassadors' personality and diplomatic approach throughout their period of residence in England, as well as the evolution of the relationship between both countries.

Taking these considerations into account, it seems that emotions can be developed in two different scenarios and their use and value differ depending on the situation. While the ambassadors were capable of keeping close contact with Elizabeth and attending audiences with regularity—provided that they also wanted to foster a good relationship and not break it altogether, as was the case of Spes, who directly and abruptly sought not to develop a close relationship with the Queen—the positive emotions that helped develop an intimate relationship or even those that created powerful links between the agents were indeed more common than any other type of emotions. With this, we are referring to the emotions that thrived for both Mendoza and Silva during their first audience and were prolonged for some years or to the end of their tenure respectively:

mostly trust or care. On the other hand, when the ambassadors had taken the path of belligerence by meddling in the affairs of the country with the intention of hurting or damaging Elizabeth or her reign, they were barred from regular contact with the key members of the court. This meant that the likelihood of developing those emotions that can only flourish in human interaction became virtually inexistent and left the ambassadors only with the possibility of resorting to those other emotions that belonged to the darker and more aggressive side of diplomacy: hatred and fear mainly.

Despite these particularities regarding some of the ambassadors in certain periods of time and their use and reception of emotions during their everyday diplomatic duties, we also have to refer to the steady development of their emotional character, which has been referred to as Emotionology. This particular notion has been used throughout this thesis with the intention of designing or defining the approach that the Spanish ambassadors seemed to share in the process of deploying their diplomacy. Emotionology can be understood, then, for these particular characters, as the shared cultural, societal, and religious norms that all of the agents shared and used to shape their emotional conceptions of the world. The background in which the ambassadors were raised gave rise to certain expressions throughout their tenure, making their religious beliefs or professional careers more prominent in their diplomatic exchanges: ́lvaro de la Quadra was clearly dominated by his beliefs and position in the Catholic church, making it obvious that being a bishop heavily impacted his diplomatic career; Bernardino de Mendoza, born a nobleman and a commanding officer of the *Tercios*, allowed his military and warlike background to determine most of his diplomatic interactions; G3mez Su1rez de Figueroa y C3rdoba, the later first Duke of Feria and the first Spanish resident



ambassador at the court of Elizabeth I, also allowed his cultural and religious background, which had been heavily influenced by his stay in England during the reign of Mary I and his rank in the nobility, to influence his emotional relationship during his tenure. Not every ambassador had a religious or social background that determined their Diplomatic Emotionology as clearly as in these cases, but they all shared certain notions and expressions that shaped the way in which the Spanish Diplomatic Emotionology evolved throughout the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in relation with Anglo-Spanish relationships. The two most important aspects were the misogynistic views they all shared with regard to the roles and duties of women at the time, and the challenges that this posed when Elizabeth ascended to the throne and to the head of the English church. Along with this, religion might have been the most relevant concern that all of the Spanish ambassadors had in mind while residing at the court of Elizabeth I. Their religious background, their King's particular view of the world in messianic terms, the support of the Pope as the head of the Catholic church, and the religious rebellion and revolts that took place along Europe and mostly throughout the Spanish dominions influenced the minds of the ambassadors deeply. Their process of self-fashioning and the creation of their own character were wrought in opposition to that which they encountered most regularly in their everyday diplomacy: *heretics* and *deviants*.

After reflecting on the data analysed in this thesis, there are certain notions that could be used for future research in this field, concerning not only the information and results used in this study, but also those that remain unused. The Spanish diplomatic correspondence during the reign of Philip II is extensive and cannot be exhaustively studied in a work like this. Therefore, apart from the correspondence between the

ambassadors and the King, there is still plenty more that could be of use regarding the exchange of information between the resident ambassadors and other external members of the court or the diplomatic network. Apart from the work of the resident ambassadors at the English court, further studies could be conceived regarding the notion of Emotionology and its nuances with the aim of discovering the feasibility of generalising the concept and its meaning to the rest of the Spanish diplomatic network during the reign of Philip II. That study might be able to prove that the usage of emotions and their direct relation with the religious background of the Spanish diplomats was not only attributable to the particular character of the agents or the situation in England, but, rather, it could be regarded as a general trait of the Spaniards at the service of the King during the period. The perfect example to test the plausibility of this analysis would be to take Mendoza's embassy at the French court after his expulsion from England and apply the same diplomatic and emotional parameters to see if his particular Emotionology was affected in any sense by the scenario that surrounded him or if it was mostly intrinsic to his background and his character.

Furthermore, the importance of emotions in the game of diplomacy has been supported with extensive data in this doctoral thesis, possibly setting a starting point for other periods and other characters to reconsider and rethink traditional diplomacy and its study into a more personal, concrete, and individual study that can benefit greatly from the use of emotions. The importance of emotions in the shaping and development of diplomatic interactions is not only important for the study of Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relations, but also for any other period and subject that could have left the necessary written records on which to apply an approach similar to the one used here. With this idea

in mind, the studies of Anglo-Spanish interactions could benefit from an analysis seeking to evaluate the evolution of emotions in the interactions between countries throughout a longer period of time. Furthermore, the rest of the Spanish diplomatic network during the reign of Philip II could be the focus of new research able to exploit the analysis of emotions in the understanding of not only the political and diplomatic events of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, but also the characters and agents behind them. The bottom line then would be that we all could gain substantial information or a new perspective from this particular study with the intention of opening new lines of research or, at least, discovering new patterns in fields that, like emotions, had been previously neglected.

## 9. Conclusiones

En noviembre de 1558, cuando Elizabeth I llegó al trono de Inglaterra, Don Gómez Suárez de Figueroa y Córdoba —por aquel entonces conde de Feria y más tarde primer duque de Feria— que se encontraba en la corte inglesa como embajador español, recibió la misión de proponerle a la nueva reina un posible matrimonio con su rey, Felipe II de España. Felipe había estado casado con la anterior reina de Inglaterra, Mary Tudor, que a su vez era la hermanastra de Elizabeth, lo que hacía de Felipe su cuñado. Esta petición de matrimonio como el inicio de las relaciones diplomática entre ambos países, relaciones que han sido el foco de estudio de esta tesis doctoral con la intención de analizar la evolución de las relaciones entre ambos monarcas y, por ende, ambos países a través del análisis de los componentes emocionales presentes en las interacciones diplomáticas. Siguiendo este hilo conductor, la narración ha llegado al final de dichas relaciones debido a la expulsión del último embajador de Felipe II en Inglaterra, Don Bernardino de Mendoza en enero de 1584. Veintiséis años habían pasado entre la amabilidad con la que Elizabeth había recibido la petición de matrimonio por parte del conde de Feria hasta que se ordenó, tras unos debates intensos, la expulsión de Bernardino de Mendoza del país con la consecuente avocación a la guerra entre ambos países años más tarde. Este gran cambio no fue desembocado solo por las relaciones internacionales y diplomáticas entre ambos países, o por las tensiones en el escenario europeo, sino que también fue altamente influenciado por las decisiones personales y emocionales tomadas por los agentes que tenían a su cargo las tareas diplomáticas, en este caso, los embajadores españoles.

Tras la salida de Mendoza de Inglaterra en 1584, no habría más embajadores en este país hasta el fin del reinado de Felipe II y la situación continuaría aumentando en tensión hasta desembocar en eventos ya conocidos como la Armada española o la captura de Cádiz. Esta tesis ha estudiado la evolución de las relaciones desde su punto inicial, cuando ambos monarcas eran familia política, hasta su fin cuando se declaran la guerra el uno al otro. Durante este proceso, es necesario resaltar el valor de la agencia de los embajadores españoles residentes en la corte inglesa, ya que su estudio ha sido crucial para descifrar la importancia de estas acciones en el marco diplomático en el devenir de las relaciones entre ambos países donde, particularmente, el matiz emocional ha resaltado por su gran valor. Siguiendo la documentación analizada, es justo decir que las emociones son, sin lugar a dudar, una parte crucial para el desarrollo de las tareas diplomáticas y estas pueden ser encontradas con mucha más facilidad y regularidad de lo que se había creído hasta el momento. Tanto la reina como sus ministros, al igual que los diplomáticos españoles, representaron diferentes emociones a lo largo del periodo de estudio que influyen en el desarrollo de las relaciones anglo-españolas.

Por un lado, las emociones eran usadas como herramientas diplomáticas para influenciar las ideas y creencias de los agentes en relación con sus homólogos, al igual que sus políticas e incluso sus acciones; el uso de emociones, por ambos bandos, fue capaz de redirigir el devenir de los acontecimientos hacia los fines deseados. En particular, algunos embajadores fueron capaces de mejorar sus situaciones en la corte al realizar un uso correcto de emociones positivas. Este caso concreto se ha visto en las llegadas a la corte de personajes como Diego Guzmán de Silva, Antonio de Guaras e incluso Bernardino de Mendoza, cuando la reina redirigió las relaciones diplomáticas

hacia un rumbo mucho más abierto y seguro con el uso de expresiones emocionales que transmiten sentimiento de cariño, cuidado, protección o seguridad. De este modo, la llegada de los embajadores, al recibir esta gran representación de emociones positiva, servía para dirigir a los embajadores hacia un camino que siguiera este mismo matiz. Esto se postula siguiendo el estudio psicológico de las emociones y la capacidad que estas tienen de influenciar a los sujetos y de, inconscientemente, hacer que respondan de manera similar ante una representación emocional. Estos ejemplos, como se ha analizado, tuvieron lugar en momentos en que las relaciones entre ambos países pendían de un hilo y donde emociones como las ya mencionadas, podrían conseguir un giro que recondujera la diplomacia anglo-española hacia un estadio menos tenso y más abocado a la amistad entre Elizabeth y Felipe.

De manera opuesta, también se han registrado un gran número de ejemplos que representan un paradigma completamente opuesto: situaciones donde los embajadores deciden crear escenarios de confrontación en los que las emociones representadas son mucho más fuertes y oscuras, representando sentimientos de miedo, odio o, incluso, desprecio. Estos escenarios ocurrían normalmente en momentos en que las relaciones entre ambos países no estaban pasando por su mejor momento, en muchos casos por los intereses opuestos de ambos reinos en relación con la religión o el comercio, donde los embajadores tomaban un acercamiento mucho más agresivo en términos de Emocionología con la intención de tomar el control de la situación y conseguir que las políticas de su rey tuvieran la repercusión deseada. Fue en estos momentos en los que embajadores como Bernardino de Mendoza o Guerau de Spes, en completo desacuerdo con las acciones de los ingleses o con la falta de atención que la reina y sus ministros

prestaban a los intereses españoles, tomaban caminos que llegaban a una diplomacia emocional mucho más agresiva. Mayormente para estos agentes, el uso del miedo y su sentimiento de superioridad, se encuentran presentes en la mayor parte de sus correspondencias, lo que marca su Emocionología. Ambos embajadores, con un carácter personal muy marcado y quizás con una mayor predisposición a la beligerancia —siendo uno de ellos un capitán de los Tercios— llevaron sus estancias diplomáticas al límite debido a su particular uso de las emociones. De hecho, ambos resultaron expulsados por sus labores diplomáticas que se encontraban fuera de los límites de la diplomacia internacional, llegando a confabular contra la vida de la propia reina.

Otro patrón emocional que ha mostrado recurrencia en la información analizada en esta tesis es la importancia de la religión en el desarrollo de las relaciones anglo-españolas y, sobre todo, en el vocabulario emocional de los embajadores españoles en la corte de Elizabeth I. La evolución de los asuntos religiosos durante el Renacimiento había dejado una Europa muy dividida en términos de religión que llevo, entre otros conflictos, a las revueltas iconoclastas en los Países Bajos, o a las guerras de religión en Francia. La religión y las diferencias de los pueblos en este término fue un constante campo de conflicto para los embajadores españoles en la corte inglesa. Analizando sus creencias, caracteres y sobre todo su trasfondo, podemos apreciar que todos los agentes contaban con un gran cariz católico, directamente opuesto al de la corte inglesa. Esta oposición entre católico, protestante y puritano creaba una tensión religiosa que marca también las interacciones diplomáticas. Por parte de los agentes españoles, esta oposición y su creencia de que la única religión correcta y verdadera era la suya, creó escenarios de completa oposición entre ellos y sus coetáneos, estableciendo una dicotomía entre hereje

y católico donde los embajadores, con sus propios procesos de *self-fashioning*, se representaban en oposición al Otro, siempre desarrollando emociones de odio, desprecio o incluso superioridad.

Todos estos procesos de autorrepresentación, desarrollo de carácter y comunidad están completamente repletos de patrones emocionales que se iban uniendo a las relaciones diplomáticas y que, de manera irrefutable, afectaban al desarrollo de las mismas. Dentro del grupo de los embajadores españoles, podemos encontrar dos subgrupos con relación a estas emociones. Por un lado, tenemos a Silva y los primeros años de Mendoza, donde estas emociones que se asocian a las relaciones diplomáticas son de un matiz muy positivo, siempre alrededor de emociones de seguridad, cuidado y protección. Esto hizo que durante estos periodos las interacciones entre los embajadores y la reina fueran muy frecuentes y amigables y que, además, la situación general entre ambos países no tuviera grandes altibajos. Por otro lado, encontramos el resto de los periodos donde la relación entre el embajador y la reina no son tan positivas, lo que hace que el interés de tener audiencias sea menor. Esta reducción en el número de audiencias imposibilitaba el desarrollo de una fluida y buena relación emocional entre los agentes; de este modo, estos embajadores no fueron capaces de conseguir sus misiones con la misma efectividad que sus compañeros. En muchos casos, esta relación menos fluida y, quizás más arisca, decantara las representaciones emocionales de los embajadores hacia ese cariz más negativo y agresivo mencionado anteriormente.

A pesar de las diferencias existentes entre algunos de los embajadores en su particular representación de la Emocionología, es cierto que se pueden resaltar aspectos claros que todos los representantes que Felipe II envió a la corte inglesa tenían en común.



Primero es necesario considerar que las personalidades, creencias religiosas, clases sociales y, sobre todo, su visión del mundo en relación con su sociedad y reino son los factores que determinan en desarrollo de esa Emocionología diplomática. Para los embajadores españoles la protección y la defensa de su patria, su corona y, por encima de todo, su religión, afectaba en el desarrollo de sus relaciones diplomáticas ya que, en situaciones donde existiera un choque entre los intereses políticos, económicos o religiosos de ambos países, estas nociones previas iban a cegar las acciones de los embajadores y, por ende, hacer que sus emociones y en concreto la visión de dichas emociones en relación con su mundo, afectaran sus interacciones personales como diplomáticos. Las arraigadas creencias religiosas del Obispo de Aquila o de Guerau de Spes marcaron su estancia diplomática por su gran componente religioso hasta llegar a límites de fanatismo donde estas representaciones emocionales tomaban el control sobre las interacciones diplomáticas. Por otra parte, miembros de clases superiores o de familias importantes dentro de la sociedad española, como fueron Bernardino de Mendoza y el Conde de Feria, hacían que su carácter extremadamente marcado como defensores de la corona y sus intereses hiciera que sus representaciones emocionales en sus labores diplomáticas fueran mucho más centradas a emociones de superioridad o desprecio a los intereses de Inglaterra y sus gentes.

Tras analizar toda la correspondencia de los embajadores españoles en la corte de Elizabeth I me gustaría concluir resaltando la importancia de las emociones, y la cantidad de información que un estudio textual que las tome como punto de referencia pueda conseguir. En los campos en los que tenemos a nuestro alcance una gran variedad de representaciones textuales que narran hechos históricos por parte de los agentes que

toman parte en ellos, nos regala una cantidad de información casi infinita para analizar los intereses, emociones y acciones de dichos agentes, viendo como ese análisis individual puede afectar el análisis de los eventos en escenarios de gran escala. Considero que el campo de las emociones y sus análisis dentro de las relaciones diplomáticas anglo-españolas ha dado nuevas posibilidades de estudio a un campo que ya había sido trabajado por muchos expertos y durante mucho tiempo. Sin embargo, el darle una nueva perspectiva teórica nos ha facilitado la posibilidad de analizar eventos y situaciones clásicas desde un punto de vista mucho más preciso y concreto. De esta forma, los resultados de estudios de este tipo pueden aportar nueva luz a los estudios más clásicos. Esta tesis también abre la posibilidad a ampliar el abanico de países y años donde analizar la importancia de las emociones en el estudio de la Emocionología diplomática española; abriendo el estudio a otro periodo temporal o incluso a otros agentes que tuvieran funciones similares, pero en otras cortes. De este modo se podría intentar expandir la utilidad y fiabilidad de los términos teóricos aplicados a este estudio y, quizás, dar cabida a estudios similares que pudieran apoyar las tesis aquí defendidas. Sin lugar a dudas, el periodo de reinado de Felipe II cuenta con una enorme cantidad de correspondencia que se guarda en archivos como el de Simancas, así que la realización de estudios textuales nuevos, como los que se han hecho en esta tesis doctoral, con la intención de localizar, analizar y categorizar las emociones representadas en dichos textos con el fin de aplicarlas a un estudio de las relaciones diplomáticas entre diversos países y agentes es más que plausible.

## 10. Resumen

Este estudio se centra en analizar la importancia y el valor de las emociones dentro de las relaciones diplomáticas entre España e Inglaterra dentro de la segunda mitad del S. XVI; concretamente, se estudian las acciones y relaciones de los embajadores españoles que Felipe II manda a la corte de Elizabeth I, y como las emociones juegan un papel crucial en el devenir de dichas relaciones diplomáticas. En primer lugar, es necesaria situar al lector en el contexto temporal, que va desde la ascensión al trono de Elizabeth I en 1558 hasta la expulsión de la corte inglesa al último embajador de Felipe II en 1584. Durante este periodo de tiempo se pueden apreciar claros cambios en el clima, las acciones y, sobre todo, las relaciones entre ambos países; sin embargo, la mayoría de los estudios diplomáticos sobre este periodo se centran en el análisis de la importancia de las políticas exteriores, las guerras de religión, el comercio o incluso la expansión colonial, pero no en la importancia de los agentes que representan las relaciones diplomáticas anglo-españolas de esa época que son los propios embajadores residentes en la corte de Elizabeth I.

Una vez que hemos sido capaces de centrar el objeto de estudio, debemos entender que el valor de esta tesis doctoral pasa por aplicar a dichos agentes nociones teóricas que no son normalmente usadas en estudios históricos o diplomáticos como pueden ser la agencia, la subjetividad o nociones del Nuevo Historicismo o los Estudios Culturales. Por encima de todo esto, este estudio se centra en encontrar y analizar el valor de las emociones que se pueden sustraer de las interacciones entre los embajadores españoles, la reina y sus ministros. Concretamente, no solo vamos a pararnos en encontrar las

emociones y analizarlas, sino también en crear un paradigma que sea capaz de categorizar las emociones representadas por los agentes, su valor emocional y diplomático y, por último, establecer patrones de diferenciación entre el uso de las diversas emociones. De este modo y comprendiendo qué tipos de emociones usan los embajadores y cuál es su finalidad u objetivo, podemos ser capaces de comprender como las emociones y sus patrones, conocido como la Emocionología, pueden ser clave para entender comunidades concretas —en este caso la comunidad diplomática española en las islas británicas durante el reinado de Felipe II— y analizar como estos agentes son los responsables directos de la aplicación de emociones que, de forma final, impactan el devenir de las relaciones diplomáticas anglo-españolas.

Este análisis emocional emana del estudio de las fuentes escritas de los embajadores españoles destinados a la corte inglesa, donde ellos representan todas sus acciones, tanto las públicas como las privadas, con el interés de transmitirle a su rey la mayor cantidad de información que le pueda ser útil en el desarrollo de su política exterior. De este modo, los embajadores crean una extensa red de cartas y documentación que plasma no solo sus intereses personales, sus creencias religiosas y diplomáticas, sino también sus emociones y reacciones a las interacciones que tienen en su día a día y con la corte inglesa. Esto hace posible un análisis preciso de las características y personalidades de los embajadores, además del uso que estos hacen de las emociones en sus labores diplomáticas. De este manera y basándose en paradigmas teóricos que analizan las emociones como son *IR*, *Emotional Communities* o *Emotionology*, podemos llegar a comprender el significado de las representaciones emocionales que estos agentes expresan durante la realización de sus labores, además de poder crear patrones en los que comprender que debido a ciertas

normales sociales, religiosas e incluso personales, los embajadores van a representar patrones emocionales muy similares. Esto quiere decir que estos agentes van a entender, comprender y usar las mismas emociones con intenciones similares y en escenarios parecidos, debido a nociones externas como pueden ser sus creencias religiosas o su marcado sentimiento patriótico.

Este marco teórico ha sido el hilo conductor que se ha aplicado desde el inicio de la etapa en 1558 cuando Elizabeth I llega al trono inglés y el conde de Feria, embajador de Felipe II en aquella corte por el entonces, comienza a desplegar su uso de la Emocionología para desarrollar sus funciones diplomáticas, hasta que el último embajador español en la corte de Elizabeth, Bernardino de Mendoza, es expulsado concretamente por su férreo uso de la Emocionología con un cariz muy agresivo y beligerante. El principal interés de este estudio es partir del gran esqueleto teórico y textual que existe en este periodo histórico concreto e intentar darle un valor añadido aportando nociones y teorías que, aunque de reconocido renombre en otros campos de estudios y quizás en otras temporalidades, no ha sido aplicado a este escenario y abanico temporal concreto. Así, analizando la importancia de las emociones en este escenario diplomático, es no solo un estudio de gran valor para dicho campo, sino que también podría aportar nuevas perspectivas y posibilidades a otros campos diplomáticos e históricos con el fin de poder comprender mejor la importancia de agentes concretos en el devenir de los grandes eventos, pero también entender cómo de importantes son las emociones en cualquier interacción entre seres humanos.

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