

Bibliography

The place of publication of books is London, except where otherwise stated or for the publications of learned societies.

INTRODUCTION

There are no comprehensive, up-to-date general surveys of the reign: D. M. Palliser, *The Age of Elizabeth* (1983) is a thoughtful study of economic and social issues, but R. Ashton, *Reformation and Revolution, 1558–1660* (1984) has only about two hundred pages to spare for our period and is conservative in approach. Among older works, good sense is to be found in G. R. Elton, *England under the Tudors* (2nd edn, 1974), and energetic enthusiasm in A. L. Rowse, *The England of Elizabeth* (1950). There are lively, but very brief, essays in S. Adams (ed.), *Queen Elizabeth I: Most Politick Princess* (1984). The best biographies of Elizabeth are: M. Creighton, *Queen Elizabeth* (1896), J. E. Neale, *Queen Elizabeth* (1934), J. Hurstfield, *Elizabeth I and the Unity of England* (1960), and P. Johnson, *Elizabeth I: A Study in Power and Intellect* (1974); those who find the nationalism of the first and the romanticism of the rest unpalatable may prefer the more astringent tones of C. Erickson, *The First Elizabeth* (1983) – which is, however, weakened by an uncritical reliance on the suspect reports of Spanish ambassadors. The classic composite modern interpretation of Elizabethan politics will be found in the 4500 pages of: Neale's biography; J. E. Neale, *Essays in Elizabethan History* (1958); J. E. Neale, *The Elizabethan House of Commons* (1949); J. E. Neale, *Elizabeth I and her Parliaments* (2 vols, 1953, 1957); C. Read, *Mr Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth* (3 vols, Oxford, 1925); C. Read, *Mr Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth* (1955); and C. Read, *Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth* (1960). W. MacCaffrey's *The Shaping of the Elizabethan Regime* (1969) is a lively and innovative version of the years 1558–72, but his *Queen Elizabeth and the Making of Policy, 1572–1588* (Princeton, NJ, 1981) adds less to what was known and does not respond to the nuances of recent work. The constitutional and administrative structure of the kingdom is documented and discussed in G. R. Elton, *The Tudor Constitution* (2nd edn, Cambridge, 1982), and the realities of government and politics surveyed briefly in A. G. R. Smith, *The Government of Elizabethan England* (1967), and more extensively in P. Williams, *The Tudor Regime* (1979). Much new work is in process: in particular, the provision of good general studies of the period can be expected to improve soon with the appearance of Patrick Collinson's volume in the Arnold 'New History of England' series, and the Penry Williams contribution to the new Oxford histories. Further bibliographical guidance may be sought from C. Read, *Bibliography of British History: Tudor Period, 1485–1603* (2nd edn, Oxford, 1959) and M. Levine, *Tudor England, 1485–1603* (Cambridge, 1968).

1. ELIZABETH'S FIRST YEAR: THE CONCEPTION AND BIRTH OF THE ELIZABETHAN POLITICAL WORLD

Most of the historical debate about 1559 turns around Elizabeth's intentions toward the Church and the parliamentary action that resulted in the Elizabethan settlement. Since 1953 the standard account of the Parliament of 1559 has been provided by the first three chapters of J. E. Neale's *Elizabeth and her Parliaments, 1: 1559-1581* (1953). Neale's insistence that the religious settlement was shaped by a Puritan opposition in Parliament has recently been challenged by N. L. Jones, *Faith by Statute: Parliament and the Settlement of Religion, 1559*, Royal Historical Society Studies in History xxxii (1982). Jones demonstrates that the Queen was opposed by Catholics in the Lords who nearly wrecked her reform programme. W. S. Hudson, in his *Cambridge and the Elizabethan Settlement of 1559* (Durham, NC, 1980), has bolstered the rejection of Neale by arguing that the Elizabethan settlement was exactly what the leaders of the Elizabethan government desired. Further doubt has been cast on Neale's thesis by J. Loach, who showed that the resistance to the Crown by the Commons postulated by Neale is not in evidence between 1547 and 1559. In her 'Conservatism and Consent in Parliament, 1547-1559', in *The Mid-Tudor Polity c. 1540-1560*, ed. J. Loach and R. Tittler (1980) pp. 9-28, she finds dissent a characteristic more of the Lords than of the Commons. Lastly, K. Bartlett has shown that, contrary to Neale's assumptions, the Marian exiles did not make up a united party in the Commons in 1559: see 'The Role of the Marian Exiles', in *H of C, 1558-1603*, i, 102-10. Many of the speeches made in Parliament in 1559 are available in *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth 1: 1559-1581*, ed. T. E. Hartley (Leicester, 1981) pp. 7-51.

Studies on various aspects of the religious settlement tend to cover more territory than this essay, but those interested in its immediate impact on the Church might consult some of the following. F. Heal's 'The Bishops and the Act of Exchange of 1559', *HJ*, xvii (1974) 227-46, has been joined by N. L. Jones's 'Profiting from Religious Reform: The Land Rush of 1559', *HJ*, xxii (1979) 279-94, in exploring legislation that directly affected the Church's income. W. Haugaard's *Elizabeth and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 1968) provides many insights into contemporary reactions to the settlement, and P. Collinson, in his *Archbishop Grindal 1519-1583: The Struggle for a Reformed Church* (1979), devotes a chapter to the role of his hero in the visitation of 1559. The most detailed study of the impact of the new settlement is H. Gee, *The Elizabethan Clergy and the Settlement of Religion 1558-1564* (Oxford, 1898).

In the realm of domestic politics and foreign policy W. T. MacCaffrey provides an excellent analysis of the beginning of the reign in *The Shaping of the Elizabethan Regime* (Princeton, NJ, 1968). In order to understand the circumstances of Elizabeth's accession one needs to know the Marian background, a good summary of which is provided by D. M. Loades, *The Reign of Mary Tudor* (1979) pp. 458-74. R. B. Wernham provides a succinct account of the negotiations at Cateau Cambrésis in *Before the Armada: The Growth of English Foreign Policy 1485-1588* (1966) ch. 28. The only detailed study of the treaty of Cateau Cambrésis is A. Ruble, *Le Traité de Cateau Cambrésis* (Paris, 1889).

2. ELIZA ENTHRONED? THE COURT AND ITS POLITICS

It is impossible to do justice in a short survey to the voluminous literature relevant to a study of the Elizabethan Court. Some points of caution might be noted. Among the most difficult sources to employ are the seventeenth-century histories and collections of anecdotes, for the portrait of the Court they provide is of questionable veracity. In this category are William Camden, *Annales Rerum Anglicarum . . . Regnante Elizabetha* (1615; English edn 1688; modern abridged edn, ed. W. T. MacCaffrey, Chicago and London, 1970); Thomas Fuller, *The Worthies of England* (1662; modern edn 1952); John Aubrey, *Brief Lives* (1813; modern edn 1949); and, in particular, Sir Robert Naunton, *Fragmenta Regalia* (1641; modern edn 1895). More reliable, and valuable for the unconscious glimpses into the Court they provide, are the few contemporary memoirs: used in this essay were *The Memoirs of Robert Carey*, ed. F. H. Mares (Oxford, 1972); *The Private Diary of John Dee*, ed. J. O. Halliwell, Camden Society xix (1842), and 'The Compendious Rehersal of John Dee . . . A° 1592, November 9', in *Johannis Confratris et Monachi Glastoniensis Chronica*, ed. T. Hearne (Oxford, 1726); *Elizabeth of England. Certain Observations concerning the Life and Reign of Queen Elizabeth by John Clapham*, ed. E. P. and C. Read (Philadelphia, 1951); Sir John Harington, *A Tract on the Succession to the Crown (AD1602)*, ed. C. R. Markham, Roxburghe Club (1880) and *The Letters and Epigrams of Sir John Harington*, ed. N. E. McClure (Philadelphia, 1930).

The basic modern study of the institutions of the Court is E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, i (Oxford, 1923). For the Household, see also A. Woodward, 'Purveyance for the Royal Household in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n.s., xxxv, no. 1 (Philadelphia, 1945), and R. C. Braddock, 'The Royal Household, 1540-1560: A Study in Office-Holding in Tudor England' (Northwestern University PhD thesis, 1971). A. Jeffries Collins, *The Jewels and Plate of Queen Elizabeth I: The Inventory of 1574* (1955), provides a useful account of the Jewel House and its Master, John Ashley; M. M. Reese, *The Royal Office of Master of the Horse* (1976), is more popular in style. G. E. Aylmer, *The King's Servants. The Civil Service of Charles I, 1625-1640* (1961), is the best introduction to the personnel of the early modern Court. Fundamental to any study of the Tudor Court is D. R. Starkey, 'The King's Privy Chamber, 1485-1547' (Cambridge University PhD thesis, 1974); the Elizabethan Privy Chamber is studied in a similar manner in the article by Pam Wright in *The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, ed. D. R. Starkey (forthcoming, ?1984). (I am very grateful to the author for allowing me to see a draft of her article.)

There are several important surveys of Court politics: J. E. Neale, 'The Elizabethan Political Scene', British Academy Raleigh Lecture, 1948, repr. in *Essays in Elizabethan History* (1958); W. T. MacCaffrey, 'Place and Patronage in Elizabethan Politics', in *Elizabethan Government and Society. Essays presented to Sir John Neale*, ed. S. T. Bindoff, J. Hurstfield and C. H. Williams (1961); G. R. Elton, 'Tudor Government: The Points of Contact. iii. The Court', *TRHS*, 5th ser., xxvi (1976); and P. Williams, 'Court and Polity under Elizabeth I', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library*, LXV (1973). In

'Faction, Clientage and Party. English Politics, 1550-1603', *History Today*, xxxii (1982), I have made some suggestions about the nature of Elizabethan factions.

The standard political histories and biographies of the reign all contain material of relevance, though not all their conclusions about Court politics should be accepted. The same applies to the studies of minor Court figures, which nevertheless provide useful information on personal relationships. In this category are E. K. Chambers, *Sir Henry Lee. An Elizabethan Portrait* (Oxford, 1936); the two studies by C. A. Bradford, *Blanche Parry, Queen Elizabeth's Gentlewoman* (1935), and *Helena, Marchioness of Northampton* (1936); and L. C. John, 'Roger Manners, Elizabethan Courtier', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, xii (1948). The publication of *H of C, 1509-1558*, and *H of C, 1558-1603* has, however, revolutionised the study of the Tudor political élite and will be fundamental for any future work on the membership of the Court.

3. PARLIAMENT

The history of the Elizabethan Parliament is most fully rehearsed in the work of J. E. Neale: *The Elizabethan House of Commons* (1949); *Elizabeth I and her Parliaments*, 2 vols (1953, 1957); 'The Commons' Privilege of Free Speech in Parliament', *Tudor Studies . . . Presented to A. F. Pollard*, ed. R. W. Seton-Watson (1924) pp. 231-57. For much of his interpretation he relied on W. Notestein, 'The Winning of the Initiative by the House of Commons', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, xi (1924) 125-75. Of late it has come to be recognised that these venerable works pretty thoroughly misinterpret what happened and leave important parts of the story untold, though the editorial contributions to *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I, 1: 1559-1581*, ed. T. E. Hartley (Leicester, 1981), still rely on Neale. Though the new approach has not so far produced a treatment as comprehensive as Neale's and able simply to replace him, enough has appeared to document the need to start again. On records and procedure, Sheila Lambert has cleared up many of the errors found in the old view: 'The Clerks and Records of the House of Commons, 1600-1640', *BIHR*, xliii (1970) 215-31; and 'Procedure in the House of Commons in the Early Stuart Period', *EHR*, xciv (1980) 753-81. M. A. R. Graves, *The House of Lords in the Parliaments of Edward VI and Mary I: An Institutional Study* (Cambridge, 1981) at last, though not quite for the period in question, brings out the importance of the Upper House. Particular points of revision have been made by N. L. Jones, *Faith by Statute: Parliament and the Settlement of Religion*, Royal Historical Society Studies in History xxxii (1982); M. A. R. Graves, 'Thomas Norton the Parliament Man: An Elizabethan MP', *HJ*, xxiii (1980) 17-35; G. R. Elton, 'Arthur Hall, Lord Burghley, and the Antiquity of Parliament', *Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government* (Cambridge, 1983) iii, 254-73. On the records of Parliament and their meaning see G. R. Elton, 'The Sessional Printing of Statutes, 1484-1547', *ibid.*, pp. 92-109, and 'The Rolls of Parliament, 1449-1547', *ibid.*, pp. 110-42, both of which document the transformational role of the reign of Henry VIII. Provisional attempts to provide a new interpretation for the

Elizabethan Parliament are found in three papers by G. R. Elton: 'Tudor Government - the Points of Contact: 1. Parliament', *ibid.*, pp. 3-21; 'Parliament in the Sixteenth Century: Functions and Fortunes', *ibid.*, pp. 156-82; and 'The English Parliament in the Sixteenth Century: Estates and Statutes', in *Parliament and Community*, ed. A. Cosgrove and J. I. McGuire (Dublin, 1983) pp. 69-95. Since one of the apparent strong points of the Neale thesis lay in its supposed fit to pre and post-Elizabethan parliamentary history, attention is drawn to recent revisions in those surrounding periods: J. Loach, 'Conservatism and Consent in Parliament, 1547-59', in *The Mid-Tudor Polity c. 1540-1560*, ed. J. Loach and R. Tittler (1980) pp. 9-28; C. Russell, 'Parliament History in Perspective, 1604-1629', *History*, lxi (1976) 1-22, and *Parliament and English Politics, 1621-1629*, (Oxford, 1979); R. C. Munden, 'James I and "the Growth of Mutual Distrust": King, Commons and Reform, 1603-1604', in *Faction and Parliament*, ed. K. Sharpe (Oxford, 1978) pp. 43-72.

4. GOVERNMENT, FINANCE AND THE COMMUNITY OF THE EXCHEQUER

The essential introduction to Elizabethan government is P. Williams, *The Tudor Regime* (Oxford, 1979). The area of the central bureaucracy studied in greatest depth has been Chancery, most particularly in W. J. Jones, *The Elizabethan Court of Chancery* (Oxford, 1967). For financial administration the relevant portions of H. E. Bell, *An Introduction to the History and Records of the Court of Wards and Liveries* (Cambridge, 1953), J. Hurstfield, *The Queen's Wards: Wardship and Marriage under Elizabeth* (1958), and R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1265-1603* (1953) are all valuable, as is C. E. Challis, *The Tudor Coinage* (Manchester, 1978).

Elizabethan Exchequer administration has been a neglected topic. The following are useful in their respective areas, although not always totally reliable in detail or perspective: W. H. Bryson, *The Equity Side of the Exchequer* (Cambridge, 1975); G. R. Elton, 'The Elizabethan Exchequer: War in the Receipt', available both in *Elizabethan Government and Society. Essays presented to Sir John Neale*, ed. S. T. Bindoff, J. Hurstfield and C. H. Williams (1961) pp. 213-48, and in Elton, *Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government* (Cambridge, 1974) i, 355-88; E. Green, 'The Management of Exchequer Records in the 1560s', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, v (1974) 25-30; and J. C. Sainty, 'The Tenure of Offices in the Exchequer', *EHR*, lxxx (1965) 449-75. Other studies are of less weight apart from basic administrative routine, the chief work in this category being W. C. Richardson, *History of the Court of Augmentations 1536-1554* (Baton Rouge, La, 1961) ch. 13. For valuable insights drawn from a later period see G. E. Aylmer, 'The Officers of the Exchequer, 1625-1642', in *Essays in the Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England*, ed. F. J. Fisher (Cambridge, 1961). In terms of individual administrators, most important is the formative (but optimistic) biography by S. E. Lehmberg, *Sir Walter Mildmay and Tudor Government* (Austin, Tex., 1964).

With respect to finance itself, no attempt has yet been made to supersede

the pioneering surveys by F. C. Dietz, 'The Exchequer in Elizabeth's Reign', *Smith College Studies in History* (Northampton, Mass.), viii, no. 2 (1923) 63-118, and *English Public Finance, 1558-1641* (New York and London, 1932). These works cannot be ignored and are of continuing value, but they have long since shown their age and must be used with caution. The most important specialist studies directly relevant to the Elizabethan period are: J. D. Alsop, 'The Theory and Practice of Tudor Taxation', *EHR*, xcvi (1982) 1-30; F. Heal, 'Clerical Tax Collection Under the Tudors: The Influence of the Reformation', in *Continuity and Change*, ed. R. O'Day and F. Heal (Leicester, 1976) pp. 97-122; J. Hurstfield, 'The Profits of Fiscal Feudalism, 1541-1602', *EcHR*, 2nd ser., viii (1955-6) 53-61; C. J. Kitching, 'The Quest for Concealed Lands in the Reign of Elizabeth I', *TRHS*, 5th ser., xxiv (1974) 65-78; H. Miller, 'Subsidy Assessments of the Peerage in the Sixteenth Century', *BIHR*, xxviii (1955) 15-34; R. B. Outhwaite, 'The Trials of Foreign Borrowing: The English Crown and the Antwerp Money Market in the Mid-Sixteenth Century', *EcHR*, 2nd ser., xix (1966) 289-305; G. D. Ramsey, *The City of London in International Politics at the Accession of Elizabeth Tudor* (Manchester, 1975); and D. Thomas, 'Leases in Reversion on the Crown's Lands, 1558-1603', *EcHR*, 2nd ser., xxx (1977) 67-72.

5. THE CROWN AND THE COUNTIES

Elizabethan government in general is described in G. R. Elton, *The Tudor Constitution*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1982), which contains documents and commentary; A. G. R. Smith, *The Government of Elizabethan England* (1967); and P. Williams, *The Tudor Regime* (Oxford, 1979). There is an admirable contemporary account in Sir Thomas Smith, *De Republica Anglorum*, ed. M. Dewar (Cambridge, 1982): the work is in English, despite its title, and this edition supersedes earlier ones. On the institutions of regional and local government there is a wide range of studies: R. R. Reid, *The King's Council in the North* (1921); P. Williams, *The Council in the Marches of Wales under Elizabeth I* (Cardiff, 1958); G. Scott Thomson, *Lords Lieutenant in the Sixteenth Century* (1923); L. O. J. Boynton, *The Elizabethan Militia* (1967); J. S. Cockburn, *A History of English Assizes, 1558-1714* (Cambridge, 1972); J. H. Gleason, *The Justices of the Peace in England, 1558-1640* (Oxford, 1969); P. Clark and P. Slack, *English Towns in Transition* (Oxford, 1976); L. O. J. Boynton, 'The Tudor Provost-Marshal', *EHR*, lxxvii (1962); J. Kent, 'The English Village Constable, 1580-1640', *Journal of British Studies*, xx (1981). There are two excellent contemporary accounts of the working of local government: William Lambarde, *Eirenarcha: or the Office of the Justice of the Peace* (1581, with many subsequent edns); and *William Lambarde and Local Government*, ed. C. Read (Ithaca, NY, 1962), an edition of Lambarde's working-notebook as a justice in Kent.

The early seventeenth century is at present better served than the sixteenth with county studies, largely because the local material becomes more abundant after 1600. A. Everitt, *Change in the Provinces* (Leicester, 1969), provides a stimulating introduction to the subject; it should be read in

conjunction with C. Holmes, 'The County Community in Stuart Historiography', *Journal of British Studies*, xix (1980); while both are more concerned with early Stuart England, their ideas are relevant to the Elizabethan era. The most valuable monographs on individual counties in the reign of Elizabeth are: A. Hassell Smith, *County and Court. Government and Politics in Norfolk, 1558-1603* (Oxford, 1974); P. Clark, *English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution: Religion, Politics and Society in Kent, 1500-1640* (Hassocks, Sussex, 1977); M. E. James, *Family, Lineage and Civil Society. A Study of Society, Politics and Mentality in the Durham Region, 1500-1640* (Oxford, 1974); S. J. Watts, *From Border to Middle Shire: Northumberland 1586-1625* (Leicester, 1975); C. Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge, 1975); R. B. Manning, *Religion and Society in Elizabethan Sussex* (Leicester, 1969); A. L. Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall* (London, 1941); H. A. Lloyd, *The Gentry of South-West Wales, 1540-1640* (Cardiff, 1968); P. Williams, 'The Political and Administrative History of Glamorgan, 1536-1642', in *Glamorgan County History*, iv, ed. G. Williams (Cardiff, 1974).

There are two important but as yet unpublished doctoral theses: D. MacCulloch, 'Power, Privilege and the County Community: County Politics in Elizabethan Suffolk' (Cambridge University, PhD, 1977); and J. R. Dias, 'Politics and Administration in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, 1590-1640' (Oxford University, DPhil, 1973). I am grateful to both authors for allowing me to use their work.

Finally, anyone seeking to understand the ways in which early modern governments sought to enforce their commands upon localities should read I. A. A. Thompson, *War and Government in Habsburg Spain, 1560-1620* (1976).

6. THE FOREIGN POLICY OF ELIZABETH I

The basic sources of information about the foreign policy of Elizabeth I are the letters she and her ministers and envoys exchanged with their counterparts in foreign countries and also with each other. Many have perished, but what survives is of vast bulk. Much of it is comprised by the State Papers at the PRO; but there are important portions at the BL Department of Manuscripts, and at Hatfield House, Herts. Other archive centres in England and abroad also hold many documents of interest.

Selections from these original documents have been printed by a succession of editors since the seventeenth century, the most recent contribution being E. I. Kouri, 'Elizabethan England and Europe: Forty Unprinted Letters from Elizabeth I to Protestant Powers', *BIHR*, Special Supplement 12 (1982). During the last century and more, a methodical and pertinacious attempt has been made to calendar, list and index the State Papers Foreign for the reign of Elizabeth I at the PRO, and thus render them more readily serviceable for historians. The first volume, covering the years 1559-60, was published in 1863; the most recent, for 1591-2, in 1980. For the last ten years of the reign the State Papers Foreign remain uncalendared and unindexed, which helps to explain the comparative neglect of this decade by historians.

The study of Elizabethan policy from the documents was promoted by J. A.

Froude in his *History of England 1530–88*, 12 vols (1856–70) vii–xii. His diligence, honesty and literary skill, though not his judgement, have always attracted respect. The final years of the reign have been described in E. P. Cheyney, *A History of England from the Defeat of the Armada to the Death of Elizabeth*, 2 vols (1914). There are surveys of foreign policy in R. B. Wernham, *Before the Armada. The Growth of English Foreign Policy 1485–1588* (1966), and *After the Armada: Elizabethan England and the Struggle for Western Europe, 1588–1595* (Oxford, 1984), with which should be coupled his *The Making of Elizabethan Foreign Policy* (Berkeley, Calif., 1980) and his essay 'Elizabethan War Aims and Strategy', in *Elizabethan Government and Society. Essays presented to Sir John Neale*, eds S. T. Bindoff, J. Hurstfield and C. H. Williams (1961) 340–68.

Of the scores of specialised studies drawing on the original documents to elucidate one aspect or another of Elizabeth's foreign policy, only a tiny fraction may here be mentioned. The biographies by Conyers Read are storehouses of information: *Mr Secretary Walsingham and the policy of Queen Elizabeth*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1925); *Mr Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth* (1955); *Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth* (1960). L. Stone, *An Elizabethan: Sir Horatio Palavicino* (Oxford, 1956), covers otherwise untrodden ground. For the administrative background, there is material in A. G. R. Smith, 'The Secretariats of the Cecils, circa 1580–1612', *EHR*, LXXXIII (1968) 481–504. Factions at Court have been investigated by W. T. MacCaffrey in *The Shaping of the Elizabethan Regime* (1969) and *Queen Elizabeth and the Making of Policy* (Princeton, NJ, 1981). Studies of relations with individual countries include E. I. Kouri, *England and the Attempts to Form a Protestant Alliance in the Late 1560s: A Case Study in European Diplomacy* (Helsinki, 1981), for Germany; N. M. Sutherland, 'Queen Elizabeth and the Conspiracy of Amboise, March 1560', *EHR*, LXXXI (1966) 474–89, and *The Massacre of St Bartholomew and the European Conflict, 1559–1572* (1973); H. A. Lloyd, *The Rouen Campaign 1590–1592* (Oxford, 1973); C. Wilson, *Queen Elizabeth and the Revolt of the Netherlands* (London, 1970). The contribution of the Merchants Adventurers and the City of London to the foreign policy of the Queen has been little explored: for the early years of the reign there is G. D. Ramsay, *The City of London in International Politics* (Manchester, 1975), while for the middle and later period it is necessary to consult R. Ehrenberg, *Hamburg und England im Zeitalter der Königin Elisabeth* (Jena, 1896), and L. Beutin, *Hanse und Reich im handelspolitischen Endkampf gegen England* (Berlin, 1929). Finally two influential articles deserve mention: C. Read, 'Queen Elizabeth's Seizure of the Duke of Alva's Pay-ships', *Journal of Modern History*, v (1933) 443–64; and R. B. Wernham, 'Queen Elizabeth and the Portugal Expedition of 1589', *EHR*, LXVI (1951) 3–26, 194–218.

It should be borne in mind that the scholars whose works are listed above are far from unanimity in their interpretation of motives and events. More than most topics of its age, the foreign policy of Elizabeth I is likely to remain a subject for debate.

7. THE ELIZABETHAN CHURCH AND THE NEW RELIGION

The most recent book claiming to be a *History of the English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I* was published by W. H. Frere as long ago as 1904. But helpful accounts will be found in H. G. Alexander, *Religion in England 1558–1662* (1968) and C. Cross, *Church and People 1450–1660* (1976). A number of themes relevant to this essay are investigated in P. Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559–1625* (Oxford, 1982); and in a useful symposium in the 'Problems in Focus' series, *Church and Society in England: Henry VIII to James I*, ed. F. Heal and R. O'Day (1977).

More specialised studies of aspects and institutions of the Elizabethan Church abound. The affairs of the bishops are investigated in F. Heal, *Of Prelates and Princes: A Study of the Economic and Social Position of the Tudor Episcopate* (Cambridge, 1980), and the careers of the clergy at large in R. O'Day, *The English Clergy: the Emergence and Consolidation of a Profession 1558–1642* (Leicester, 1979). There is a detailed account of the provision of preaching by the institution of 'lecturing' in P. Seaver, *The Puritan Lectureships; The Politics of Religious Dissent, 1560–1662* (Stanford, Calif., 1970), but this should be supplemented by my article 'Lectures by Combination: Structures and Characteristics of Church Life in Seventeenth-Century England', which will be found, together with other relevant essays, in P. Collinson, *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (1983). There are biographies of the three Elizabethan archbishops of Canterbury: Parker by V. J. K. Brook (Oxford, 1962), Grindal by P. Collinson (1979) and Whitgift by P. M. Dawley (1954).

The implications for England as a Church and people of the drastic proposition that the Pope is Antichrist are explored in W. Haller, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation* (1963), some aspects of which are corrected in R. Bauckham, *Tudor Apocalypse* (Appleford, Berks., 1978) and K. Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain 1530–1645* (Oxford, 1979).

The 'new religion' in its Elizabethan context has been defined by many historians as Puritanism, and of the making of many books on this subject there is no end in sight. M. M. Knappen's classic *Tudor Puritanism* (Chicago, 1939) holds its own, together with P. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (1967). There is a much briefer account of the matter in P. Collinson, *English Puritanism* (Historical Association pamphlet, G106, 1983). There are important corrections to earlier perspectives on the relation of Puritanism to 'mainstream' Elizabethan Protestantism in P. Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge, 1982).

The impact of the new religion on English society is best measured by historians of the provinces and localities. See especially a number of essays in A. G. Dickens, *Reformation Studies* (1982); C. Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge, 1975), and 'Puritan Evangelism in the Reign of Elizabeth I', *EHR*, xcii (1977) 30–58; R. C. Richardson, *Puritanism in North-West England: A Regional Study of the Diocese of Chester to 1642* (Manchester, 1972); W. J. Sheils, *The Puritans in the Diocese of Peterborough 1558–1610*, Northants Record Society xxx (1979); and R. B. Manning, *Religion and Society in Elizabethan Sussex* (Leicester, 1969). See also J. J. Goring, 'The Reformation

of the Ministry in Elizabethan Sussex', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xxxiv (1983) 345–66; and K. Wrightson and D. Levine, *Poverty and Piety in an English Village: Terling, 1525–1700* (1979).

The impact, or lack of impact, of the new religion on the mentalities of early modern England receives its fullest and most imaginative treatment in what is perhaps the only great book on English religion in this period to have been written in the twentieth century: K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1971).

8. THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, THE CATHOLICS AND THE PEOPLE

Historians of religion in Elizabethan England have generally found it easier to write about the well-recorded militants than about the indecisive or indifferent majority. There are therefore plenty of books about Catholic nonconformists and about Protestant nonconformists, and a few about both: there is useful material in E. Rose, *Cases of Conscience: Alternatives Open to Recusants and Puritans* (Cambridge, 1975), and the best survey of the two extremes is P. McGrath's *Papists and Puritans under Elizabeth I* (1967). But Professor McGrath's book is, not surprisingly, showing its age: both papists and Puritans have been the subjects of controversy and reinterpretation, and the conformists have been brought onto the historical stage. The Elizabethan Church is coming to look rather different, partly because of shifts in our understanding of the English Reformation. When the Reformation (in both its legislative and its popular forms) was seen as fast and effective (as in A. G. Dickens's classic *The English Reformation*, 1964), it made sense to see the history of Catholicism in Elizabeth's reign in terms of early decline and later recovery. The monumental presentation of this version was A. O. Meyer, *England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth* (1915; but see the 1967 reprint, with a critical reassessment by J. Bossy), and Meyer's outline was refined and supported by A. G. Dickens in 'The First Stages of Romanist Recusancy in Yorkshire, 1560–1590', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, xxxv (1943) 157–81, and by J. A. Bossy in 'The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism', *P & P*, xxi (1962) 39–59. The most exciting and sophisticated presentation of this view is in J. Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570–1850* (1975) – but see the criticism in C. Haigh, 'The Fall of a Church or the Rise of a Sect? Post-Reformation Catholicism in England', *HJ*, xxi (1978) 181–6. The version of Reformation history presupposed by the present essay (that Reformation statutes were difficult to enforce and that Protestant beliefs were widely resisted) is sketched in C. Haigh, 'The Recent Historiography of the English Reformation', *HJ*, xxv (1982) 995–1007, and given more substance in J. J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford, 1984). Some of the evidence for the survival of Catholic loyalties and conservative preferences into the reign of Elizabeth was collected in H. N. Birt, *The Elizabethan Religious Settlement* (1907), but local studies have produced much more: see especially the works of J. C. H. Aveling, of which the most accessible are *Northern Catholics* (1966) and *The Handle and the Axe: The Catholic Recusants in England from the Reformation to Emancipation* (1976); and also

C. Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge, 1975), R. B. Manning, *Religion and Society in Elizabethan Sussex* (Leicester, 1969), K. R. Wark, *Elizabethan Recusancy in Cheshire*, Chetham Society (1971). An attempt has been made to construct a new framework for the history of Catholicism in this period, in C. Haigh, 'The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation', *P & P*, xciii (1981) 37–69, and 'From Monopoly to Minority: Catholicism in Early Modern England', *TRHS*, 5th ser., xxxi (1981) 129–47. The second article is thought by some to have been unduly harsh to Jesuit and seminarist missionaries; they are treated more sympathetically in P. Caraman, *Henry Garnet, 1555–1606, and the Gunpowder Plot* (1964); A. Morey, *The Catholic Subjects of Elizabeth I* (1978); and E. Waugh, *Edmund Campion* (1935). There are judicious surveys of recent controversies in A. Dures, *English Catholicism, 1558–1642* (Harlow, 1983).

Patrick Collinson's essay in this volume, and many of the works listed in his bibliographical essay, tackle those who responded enthusiastically to Protestantism. Those who were reluctant to throw themselves into the 'new religion' have been (unless they became Catholic recusants) much less frequently studied. Professor Collinson has some wise words on them in *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (1983) ch. 1, and *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society, 1559–1625* (Oxford, 1982) ch. 5; and Keith Thomas has ranged across many aspects of popular belief in his deservedly famous *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1971). There are few general treatments of parish religion in post-Reformation England – and fewer still that can now be recommended: Keith Wrightson, *English Society, 1580–1680* (1982) ch. 7, is a sensitive starting-point. The conflicts between Protestant evangelists and resistant laypeople are best approached through local studies: P. Clark, *English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution: Religion, Politics and Society in Kent 1500–1640* (Hassocks, Sussex, 1975); W. Hunt, *The Puritan Moment: The Coming of Revolution in an English County* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983) (on Essex); R. B. Manning, *Religion and Society in Elizabethan Sussex* (Leicester, 1969); W. J. Sheils, *The Puritans in the Diocese of Peterborough*, Northants Record Society xxx (1979); C. Haigh, 'Puritan Evangelism in the Reign of Elizabeth I', *EHR*, xcii (1977) 30–58 (Cheshire and Lancs); R. A. Marchant, *The Puritans and the Church Courts in the Diocese of York* (1960); and R. C. Richardson, *Puritanism in North-West England: A Regional Study of the Diocese of Chester to 1642* (Manchester, 1972). Village studies are also proving illuminating: see M. Spufford, *Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1974); and K. Wrightson and D. Levine, *Poverty and Piety in an English Village: Terling, 1525–1700* (1979). Christopher Haigh is writing a book on the Church of England and its people between 1559 and 1642, but the most suggestive exploration of this theme was published in 1581: George Gifforde's *A Briefe Discourse of Certain Points of the Religion which is among the Common Sort of Christians which may bee Termed the Countrie Divinitie*.

9. POVERTY AND SOCIAL REGULATION IN ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND

On the poor-law and its enforcement, the best guide remains E. M. Leonard, *The Early History of English Poor Relief* (Cambridge, 1900; repr. London, 1965). More recent, but shorter, summaries are John Pound, *Poverty and Vagrancy in Tudor England* (1971); and A. L. Beier, *The Problem of the Poor in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, Lancaster Pamphlets (1983). W. K. Jordan, *Philanthropy in England 1480–1660* (1959) contains material on the law and attitudes towards charity, as well as summarising the author's major work on philanthropic endowments. His statistical conclusions about the latter have been subjected to criticism in W. G. Bittle and R. Todd Lane, 'Inflation and Philanthropy in England: A Re-assessment of W. K. Jordan's Data', *EcHR*, 2nd ser., xxix (1976) 203–10; and, much more constructively, in J. F. Hadwin, 'Deflating Philanthropy', *EcHR*, 2nd ser., xxxi (1978) 105–17.

Of other social policies, those relating to apprenticeship have been most studied. S. T. Bindoff, 'The Making of the Statute of Artificers', in *Elizabethan Government and Society. Essays presented to Sir John Neale*, ed. S. T. Bindoff, J. Hurstfield and C. H. Williams (1961) pp. 56–94, is an exemplary demonstration of how a statute was shaped. Its enforcement is discussed in M. G. Davies, *The Enforcement of English Apprenticeship 1563–1642* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956). Among other social problems, crime is attracting increasing attention: a useful introduction is *Crime in England 1550–1800*, ed. J. S. Cockburn (1977). On witchcraft and its relationship to charity, see K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1971) ch. 17. Besides Bindoff, J. R. Kent, 'Attitudes of Members of the House of Commons to the Regulation of "Personal Conduct" in Late Elizabethan and Early Stuart England', *BIHR*, XLVI (1973) 41–71, usefully discusses the parliamentary background to social legislation. The government's concerns are illuminated in P. Slack, 'Books of Orders: The Making of English Social Policy, 1577–1631', *TRHS*, 5th ser., xxx (1980) 1–22, and more generally in P. Williams, *The Tudor Regime* (Oxford, 1979) pt II, and F. A. Youngs, *The Proclamations of the Tudor Queens* (Cambridge, 1976) pt III.

A good modern survey of the economic and social background is D. M. Palliser, *The Age of Elizabeth. England under the Later Tudors 1547–1603* (1983). This book, developing the same author's 'Tawney's Century: Brave New World or Malthusian Trap?', *EcHR*, 2nd ser., xxxv (1982) 339–53, presents a more optimistic view than that contained in the present essay. For an emphasis closer to that provided here, and for a forceful argument about social development, see K. Wrightson, *English Society 1580–1680* (1982). There is much relevant information on agrarian change and industrial growth in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, IV: 1500–1640, ed. J. Thirsk (Cambridge, 1967); and J. Thirsk, *Economic Policy and Projects: The Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1978). On temporary crises, see P. Slack, 'Mortality Crises and Epidemic Disease in England 1485–1610', in *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. C. Webster (Cambridge, 1979) pp. 9–59; and, for long-term demographic trends, E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541–1871: A Reconstruction* (1981) esp. chs 10 and 11.

Both social problems and social policies are best illustrated, however, by local studies. Local records on vagrancy are discussed in A. L. Beier, 'Vagrants and the Social Order in Elizabethan England', *P & P*, LXIV (1974) 3–29; and P. A. Slack, 'Vagrants and Vagrancy in England, 1598–1664', *EcHR*, 2nd ser., xxvii (1974) 360–79. The problems of particular towns are described in A. L. Beier, 'Social Problems in Elizabethan London', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, ix (1978) 203–21; A. L. Beier, 'The Social Problems of an Elizabethan Country Town: Warwick, 1580–90', in *Country Towns in Pre-industrial England*, ed. P. Clark (Leicester, 1981) pp. 45–85; and in the editors' contributions (on Kent and Salisbury) in *Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500–1700*, ed. P. Clark and P. Slack (1972). *The Norwich Census of the Poor 1570*, ed. J. F. Pound, Norfolk Record Society XL (1971), throws a spotlight on local poverty, and has a good introduction. There is also relevant material in most modern local histories; for example: W. T. MacCaffrey, *Exeter 1540–1640* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958); K. Wrightson and D. Levine, *Poverty and Piety in an English Village: Terling, 1525–1700* (1979); and P. Clark, *English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution* (Hassocks, Sussex, 1977) chs 7 and 8. Finally, for a brilliant account of the reactions of Puritan ministers and magistrates to social instability, see P. Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants. The Church in English Society 1559–1625* (Oxford, 1982) ch. 4.