

ENGLISH HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

VOLUME V(A)

ENGLISH HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

1558–1603

Edited by

IAN W. ARCHER AND
F. DOUGLAS PRICE



 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2011 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon. OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada
by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2011 Ian W. Archer and the estate of F. Douglas Price

The right of Ian W. Archer and F. Douglas Price to be identified as authors
of this work has been asserted by them in accordance with sections 77
and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

Typeset in Baskerville by Swales & Willis Ltd, Exeter, Devon
Printed and bound in Great Britain by CPI Antony Rowe, Chippenham, Wiltshire

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or
reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic,
mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter
invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any
information storage or retrieval system, without permission in
writing from the publishers.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Catalog-in-Publication Data

A catalog record for this book has been requested

ISBN13: 978-0-415-35097-6 (hbk)

ENGLISH HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

1558–1603

Praise for the series:

‘Perhaps the most important historical undertaking of our age . . . one of the most valuable historical works ever produced.’

Times Literary Supplement

‘A landmark in the field of historical endeavour . . . the most admirable collection of sources on English history that exists.’

American Historical Review

English Historical Documents is the most ambitious, impressive and comprehensive collection of primary documents on English history ever published. The volumes have each become landmark publications in their own fields.

This long-awaited volume covers 1558–1603, the reign of Elizabeth I, when government, culture, religion and foreign policy all underwent profound change. This volume includes informative introductory pieces for the parts and sections and editorial comment is directed towards making sources intelligible rather than drawing conclusions from them. Opening with an introductory section which contextualises the accession of Elizabeth to the throne, the volume covers all key aspects of the Elizabethan period, including:

- Institutions
- Social and economic structures
- The marriage question and the problem of the succession
- Family and household
- Cultural life
- The Church and religious affairs
- Elizabethan wars
- Overseas trade and exploration
- Crime and disorder

The format of the series has been updated and the documents gathered here encompass the most up-to-date approaches to the material.

Ian W. Archer is Fellow of Keble College, Oxford, and has published widely on early modern social history.

F. Douglas Price was a historian of Elizabethan England and Fellow of Keble College, Oxford from 1949 to 1982.

ENGLISH HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

General Editor: DAVID C. DOUGLAS, M.A., D.LITT., F.B.A.

VOLUMES

I c.500–1042 EDITED BY DOROTHY WHITELOCK

II 1042–1189 EDITED BY DAVID C. DOUGLAS AND GEORGE W. GREENAWAY

III 1189–1327 EDITED BY HARRY ROTHWELL

IV 1327–1485 EDITED BY A.R. MYERS

V 1485–1558 EDITED BY C.H. WILLIAMS

V (a) 1558–1603 EDITED BY IAN W. ARCHER AND F. DOUGLAS PRICE

V (b) 1603–1660 EDITED BY BARRY COWARD AND PETER GAUNT

VI 1660–1714 EDITED BY ANDREW BROWNING

VII 1714–1783 EDITED BY D.B. HORN AND MARY RANSOME

VIII 1783–1832 EDITED BY DAVID C. DOUGLAS

IX 1833–1874 EDITED BY G.M. YOUNG AND W.D. HANDCOCK

X 1874–1914 EDITED BY W.D. HANDCOCK

XI 1914–1957 EDITED BY JOHN STEVENSON (FORTHCOMING)

PREFACE

DOUGLAS PRICE (1915–99), my predecessor as early modern tutor in History at Keble, was originally commissioned by Eyre & Spottiswoode to edit this volume in 1950, as part of the original *English Historical Documents* team recruited by the medievalist David Douglas. Its fruition after just sixty years must make the contract one of the longest running in the history of History publishing. Douglas had recently taken up a post as Tutorial Fellow at Keble, and he was to remain there until his retirement in 1982. An undergraduate at Keble (1933–6) he was taught by the reformation historian A.G. Dickens, and stayed on to conduct research under Dickens on the diocese of Gloucester during the Reformation. His academic career was interrupted by military service, including a spell on the staff of SHAEF, but resumed after the war, when he taught at the University College of the South-West (where David Douglas was his patron) and the University of Glasgow before taking up the Keble post in 1949. He was the old-style bachelor don, resident in college for most of term time, committed wholeheartedly to teaching, college administration, and the welfare of his pupils, seeking weekend diversion in his garden in the rural retreat of Wigginton. His diaries reveal that he worked intermittently on the *EHD* volume, but he was all too easily diverted into college affairs, and the project stalled when he became overwhelmed by the sheer volume of his transcriptions and proved unable to make the cuts the publisher required. The volume was still incomplete on his retirement in 1982, and it seems to have been abandoned.

When Douglas died on Christmas Day 1999, I joined Ken Lovett, who as Bursar of Keble had been nominated executor, to examine the remaining papers. It was wonderful to recover his meticulously kept diaries and undergraduate essays marked by Dickens, but the greatest surprise came when in a corner cupboard I found a typescript corrected in Douglas' own hand of 1.5 million words. It seemed to me a pity to see all this work go to waste, and my original plan was to 'dump', as it were, the whole thing on the internet, in retrospect a rather naive notion. When I approached Taylor & Francis, the publishers to which the series had descended, I was pleasantly surprised to find that the *EHD* project was still very much alive, as they were in the process of commissioning volumes to fill the gaps; they were very keen to see it in print, and I accepted their invitation to edit it.

That meant confronting some awkward facts. First the text was way over length, and lacked any of the necessary critical apparatus. The selection and arrangement of materials reflected the research agenda of the 1960s: it was strong on ecclesiastical history (in the institutional sense), much weaker on social and cultural history. It also reflected the conventional thematic divisions of the *EHD* volumes where religion, politics, society, and economy were assigned to separate sections with the result that the interactions between the different elements were occluded. It was necessary therefore not only to prune Douglas' text radically, but also to add documents, and to reorder the entire selection. I adopted an approach dividing the reign into three phases, 1558–72, 1572–88, and 1588–1603, seeing the northern rising and the plots

around Mary in 1569–72 as one climacteric, and the execution of Mary and the Armada in 1587–8 as another. Within these sections I have retained the conventional divisions into religious and political themes but with the hope that the proximity of the texts will enable the connections to be drawn more readily; the commentaries are designed to draw students' attention to the interaction of religious and political forces. I have placed the 'structural' sections – on political institutions and the shaping social, economic and cultural forces – in the middle, looking backwards and forwards.

Given its genesis this is inevitably a volume of compromises. Archival purists will note that many of the transcriptions are drawn from the nineteenth-century editions on which Douglas relied; I have in some cases added my own transcriptions where issues of coverage demanded, but it has not been possible to return to the original manuscripts to verify the reliability of earlier transcriptions. Although sub-optimal, the transcriptions are sufficiently accurate to provide acceptable points of entry to the source materials for students. In terms of coverage, cultural themes remain under-represented, and I have deliberately excluded extracts from the literary products of the period as these are so well anthologised in other collections (e.g. Payne and Hunter 2003). But I have endeavoured to ensure that a broad range of source types and genres are represented: pamphlets, indictments, censuses, and depositions have been added to the letters, speeches, statutes, and proclamations which formed the backbone of Douglas' original selection. I am grateful to Martin Ingram for permission to use some of his transcriptions from the Wiltshire church courts (1901).

I have fleshed out the social and economic sections to catch the changing historiographical currents, but the selection probably retains an institutional bias. I make no apologies for that. There have been remarkable advances in the fields of social and cultural history in recent years, but sometimes historians would have benefited from a clearer understanding of the administrative, judicial, and political processes which generated the records underlying their studies. Although the tide has turned against supposedly narrow 'Eltonian' approaches to the period, and projects of administrative history are hardly high up on the funding agenda, it is striking how a compilation such as this volume reveals serious gaps in our knowledge. Topics such as the institutional basis of the royal court, financial administration, and many aspects of the legal system are only understood at a rudimentary level. As for the choice of an analytical spine emphasising the connections between politics and religion, that is done in the belief that the confessionalisation of politics that followed the reformation shaped the course of the reign. Although religion was not the only determinant in the complex grid of allegiance, and its role was possibly diluted in the 1590s, it was a major element. This explains my inclusion of some of the great set-pieces like Grindal on prophesying, Wentworth on free speech, and Throckmorton on the bill and book, but I have sought to add material to reflect Catholic preoccupations, so Robert Persons, largely ignored by Douglas, receives his due. Another lacuna revealed in surveying the landscape of Elizabethan history is the lack of decent biographies of leading figures, many of whom are ripe for reassessment in the light of advances in our understanding of the ideological and cultural framework of politics.

Finally, this remains a collection of *English* historical documents; there is no attempt to cover the internal politics of Ireland and Scotland, and in so far as there is any British agenda, it is a relational one: the focus is on the implications of Scottish

politics for the succession question, and on the problems posed by Ireland to Elizabethan administrators. Likewise there is no attempt to cover foreign policy comprehensively; rather I have selected a series of key decision points – intervention in Scotland (1559–60), the Anjou match (1578–81), and the decision to intervene in the Low Countries (1584–5) – to bring out the framework within which decisions were made and the range of available options.

The critical apparatus is relatively light touch. I have sought to use the introductory commentaries to provide a basic context to the documents for those less familiar with the period: the aim is to explain something of both the changing historiographical landscape, and the ways in which it has been shaped by different types of source. Each section is accompanied by a brief guide to further reading which identifies the key elements of the secondary literature, as well as printed editions of primary sources. Previous volumes in the series took their bibliographic obligations very seriously. As the Academic Editor of the online *Bibliography of British and Irish History* (BBIH), I am acutely aware of the contingent nature of any print bibliography, and would refer readers wishing for updates to the electronic resources.

A volume so long in gestation has inevitably incurred many debts, but I can only really speak for my own. The initial scanning of Douglas' typescript was undertaken by Computing Services at the University of Hertfordshire and generously paid for by Keble College. The laborious process of turning the scanned documents into workable Word files was only made possible by the help of several research assistants, and I am very grateful for the labours of Ben Coates, Jennifer Melville, and Rosemary Sgroi. Later in the project Fleur Richards worked with prodigious but quiet energy to check transcriptions. I have also had help from successive Fellows' Secretaries at Keble, notably Danielle McCallium and Ruth Dry, and I have dragooned some Keble undergraduates into supporting the book in its closing stages. I am very grateful to Jenni Cutting, Kabir Bhalla, and Rob Cranston for their input. Vicky Peters and her colleague Emily Kindleysides at Taylor & Francis have shown remarkable tolerance with my delays. Catherine Wright stepped in at the eleventh hour to compile the index.

Successive publishers have lived with this book for a lifespan, but multiple generations of Keble historians have also endured it, and it is to them, the Keble historians past, present, and as yet unborn, that it is dedicated.

Ian W. Archer
Fellow, Tutor and University Lecturer (CUF) in History
Keble College, Oxford

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

AUTHOR AND PUBLISHER are grateful to the following for granting permission to reproduce the following documents:

For 1, 89, 113, 130 (i), 137, 159, 173, 174, 178, 179, 180, 276 (i–iii), 325, 331–3, 335, the Royal Historical Society; 2, 43, 127, 244, 245, 260 (i–iii), 290, 489 (i–iii), 499 (iv), by permission of Oxford University Press; for 4, Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies; 22, 25, 40 (i), 41, 47, 48, 62, 63, 78, 103, 107, 108, 109, 116, 117, 125, 145, 196, 198, 208, 215, 241, 263, 298, 341, 342, 343, 351, 376, 377, 378, 408, 418, 419, 422, 471, 475, 481, by kind permission of Continuum International Publishing Group; for 15, 45 (v), 77, 79, 121 (iii), 165, 204, 236, 389 (ii), 390 (i + iv), 426, Historical Manuscripts Commission, reproduced under the terms of the Click-Use Licence; 18, 95 (i), 495 © Royal Historical Society, published by Cambridge University Press, reproduced with permission; for 26, 53, 80, 149, 189, 246, 271 (i), 349, 465, 470, 495, Cambridge University Press; for 52, London Record Society; 64, 65, by permission of SPCK; 97 © 1981 Thames and Hudson Ltd, London. Reproduced by kind permission of Thames and Hudson; for 104, 150, 151, 163, 205, 254, 267, 415, 437, Liverpool University Press; for 126, 128, 138, 143, 146, 147, 158, 175, 203, 249 (i), 273, 319, 320, 389 (ii), Folger Shakespeare Library; for 168, 410 (ii), the Northamptonshire Record Society; for 170, Wiley-Blackwell; 171 © The British Academy 2005. Reproduced by permission from Records of Social and Economic History; for 176, Oxfordshire Record Society; for 199, 281 (i–iii), 292, 350 (i–iii), Taylor & Francis; 187 (i–vii), 261, 293 © Norfolk Record Society, <http://www.norfolkrecordsociety.org.uk/>; for 188 (i–ii), 400 (ii), 492 (i–ii), Chicago University Press; for 191, 200, © Suffolk Record Society, <http://www.suffolkrecordssociety.com/srs/>; for 194, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series; for 242, Yale University Press; for 266, Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society; for 272 (iii), Southampton Record Series; for 291 Harvard University Press, Copyright 1915 by Harvard University Press; for 311 (i–iii), 442, Catholic Record Society; for 344, 404, 461, Pearson; for 345 Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society; for 367, Studia Hibernica and Nicholas Canny; for 412, 423, 439, 462, Oxford Historical Society, by kind permission of the Trustees of the Oxford Historical Society; for 485, Boydell & Brewer Ltd.

ABBREVIATIONS

APC	Dasent, J.R., <i>et al.</i> , eds. 1890–1964. <i>Acts of the Privy Council of England</i> . 46 vols. London: HMSO.
BL	British Library
CSP	Calendar of State Papers (various series listed in bibliography of primary sources)
GL	Guildhall Library
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission (individual volumes listed in bibliography)
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
ODNB	<i>The Oxford dictionary of national biography</i> , ed. H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. On-line edition edited by Lawrence Goldman, 2008.
SR	<i>Statutes of the Realm</i> , ed. Alexander Luders. 12 vols. London: Record Commission, 1810–28.
STC	A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, with W.A. Jackson, F.S. Ferguson, and Katharine M. Pantzer, eds. <i>A short title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, and of English books printed abroad, 1473–1640</i> (2nd edn). 3 vols. London: Bibliographical Society, 1986–91.
TED	<i>Tudor economic documents</i> , ed. R.H. Tawney and E. Power. 3 vols. London and New York: Longmans, 1924.
TNA	The National Archives
TRP	<i>Tudor royal proclamations</i> . 2: <i>The later Tudors, 1553–1587</i> ; 3: <i>The later Tudors, 1588–1603</i> , ed. Paul L. Hughes and J.F. Larkin. New Haven (CT) and London: Yale University Press, 1969.
Wing	D. Wing, ed. <i>A short title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America and of English books printed in other countries, 1641–1700</i> (2nd edn). 4 vols. New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1992–8.

OUTLINE TABLE OF CONTENTS

Contents	vii
Preface	xxxiii
Acknowledgements	xxxvi
List of abbreviations	xxxvii
 Section I The making of the regime	 1
1.1 Accession	3
1.2 The settlement of religion	24
1.3 An economic settlement?	58
1.4 The Scottish problem	90
1.5 The Queen's marriage and the succession	114
1.6 Enforcing the religious settlement	148
1.7 The beginnings of Puritanism	164
1.8 The crisis of 1568–72	190
 Section II Institutional structures	 233
2.1 Crown, court, and counsel	235
2.2 Projecting power	277
2.3 Parliament	308
2.4 Royal finances	337
2.5 The legal system	366
2.6 Local government	393
2.7 Military resources	427
 Section III Social and economic structures	 443
3.1 Social structure and social change	445
3.2 Family and household	501
3.3 The domestic economy	530
3.4 Overseas trade and exploration	571
3.5 Cultural life	620
3.6 Poverty and welfare	663
3.7 Crime and disorder	689
3.8 London	726
 Section IV Politics and religion, 1572–1588	 743
4.1 The state of the Church	745
4.2 The Catholic challenge	782
4.3 The Puritan challenge	819

OUTLINE TABLE OF CONTENTS

4.4	The radical fringe	874
4.5	Foreign policy dilemmas: the Anjou match and the road to war	897
4.6	The Irish problem	925
4.7	The problem with Mary	957
4.8	The Armada crisis	1000
Section V Crisis years? 1588–1603		1021
5.1	<i>Fin de siècle</i> : politics in the closing years	1023
5.2	The burdens of war	1075
5.3	Poverty and crime	1118
5.4	Catholics divided	1150
5.5	Puritanism contained	1187
5.6	The Irish denouement	1234
5.7	Succession	1261
5.8	The end of the regime	1276
Bibliography		1288
Index		1336

DETAILED LIST OF CONTENTS

SECTION I THE MAKING OF THE REGIME

1.1 Accession

1. The Spanish ambassador on regime change: Count Feria to King Philip II, 14 November 1558	5
2. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton's advice to the Queen before her accession	9
3. Speech by Queen Elizabeth to the delegation of Mary's councillors, probably 17 November 1558	15
4. An account of the Queen's entry into the City of London on the eve of her coronation, 14 January 1559: Aloisio Schivenoglia reports to Sabino Calandra, castellan of Mantua, 23 January 1559	15
5. Providentialism unrestrained: an oration by John Hales, 1558/9	21

1.2 The settlement of religion

6. Planning a settlement of religion: <i>The device for the alteration of religion</i>	26
7. Perceptions of religious change in early 1559	29
(i) Aloisio Schivenoglia to Octaviano Vivaldino, Mantuan ambassador with King Philip II of Spain at Brussels, 30 January 1559 on the opening of Parliament	29
(ii) Matthew Parker to a member of the Privy Council, 1 March 1559	30
(iii) John Jewel to Peter Martyr, 14 April 1559	31
8. Viscount Montague's speech in the House of Lords against the supremacy bill, possibly 13 March 1559	32
9. The Act of Supremacy, 1559	33
10. The Act of Uniformity, 1559	38
11. Royal Injunctions, 1559	41
12. Enforcement and early reactions	53
(i) A chronicler's overview	53
(ii) Aloisio Schivenoglia to the Castellan of Mantua, 10 May 1559	53
(iii) Iconoclasm in London described by Henry Machyn, 1559	54
13. The status of images contested: an address made by some bishops and divines to Queen Elizabeth, against the use of images, early 1560	54
14. John Jewel's defence of the settlement	55
(i) The reasons for renouncing Rome	55
(ii) Jewel answers Catholic charges against Protestants	56

CONTENTS

1.3 An economic settlement?

15. Thinking about the economy: an economic reform programme, previously attributed to 1559	60
16. Reform of coinage: proclamation announcing reform of coinage, 27 September 1560	63
17. Difficulties encountered in reforming the coinage: the earl of Huntingdon to Cecil, 29 November 1560	65
18. Divided counsels over monetary policy, 1562	66
19. The Statute of Artificers, 1563	68
20. Import substitution: an act for the avoiding of divers foreign wares made by handicraftsmen beyond the seas, 1563	76
21. Protecting native industries	77
(i) An act for the true making of hats and caps, 1566	77
(ii) An act touching cloth workers and cloths ready wrought to be shipped over the sea, 1566	77
22. Maintaining the navy: Sir William Cecil's speech on fish days, 1563	78
23. The enclosure problem: an act for the maintenance and increase of tillage, 1563	82
24. Moneylending: an act against usury, 1571	84
25. The parliamentary debate over usury, 1571	85

1.4 The scottish problem

26. William Cecil's British vision: <i>A memorial of certain points meet for restoring the realm of Scotland to the ancient weal</i> , 31 August 1559	91
27. The debate over intervention in Scotland, December 1559: the speech used by the Lord Keeper ten days before Christmas Anno 1559 at the Council board concerning an aid required by the Scots for the removing of the French out of Scotland	93
28. Cecil's analysis of the case for intervention in Scotland: <i>A short discussion of the weighty matter of Scotland</i> , August 1559	101
29. Cecil threatens resignation over Scotland: William Cecil to Queen Elizabeth, 20 December 1559	105
30. The Treaty of Berwick, 27 February 1560	105
31. Negotiations for the Treaty of Edinburgh: William Cecil and Nicholas Wotton to Queen Elizabeth, 6 July 1560	108
32. Mary's claim to the English succession: William Maitland of Lethington to William Cecil, 7 October 1561	110
33. Relations between Elizabeth and Mary: instructions given by the Queen to Sir Henry Sidney on embassy to the Queen of the Scots, 15 July 1562 (minute by Cecil)	111

1.5 The queen's marriage and the succession

34. Impressions of Elizabeth's first month: count de Feria to Philip II, 14 December 1558	117
---	-----

CONTENTS

35. Spanish diplomacy and the Queen's marriage: count de Feria to Philip II, 29 April 1559	119
36. An assessment of Elizabeth's suitors in 1559: baron Breuner to Emperor Ferdinand, from London, 6 August 1559	120
37. Hostility to Robert Dudley: Bishop Quadra to the Duchess of Parma, 11 September 1560	123
38. Popular perceptions of Dudley's candidacy: confession of Arthur Gunter	124
39. The case for a domestic marriage: 'A Discourse that it was not convenient for the Queen to marry, with the Answer'	125
40. Queen Elizabeth's reply to the petition of the House of Commons on her marriage, 10 February 1559	126
(i) The official version	126
(ii) William Camden's version	128
41. Petition of the House of Lords concerning the marriage and the succession, 1 February 1563	128
42. Camden's muddled account of the marriage question in the 1566 Parliament	131
43. Elizabeth's reply to a select number of Lords and Commons on her marriage, 5 November 1566	133
44. Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots: Sir James Melville's report of his audience with Elizabeth, 1564.	135
45. Negotiations over the Queen's marriage to Archduke Charles	139
(i) Sir William Cecil to Sir Thomas Smith, 3 June 1565	139
(ii) Summary by Cecil of essential conditions for marriage, 12 August 1565	139
(iii) Cecil to Sir Thomas Smith, 16 October 1565	140
(iv) Comparing Leicester and Archduke Charles: memorandum by Cecil, April 1566	141
(v) Duke of Norfolk to Queen Elizabeth, 15 November 1567	141
46. The Anjou marriage project, 1570: <i>A discourse of the Queen's marriage with the Duke of Anjou, drawn out by the Lord Keeper</i>	143

1.6 Enforcing the religious settlement

47. An overview by Lord Keeper Bacon at the opening of Parliament, 12 January 1563	150
48. Problems facing the Church: Speaker Williams' address at the opening of Parliament, 15 January 1563	152
49. Conservatism in the north	153
(i) John Best, bishop of Carlisle, to Sir William Cecil, 14 January 1562	153
(ii) John Best, bishop of Carlisle to Sir William Cecil, 1563	154
50. The bishops' reports on the state of the Church, 1564	155
51. Will of Nicholas Culverwell, haberdasher of London, 1569	158

CONTENTS

52. Local enforcement of the settlement: extracts from the churchwardens' accounts of St Andrew Hubbard, London	159
53. Dealing with conservatism in the north: the visitation of York diocese, 1567	161

1.7 The beginnings of Puritanism

54. Reform proposals for the 1563 Convocation: <i>Certain articles in substance desired to be granted by the Queen's Majesty</i>	166
55. Reform proposals in the Lower House of Convocation, 1563	168
(i) The seven articles	168
(ii) The six articles	169
56. Resistance to government policy: Gilbert Berkeley, bishop of Bath and Wells to Sir William Cecil, 23 March 1564	169
57. Elizabeth's hostility to discussion of images: Guzman de Silva, Spanish ambassador to Philip II, 12 March 1565	170
58. The Queen's insistence on conformity: Elizabeth to Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, 25 January 1564	170
59. Anxieties over clerical dress: James Pilkington, bishop of Durham to the earl of Leicester, 25 October 1564	172
60. The vestiarian controversy and divisions among the godly: Edmund Grindal, bishop of London to Henry Bullinger, 27 August 1566	174
61. John Stow's observations on the vestiarian controversy and its aftermath in London, 1566–7	175
62. Parliamentary attacks on the church courts in 1571	176
63. Attempt to reform the Prayer Book in Parliament, 1571	177
64. The Puritan critique: <i>The First Admonition to Parliament</i> , 1571	180
65. Puritan proposals for a reformed ministry: <i>A Second Admonition to Parliament</i> , 1572	183

1.8 The crisis of 1568–72

66. Cecil's tour d'horizon, 1569: <i>A short memorial of the state of the realm</i>	193
67. The problem posed by Mary	203
(i) Lord Scrope and Sir Francis Knollys to Elizabeth, May 1568	203
(ii) Mary to Elizabeth, July 1568	205
(iii) Elizabeth to Mary, 21 December 1568	206
68. The duke of Norfolk's relationship with Mary	207
(i) Answer of the earl of Pembroke to interrogatories, 29 September 1569, memorandum by Cecil	207
(ii) Examination of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, 10 October 1569	208
69. The duke of Norfolk in a quandary: William Cecil to Sir Henry Norris, 3 October 1569	209
70. The northern rebellion	210
(i) The manifesto of the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland	210

CONTENTS

(ii) William Cecil to Sir Henry Norris, ambassador to France, 2 December 1569	210
(iii) Cecil to Norris, 24 December 1569	211
(iv) Wavering loyalties in the north: Sir George Bowes to Earl of Sussex, 17 November 1569	212
71. Religious conservatism of the northern rebels	213
72. Papal bull of 1570 excommunicating Elizabeth	215
73. An act whereby certain offences be made treason, 1571	217
74. Uncovering the Ridolfi Plot	218
(i) Charles Bailly to Cecil Burghley, 2 May 1571	218
(ii) Examination of William Barker by Privy Council, 7 November 1571	219
75. The duke of Norfolk's final confession, 26 February 1572	220
76. Parliamentary demands for action against Mary, Queen of Scots, 1572	222
77. Nicholas St Leger's speech against the duke of Norfolk, 30 May 1572	224
78. Petition of laity against Mary, probably 26 May 1572	225
79. Draft bill against Mary, May 1572	229

SECTION II INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES

2.1 Crown, court, and counsel

80. The role of the crown	240
81. John Aylmer on monarchy, 1559	242
82. Arguments for obedience: <i>Homily against disobedience and willful rebellion</i> , 1570	242
83. Assessments of Elizabeth	245
(i) The chronicler's perspective	245
(ii) The teacher's view: Roger Ascham on Elizabeth	245
(iii) John Clapham	246
(iv) Robert Naunton	248
84. The Privy Councillor's oath as taken by George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, 12 December 1576	249
85. The councillor's duty: Burghley to Robert Cecil, 13 March 1596	250
86. The challenges of counselling the Queen: Sir Francis Knollys to Dr Thomas Wilson, 9 January 1578	250
87. Relations between councillors: earl of Leicester to Lord Burghley, 27 September 1578	251
88. Cecil's scheme for an interregnum: 'A clause to have been inserted in an act meant for the succession, but not passed', March 1563	253
89. Thomas Wilson on the councillors' means of maintaining political control	254
90. The work of the secretary: instructions for a principal secretary, observed by Robert Beale for Sir Edward Wotton, 1592	254