

Revision Notes

**A Level
OCR Module 2588
Historical Investigations 1556-1725**

The reign of Elizabeth

Elizabeth I

Revision Booklet

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 - What tactics did Elizabeth use to handle her Privy Council?
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 - Who were the Puritans
 - Why did they oppose the religious settlement?
 - Were the Puritans a serious challenge to the Elizabethan church?
 - Why did the Puritan threat fail?
 - Historiography.
- Key issue 4. How serious was the threat posed by Roman Catholics to Church and state in the reign of Elizabeth I?
 - Extent of Catholicism at the accession of Elizabeth
 - Why didn't Catholicism pose more of a threat in first decade?
 - How serious a threat was Catholicism in the rest of the reign?
 - How successful were the missionary priests?
 - Historiography

Focus

Interpreting the aims and achievements of Elizabeth I and understanding the controversies between different studies of her reign. The focus is restricted to DOMESTIC issues and you will not be tested on FOREIGN RELATIONS, although a background knowledge of their relationship with domestic issues will be useful.

Exam

The exam will (last 1 hour and 30 minutes, including reading time. On the question paper there will) be four sources. There are a total) of 90 marks available. There will be Questions 1, 2 and 3 on the paper.

Question 1 will have two sub-parts a and b. Question one is worth 45 marks all together. Question 1 will) be a document question.

Question 2 and 3 are both essays. Candidates must answer one of these essay questions. Each essay will be on a different key issue.

Question 1 is set on four source extracts.

Part a of question 1 asks for an explanation and evaluation of the differences of historical interpretation on the given topic between two of the sources (which will give two rival viewpoints).

Part b of the question will requires an overview of all four sources in assessing the different ways of interpreting and understanding the topic on which the document question is set.

Questions 2 and 3. The essays will ask questions which require explanation and evaluation of the issues dividing historians.

(These does NOT require specific knowledge of any specific historian and what they think about an issue. The introduction to each source gives enough context to make it clear which line of argument the historian follows. But you must be aware of different interpretations and understand the differences between them and must be able to understand and evaluate them)

Key issues. For each issue the focus must be on interpretations and understanding the controversy between historians over each issue.

1. What problems faced Elizabeth (as a female ruler) and how did she cope with them?
2. To what extent was Elizabeth I able to maintain control over and manage her government and parliaments?
3. Why, and with what consequences, did Puritans challenge the Elizabethan Church?
4. How serious was the threat posed by Roman Catholics to Church and state in the reign of Elizabeth I?

Content For each issue...

1. Contemporary opinions regarding female rulers, positive and negative views of the queen, the marriage question, the role of court.
2. Government and parliament: their function and composition. The relationship between Queen, Privy Council and Parliament: co-operation or conflict? The significance and management of issues in dispute: the Church Settlement, parliamentary privilege, the marriage question and the succession.
3. Puritanism: the nature and extent of Puritanism, Elizabeth's attitude, the policies of successive archbishops of Canterbury, the puritans in parliament, the defence of the Anglican church (Hooker and Jewel)
4. Catholicism: the nature and extent of catholic survivalism, the changing reactions of the government and parliament to England's Catholics, the Papal Bull of 1570, the missionary priests, the Rising of the Northern Earls and plots concerning Mary Queen of Scots.

Resource List

- Doran S. Elizabeth and Religion, 1558-1603, Routledge (1993)
Foster A The Church of England 1570-1601. Longman (1994)
Graves M.A.R Elizabethan Parliaments, 1559-1601. Longman 2nd ed (1996)
Guy J Tudor England Oxford University Press (1990)
Haigh C. (ed) The Reign of Elizabeth I. Macmillan (1994)
Haigh C. English Reformations. OUP (1993)
Haigh C Elizabeth I Longman 2nd ed (1998)
Mervyn B The reign of Elizabeth's England 1558-1603. John Murray (2001)
Randell K. Elizabeth and the Government of England Hodder and Stoughton (1994)
Warren J. Elizabeth I, Religion and Foreign Affairs. Hodder and Stoughton (1993)
Williams P The Later Tudors: England 1547-1603. OUP (1998)

Interpretations of Elizabeth I

The Traditional View

- Adulation of Elizabeth, in particular her ability to end the 'mid-Tudor crisis', control parliament and restrain religious conflict, developed soon after her death and was widely accepted until the mid-1960s.
- It emphasised conflict between Elizabeth and her Parliaments and religious division as major themes because it regarded events of Elizabeth's reign as a precursor to the mid-seventeenth century conflict.
- It stressed Elizabeth's skilful management of Parliament.
- A major theme was the growth in the power of the House of Commons at the expense of the Lords.
- It stressed Elizabeth's ability to manage the growing religious diversity of her subjects.

The Revisionist View

- Rejected the idea of a 'mid-Tudor crisis' and hence of the relative strength and skilful management of Elizabeth's government.
- Also rejected the idea that the Civil Wars of the 1640s had causes going back before 1637.
- Rejected the idea of a progressive movement in religious development with Puritanism challenging religious conformity and hence the monarchy.
- Emphasised a slow Reformation; Catholic survival rather than Protestant militancy was the major ecclesiastical problem.
- Rather than being self-confident, Elizabeth's government was deeply afraid of, in particular, Catholic threats (especially in the 1580s).
- Acknowledged the surviving importance of the nobility in local and central government.
- Rejected the growing confidence of the House of Commons in challenging the crown.
- Challenged the concept of the centrality of factionalism in government.

The Post-Revisionist View

- Examined the rule of Elizabeth from the feminist perspective, particularly regarding the marriage and succession questions, but also in the context of a patriarchal society.
- Undertook research into the contribution of Elizabeth's style and image to her dealings with politicians.
- Recognised that conflict between Queen and Parliament was often the result of unresolved matters between Queen and Privy Councillors.
- Saw Elizabeth as a weaker monarch than either of the other views suggest, as there were so many constraints on her power and she had far less room for manoeuvre than had previously been suggested.

Key Issue

1. What problems faced Elizabeth (as a female ruler) and how did she cope with them?

Events

1533	Elizabeth born.
1536	Execution of Anne Boleyn
1548	France sends 10,000 troops to Scotland.
1549	First Edwardian Prayer Book
1552	Second Edwardian Prayer Book
1557	England joins Spain in the war against France
1558	Death of Mary and accession of Elizabeth.
1559	First Elizabethan Parliament- religious settlement Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity Royal Injunctions Rebellion in Scotland by Lords against Mary Guise Death of King Henry II accession of Francis II and Mary Stuart Act of Exchange
1560	English troops sent to Scotland, Treaty of Edinburgh. Dudley widowed. Death of Francis II
1561	MQS returns to Scotland
1562	Elizabeth sick with smallpox
1563	Thirty Nine Articles
1565	Mary marries Lord Darnley
1566	Birth of James (later James VI Scotland and I of England.)
1567	Murder of Darnley and MQS marries Bothwell.
1568	Mary flees to England
1572	First stage of the Elizabeth/Alencon marriage negotiations.

The following are a list of the problems that faced Elizabeth at her accession in 1558.

1. Her gender in a patriarchal society.
2. The Marriage question
3. The Succession question.
4. The kingdoms security.
5. The process of selecting a new government (Privy Council) and her style of rule.
6. The Religious settlement.

This section goes through each of these problems and how she dealt with them in the first years of her reign.

1. Gender

The “Great Chain of Being” meant every person had a fixed place in the social hierarchy. The wife always gained her status in this chain from her husband, the assumption throughout the chain was that women were inferior and needed the tutelage of her husband. This was to present Elizabeth with formidable difficulties.

- In 1558 John Knox Scottish reformer (founder of the Scottish Calvinist church) published his First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment (rule) of Women. The book was aimed at Mary of Guise and Knox explained that Elizabeth was an exception as she had been made queen by God to restore the Gospel, but it was a reminder of the discomfort many felt at having a female ruler.
- The rule of a woman on her own was seen as unnatural, it was assumed that she would marry; Elizabeth was still young, 25.
- The husband would be expected to be the dominant partner and rule as King-consort. Mary Tudor had married Philip II. This had been extremely unpopular; many felt England had become nothing more than a Spanish satellite.
- Her councillors may have felt the need to advise the queen more directly as she was “only” a woman.
- However she also exploited her femininity e.g. she wooed her courtiers such as the Earl of Leicester and Walter Raleigh.
- Used her gender to call on an extra degree of loyalty as they were aware of her vulnerability e.g. with parliament.
- Post-revisionist historians have examined the rule of Elizabeth from a feminist perspective, especially the marriage and succession question, but also in context of a patriarchal society.

2. Government

One of Elizabeth’s initial tasks would be to select her Privy Council; this would be a clear indication of her religious aims and an important task in securing good advice.

Her initial Privy Council...

- Sir William Cecil (1520-98), later Lord Burghley. Becomes the queen’s principal secretary. Had been overseer of her estates whilst she was Princess Elizabeth. Had been an experienced and secretary during Edward VI’s reign. Protestant.
- Lord Robert Dudley (1532-88), later (1564) Earl of Leicester. Marriage candidate for Elizabeth in early 1560s. Made Privy Councillor Protestant.
- Sir Nicholas Bacon, Francis Russell (2nd Earl of Bedford), Sir Francis Knollys, William Parr, Sir Thomas Parry and Sir Edward Rogers. Privy Councillors and all Protestant. Some had served in Edward’s reign.

- Marquis of Winchester, Earls of Arundel, Derby and Pembroke- Catholic peers from Mary's reign all kept on as privy councillors.
- Hence a mixture of efficient experienced politicians, many who had served under Edward and were Protestant and political heavy-weight Catholic peers from Mary's reign that could not be ignored.
- Overall the Privy Council was a far smaller group than under Mary, its members were linked by friendship and family, it was distinctly Protestant, many had served Elizabeth as Princess and more had served under Edward.

Elizabeth's style in government

Tudor monarchy still a very personal monarchy with the monarch at the very centre of government, hence the monarchs' personality greatly effected the workings of government.

- Kept herself well informed from a variety of sources rather than relying on a small group of favourites, sort advice from courtiers, ambassadors and councillors.
- Procrastinated, used delay in matters such as marriage, foreign affairs and dealing with her MQS.
- Reactive rather than proactive, i.e. instead of taking the initiative she reacted to events as they took place, e.g. no marriage policy reacted to the various suitors.

Problems arising from Elizabeth's style in government

- Clear in Elizabeth's mind that she had complete and absolute authority but because her style relied on delay and did not take the initiative her councillors were tempted to be too guiding.
- Many on the Privy Council had a different opinion to the Queen on the major issues e.g. the succession question her delays left them frustrated and tempted to use others means of putting pressure on the queen e.g. through parliament.
- Many of her councillors felt the need to nag the queen because she was "just" a woman.
- Many of her councillors felt the need to nag the queen because the regime was the focus for Catholic conspiracy and needed protecting.

3. Religious Settlement

Her own beliefs...

- Elizabeth's own background i.e. daughter of Anne Boleyn, product of the break from Rome and raised by Catherine Parr as well as the sympathies of her mainly Protestant Councillors made a Protestant settlement most likely.
- Early signs of her faith. Suspended the heresy laws in December 1558 and released those awaiting trial for heresy, o Christmas day 1558 she ordered that the Host should not be elevated during the mass (elevation suggested the real presence), at the opening of parliament 1559 she told monks from Westminster Abbey and lighted candles to get away.

Important Events in the passing of the Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy.

- Feb 1559 Bill introduced into parliament. Would have made Elizabeth head of the church and provided for a Protestant form of worship
- Passed Commons. But the Lords forced the changes in worship to be removed and refused to accept the royal supremacy.
- Parliament breaks for a recess over Easter.
- Disputation (debate) is held in Westminster Abbey. Two Catholic bishops were arrested and charged with disobedience to common authority.
- The reconvened Parliament had two bills, the Act of Supremacy and Act of Uniformity introduced to it.
- Act of Supremacy- made Elizabeth Supreme Governor instead of Supreme head of the Church. In practice she had as much power over the church as her predecessors. Easily passed through the House of Commons and opposed by all the Catholic bishops in the Lords and one layman.
- Act of Uniformity- Modelled on the second Edwardian Prayer Book (1552). As a compromise to Catholics used the wording of the Communion from the 1549 and 1552 Edwardian Prayer Book leaving the issue of real presence in memorial open. Prayer Book to be used in all churches, fines for those not attending church on a Sunday, ornaments rubric left clerical dress and church decoration up to the monarch. Relatively easy passage through Commons but opposed by 9 bishops and 9 temporal Lords in the Lords. Had the 2 detained bishops and 2 members of the clergy not absent been present the Act would have been defeated.
- Act of the First Fruit and Tenths. Allowed for the transfer of property owned by the church to the monarch. The few monasteries Mary had restored were dissolved and property went to the monarch.
- The Thirty Nine Articles of Faith, 1563-71. Elizabeth used convocation (church government, meeting of the bishops) to produce the final statement of church beliefs. Set out clearly the belief in predestination. The articles were firmly based on the 42 Articles from 1552.
- Of the Marian clergy all of the bishops except 1 left the church, 400 ordinary members of the clergy were deprived or resigned between 1559 and 1664. The great majority of ordinary clergy conformed.
- Matthew Parker was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury and the Marian exiles took up the positions left by the Marian bishops.
- Royal Injunctions. The main details of the church were covered by the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity. The Royal Injunctions were drafted later in 1559 to deal with matters that had not been covered. E.g. clergy might marry with the approval of 2 JPs and their bishop, clergy had to wear the surplice (the white Tunic that had been worn by Catholic clergy), altars could be replaced by Communion tables if the minister wanted.
- The Visitations. Took place in the summer and winter of 1559 to enforce the Royal Injunctions. As a result many churches were changed to the plainness of Edward's day although were Catholic sympathy was strong this process took a lot longer.

How settling was the settlement?

- Cast as the Godly saviour (in contrast to Mary and the burning of heretics).
- However Elizabeth not a Godly reforming monarch, conservative.
- More concerned about the Supremacy rather than theology.
- Marian exiles fill the empty bishoprics and her councillors are those of Edward's reign, these men see the settlement as the beginning and set them in conflict with the queen.
- Therefore had created a settlement which left many unsatisfied, even in her own government
- Elizabeth regarded the settlement as final and any attempt to bring changes as a challenge to her authority.

4. Marriage

Important Events

- 1559 Philip II offer of marriage. He wanted alliance England and Spain against France and would keep England Catholic. She stalled in order to keep Spain's friendship.
- Austrian Archduke Charles (Philip's cousin) and heir to the Holy Roman Emperor. Discussion went on and off for a decade. Stalling to keep the friendship of the Hapsburgs.
- Prince Eric heir to King Sweden. Poor Eric was just led along for the pressies.
- Earl of Arundel and Sir William Pickering Englishmen considered. Too old and not royal blood!
- 1559-61 Robert Dudley passionately in love with Dudley, but from 1562 Queen makes every effort to ensure that they are just good friends.
- 1563 issue of the succession is raised in parliament after Elizabeth had suffered from an attack of the smallpox in 1562. The Commons begged her to name a successor.
- In 1566 they again petitioned her to name a successor even trying to resist granting subsidies until she had named the successor.
- 1570 negotiations began with the Duke of Anjou (younger son of Henri II of France and younger brother of Charles IX now the King) but he was committed to his Catholicism.
- Negotiations start with the youngest brother Duke of Alencon. (In 1574 Charles IX died and Duke of Anjou becomes King, Alencon takes the title Anjou! So could be called Alencon or Anjou!) Negotiations with him lasted until 1584, and the possibility of marriage was a real likelihood in 1579.

Marriage to Robert Dudley 1560

- 1559-1561 Seem to have been passionately in love!
- September 1560 Dudley's wife Amy Robsart found dead at the bottom of the stairs, all the servants had been temporarily sent from the house!! Had been slowly dying (probably cancer).
- Rumours had been slowly poisoned by Dudley and rumour she was pushed. Cecil may have been behind these rumours.

- Cecil may have been protecting Queen's good name or/and his own position.
- Queen decided that Dudley must remain a friend, although up to 1561 signs she still in anguish over the dilemma.

Marriage to Duke of Anjou/Alencon/Frog!

- In 1579 negotiations really got going when Alencon visited the queen, by the time he left for France opinion at court was that the queen had definitely decided to marry him.
- Opposition to the match was led by Leicester (feared losing his special status); there was an appeal to xenophobia, Protestant fears and ridicule at the idea of a 46 year old woman marrying someone nearly half her age. Widespread agitation against the match.
- John Stubbs wrote the pamphlet "A gaping gulf wherein England is likely to be swallowed by another French marriage", contained reasoned argument and appeal to prejudice. Punished publicly, right hand chopped off, he held it up and cried "God save the Queen!"
- Leicester was temporarily banished from court partly because of his opposition to the match and partly because he had recently secretly married the Countess of Essex.
- Queen consulted the Privy Council on the match (she wanted them to make the decision) but support was lukewarm, ending any hope by the queen that she would marry. (although the pretence lasted until 1584)

Some psychological reasons for not marrying

- the fate of her mother Anne Boleyn
- at the age of eight the fate of her step mother Catherine Howard.
- the dodgy attention of Thomas Seymour at the age of 15.
- Catherine Parr died in childbirth.
- she enjoyed power and did not wish to share this with a consort.
- she understood that a woman's role was to marry and have children however she wished by remaining unmarried to make the distinction between her and ordinary women.

So why didn't she marry?

- Traditionally explanation is that Elizabeth never intended to marry. This is explained either by her unusual attitude to marriage brought on by the psychological reasons or by her desire to set herself apart from ordinary woman and to show that she was married to the nation.
- Proof for this explanation can be seen in her speech to her first parliament in 1559 she mentioned the engraving she wished to have on her marble tomb "here lyeth Elizabeth, which reigned a Virgin and died a Virgin."
- However it is more likely that the Queen had every intention of possibly marrying however the benefits of marrying never outweighed the costs of marriage...
- All suitors were of two types Englishman or foreigner. For both of these types of suitor their religious beliefs could spell disaster for those around Elizabeth.

- Englishman would be of non-royal stock as all male descendants of the house of Tudor were not at a marriageable age. Would therefore cause conflict by raising a noble to royal status.
- Foreigner might mean England becoming a satellite e.g. under Mary loss of Calais.
- Marriage would mean losing the diplomatic advantage of having marriage negotiations with suitors.
- The queen showed herself willing to marry on two occasions, 1560 and 1579, both occasions provide good examples of how these disadvantages of marriage outweighed the advantages.

5. Succession

The candidates.

- Clearest successor Mary Stuart the grand-daughter of Margaret Tudor who was a sister of Henry VIII.
- Mary raised in France by her mothers family the Guise married Francis II King of France in 1559. She laid claim to the throne of England as well as France and Scotland. Catholics could argue that Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn had never married.
- Only other alternative grand-daughters of Henry VIII's other sister Mary, Lady Catherine Grey and Lady Mary Grey (Protestant). Little personality or enthusiastic support for them.

Reasons for pressure on the queen to name a successor.

- Preoccupation of the landed political classes, as could mean war and anarchy if there was a disputed succession.
- Actions of Henry VIII show how strong the need for a successor was.
- The alternative is MQS! So Protestant political classes were very concerned.
- 1562 had almost died of smallpox.
- An age when assassination was often used as a political weapon e.g William of Orange.
- Marriage question raised in parliament in 1559, 1563, 1566 and arrangements for the succession up until 1587. On each occasion she made vague reassurances and reminded parliament that the marriage question was her royal prerogative.
- Privy Council partly behind these petitions in parliament, although genuine feeling in parliament as well.
- Pressure by (Protestant) political classes to put the matter of the succession into the hands of parliament on the Queen's death as debated in 1563 parliament.

Elizabeth refused to name a successor because...

- Elizabeth as Protestant next in line had been a focus of loyalty against her Catholic sister Mary Tudor.
- This fear for her own safety if she named a successor was explained to her 1559 parliament.

- Therefore absence of a known successor best guarantee of England's and her own security rather than naming a successor.
- Too controversial a subject, by naming a successor she would inevitably upset many of her subjects and foreign powers.
- e.g. exclude Mary Stuart and name James would mean Catholics lose their hope of Mary legitimately coming to the throne and rebel assisted by Philip II.

6. England's Security

Events Foreign Affairs

- During Mary's reign England had been at war with France, Mary's marriage to Philip II had led England into this war.
- Treaty of Cateau Cambresis 1559 ended this war and lost England's last French possession Calais.
- In Scotland in 1559 a number of Protestant Lords suspended the rule of Mary De Guise (Mary's Stuart's mother). French troops were sent which restored her rule.
- Cecil convinced Elizabeth against her better judgement to send English assistance to the Protestant forces in Scotland.
- Treaty of Edinburgh was signed French troops were removed from Scotland and the Protestant faith recognised. This helped to bring an end to the Auld Alliance between Scotland and France and the threat this presented to England.

Events Internal Enemies and MQS

- A survey in 1564 of the JPs by the Privy Council had found that a 1/3rd of those could not be relied upon by the new regime or were outright hostile.
- Mary married Lord Darnley in 1565, only surviving male descendant of the Tudor line. This marriage led to the birth of James. Hence strengthened her claim.
- 1568 MQS arrive in England from then until 1587 a constant focus of plots.

The reaction of Elizabeth's councillors?

- Privy Councillor felt that England was a model Protestant nation ready to be emulated by others therefore it was the main target of the Catholic powers. MQS a Catholic queen in waiting.
- Therefore councillors want to help the Protestants in Scotland and end the influence of Catholic France there, help the Dutch Protestants against Catholic Spain or this would be a launch pad for invasion and deal with Ireland before it could be used by Catholic Spain.
- Therefore councillors wanted to clamp down on recusants, who they saw as a dangerous fifth column inside England.

Many argue that a sense of near panic and fear was the main characteristic of Elizabeth's regime.

The Debate about the marriage question

Did Elizabeth deliberately decide never to marry?

Elizabeth made a conscious decision not to marry	Elizabeth never made a conscious decision not to marry
Neale (with the exception of Dudley) agrees	Doran agrees with this view
Plenty of evidence for this interpretation, all the 'virgin queen' propaganda of her reign seen in portraits, speeches and poetry.	Elizabeth did intend to marry, however all matches brought with them a set of problems based around them being either a foreign match or English match.
The advantages of being single outweighed the advantages of marriage. Advantages included:	A foreign match caused problems because most eligible suitors were Catholic, it could lead to England being no more than a satellite of that nation and a match with one nation would bring with it that nations' enemies and allies
In a patriarchal society her consort would dominate, therefore Elizabeth would lose power to her power husband.	An English match caused problems because there was a lack of a suitable partner of high enough status and a match with an Englishman would immediately bring his faction considerable power at the expense of others.
Elizabeth could use her single status as a diplomatic tool in marriage negotiations.	Elizabeth's councillors wanted her to marry or at least name a successor; however she was prevented from marriage because the council was never in agreement over a suitor.
Ordinary women could not hold authority over men, but ordinary women married. By remaining single Elizabeth maintained an extraordinary status which showed she was no ordinary woman.	
Some also suggest that Elizabeth had some form of physical disability which meant she did not want to marry.	
Others have suggested that the experiences of Elizabeth's life had deterred her from marriage.	

The Debate about the factors influencing the Religious Settlement

Was the Religious Settlement shaped by a Protestant House of Commons or Catholic House of Lords?

Traditional	Revisionist
The House of Commons had the greatest influence on the religious settlement. Protestant resistance had the greatest influence on the religious settlement.	The House of Lords had the greatest influence on the religious settlement. Catholic resistance had the greatest influence on the religious settlement.
This is the argument of Sir John Neale	This is the argument of historians like Norman Jones.
Elizabeth was most worried about the Supremacy and would accept something like the Henrican Church Settlement or based on the 1549 Edwardian Prayer Book	Elizabeth wanted a settlement based on the 1552 Edwardian Prayer Book.
The final settlement was more radical than the Queen had wanted	The final settlement was more conservative than the Queen had wanted.
Resistance to the Bills of Supremacy and Bills of Uniformity came from a Puritan Choir in the House of Commons	Resistance to the Bills of Supremacy and Uniformity came from the Catholic peers and especially from the Marian Bishops in the House of Lords.
The Puritan Choir were a well organised faction in the House of Commons who worked together in a co-ordinated manner.	Elizabeth was concerned about the powerful Catholic powers (especially France with its' links with Scotland) and their reaction to the settlement. She wanted peace and could not afford to continue war.
This Puritan Choir were motivated by their Puritan beliefs to campaign on a number of issues such as the settlement, foreign affairs and the marriage and succession question. These campaigns caused the House of Commons to step on a number of the Queen's prerogatives.	There were no more than 25 Calvinist or Puritan MPs out of a House of Commons with over 400 members. They did not act as a co-ordinated faction and the Marian exiles had not yet returned to take their positions in the House of Commons.
	Some historians have added to Jones' argument that those MPs mistaken to be part of the Puritan Choir were actually the men of business of Privy Councillors and were used by the councillors so that the House of Commons would apply additional pressure to the Queen.

NOTE: any questions about the factors influencing the settlement shouldn't just consider the Catholic House of Lords and Protestant House of Commons. It should also talk about the extent to which other factors like Elizabeth's own beliefs and priorities and the Privy Council shaped the settlement.

Key Issue 2

To what extent was Elizabeth I able to maintain control over and manage her government and parliaments?

Events

- 1558 Elizabeth Ascends to throne
Sir William Cecil made Permanent Secretary
Lord Robert Dudley Master of the Horse
- 1559 First Parliamentary Session- religious settlement.
- 1562 Dudley and Norfolk appointed Privy Councillors.
Elizabeth has smallpox
- 1563 Second Parliamentary Session- agitation over marriage and succession.
- 1564 Dudley created Earl of Leicester
- 1565 Earl of Sussex made Privy Councillor
- 1566 Third Parliamentary Session- agitation over succession and marriage.
- 1568 MQS flees to England.
- 1571 Fourth Parliamentary Session
Cecil created Lord Burghley
- 1572 Fifth Parliamentary Session- agitation over MQS, Norfolk executed.
- 1573 Sir Francis Walsingham appointed Secretary.
- 1576 Sixth Parliamentary Session.
- 1581 Seventh Parliamentary Session.
- 1584 Eighth Parliamentary Session.
- 1586 Ninth Parliamentary Session.
- 1588 Earl of Leicester dies.
- 1590 Walsingham dies
- 1591 Sir Christopher Hatton dies.
Sir Robert Cecil appointed Privy Councillor.
- 1593 Eleventh Parliamentary Session.
- 1597 Twelfth Parliamentary Session.
- 1598 Burghley dies.
- 1601 Essex's attempted coup, Essex executed.
Thirteenth Parliamentary Session- Elizabeth's Golden Speech
- 1603 Elizabeth dies.

Part 1 Elizabeth and her Parliament

The Historiography

Neale and the Traditional View

- Had a tendency on looking at history with hindsight and searching for progress.
- Emphasised conflict between Elizabeth and her Parliaments.
- The cause of this conflict was the religious fervour of Puritan members in her Parliaments, identifying an organised “Puritan Choir”.
- A major result of this conflict was the growth in the power of the House of Commons against the monarchy assisted by the House of Lords.
- It saw the conflict between Elizabeth and her parliaments as the precursor to the mid-seventeenth century conflict.
- Despite the conflict in between her and her parliaments it emphasised her skilful handling of parliament in contrast with the Stuarts and her ability in ending the “mid-Tudor” crisis in government.
- Use of subsidy bills as weapons to get concessions from the monarch although this happened only once in 1566 and then it failed.
- Picked out leading figures like Peter Wentworth and his demands for freedom of speech in the Commons and compared them to the likes of Pym in seventeenth century.

Revisionists

- Rejected the idea of looking at history in the search for progress.
- rejected the idea that the Civil Wars of the 1640s had causes going back before 1637 and the idea of a “mid-Tudor” crisis and therefore the relative skill of Elizabeth in handling her parliaments.
- Rejected the idea of a Puritanism being a progressive religious force challenging the religious conformity and so monarchs power
- As a result they deny the rise of the House of Commons and Puritanism as having a role in it.
- Denied that the House of Commons was rising in power at the expense of the Lords, because the Lords had a social pre-eminence over the Commons and therefore dominate their clients (those who owed their seats to the aristocrats patronage) in the Commons and the Lords could still fail to pass legislation passed in the Commons.
- Monarch could always put Commons in place, e.g. when parliament had pressed for a settlement on the succession in 1566 she declared it “monstrous that the feet should direct the head”.

Post-Revisionist

- Looked at the relationships between the institutions at work in Elizabeth's government and recognised that conflict between Queen and Parliament was often the result of unresolved matters between Queen and Privy Council.

- e.g. this was the case in debates on the succession in 1563 and 1566, on religion in 1571, on the fate of MQS in 1572 and 1586-7 and on the Bond of Association in 1584-5.
- The “Puritan Choir” being an organised opposition with close links is not an accurate description, supposed members of the “choir” were actual clients and relatives of Privy Councillors especially Burghley and Leicester,
- Therefore idea of an opposition and especially a puritan opposition is meaningless.

Elizabeth’s handling of her Parliaments

- Parliament still depended entirely on the monarch 13 times in 45 years adding to a total of around 145 weeks!
- She used a variety of methods to control parliament.
 - vague promises of action such as 1571 promise to look into excluding MQS over the succession
 - Speeches to parliament. These could be flattering speeches such as in 1601 after the monopolies parliament or speeches which told off the naughty MPs e.g. in 1566 after discussion of the succession.
 - imprisoning awkward members e.g. Wentworth and Cope in 1587.
 - Having messages sent to the speaker of the Commons instructing them to end debates or what not to debate
 - Using the veto.
 - Dissolving parliament or proroguing parliament (i.e. discontinuing a session of parliament without dissolving it and recalling it later).
 - Elizabeth’s councillors sat in parliament directing business, e.g. William Cecil first sat in the Commons and when he became a peer, Lord Burghley he sat in the Lords.
- Out of the 34 times that she used her royal veto (refusing to give assent to bills passed by the houses) only 5 were to defend matters that were her prerogative (2 over MQS and 3 on attempts to abolish the Commons. The other occasions were either because legislation was worded poorly or to protect public interests.

Elizabeth’s relationship with her Parliaments

- Elizabeth did see parliament as useful, otherwise she would not have called it on the 13 occasions that she did during her reign.
- Elizabeth recognised that the Monarch in parliament had almost unlimited power.
- Elizabeth was a very traditional and conservative monarch, therefore would respect parliament as a forum for her to consult her subjects.
- Relations with parliament were generally good, better than her successors. This because queen and parliament agreed on aims if not method e.g. how to deal with MQS or how to protect Protestantism.
- Those in the 1640s looked back to Elizabethan parliaments as a harmonious golden age; there may be more of a reason for this.

Issues in dispute

There was a “grey” area between what Parliament could discuss and the issues that were the royal prerogative. This led to some clashes between queen and parliament. Neale and the traditionalists have argued that it was the Puritan opposition who were behind these clashes.

The Church Settlement

- Traditionalists believe that Elizabeth was forced to pass a more Protestant Settlement than she wished (they think she wanted a settlement similar to her fathers) by a Protestant House of Commons that contained an organised Puritan grouping partly made up of returned Marian exiles. (forced to accept a 1552 style settlement)
- Revisionists believe that Elizabeth was forced to pass a more conservative settlement than she wished (they think she wanted a 1552 settlement) by a Catholic House of Lords, opposition mainly from the Marian bishops. (forced to accept some 1549 elements).
- Elizabeth consistently defended the Church Settlement after its passage.
- Yes Puritans did use the House to challenge the settlement e.g. the 1571 Admonition to Parliament supported Thomas Cartwright, John Field, Walter Travers and Thomas Wilcox
- But this was by a handful of members who had little parliamentary support. e.g. Peter Turner’s Book and Bill in 1584 to abolish the episcopacy and the Prayer Book, House of Commons itself refused to hear the bill.
- In 1587 Sir Anthony Cope reintroduced the “Bill and Book”, Elizabeth intervened to stop it being discussed and had Wentworth, Cope and three others arrested for discussing it.

The Succession

- Parliaments of 1563 and 1566 pressure for Elizabeth to marry after her near death in 1562.
- 1563 parliament pushed to take control of the succession in the event of Elizabeth’s death. Committee which drafted the petition contained all 8 Privy Councillors who sat in the Commons.
- In 1566 it was Cecil who led the delegation to the queen and worded their request that she named her successor.
- Elizabeth made it clear that she forbade them to discuss this in her speech to parliament in 1566.

Parliamentary Privilege/freedom of Speech

- Peter Wentworth demanded freedom of speech for the Commons.
- Seen as the beginning of the campaign for the liberties of parliament that is finally reached in the 1640s.
- However in 1576 when he complained of the House being stopped from debating freely by the queen it was the rest of the MPs who had him expelled and sent to the Tower.
- His demands for freedom of speech were certainly not representative of all members.

The Fate of Mary Queen of Scots

- Late 1560s and start of 1570s arrival in England of Mary Queen of Scots, Northern Rebellion, Papal Bull and Ridolfi Plot.
- 1571 Parliament demands execution of MQS, campaign actually led by two councillors Croft and Knollys.
- Queen refuses to agree to the execution and has to use her veto and promised to think about excluding Mary from the succession. Agrees to have Norfolk executed as a compromise.
- In 1587 Knollys and Hatton in the Commons and Burghley in the Lords use parliament to pressure the Queen into agreeing to the execution.
- Even then agreed to sign the warrant but didn't actually issue it.

Part 2 Elizabeth and her Government.

Divisions in the Privy Council.

Factions in the Privy Council in the first three decades of the reign 60s, 70s and 80s.

William Cecil, Lord Burghley (main factions)

Background

- Gentry background, family had served the Tudors since Henry VII
- Discreet and loyal had served as Edward's Secretary, been allowed to retire quietly under Mary (he was Protestant), had managed Princess Elizabeth's estates.
- 1551 Knighted, 1571 became Lord Burghley and died 1598, his promotion based on merit and political ability and loyalty.
- Turned down an Earldom as thought it beyond his rank and did not wish to cause offence.
- Workaholic and very methodical.
- Level headed Protestant, favoured Elizabethan Settlement.
- Held position as Secretary and Treasurer on Privy Council.

Servant to Elizabeth or power behind the throne?

- Traditional seen as the faithful servant, slightly older than Elizabeth and dutifully obeying her instructions.
- Often told ambassadors what to report to Elizabeth, sending back report and telling them to be rewritten.
- Used parliament to pressure Elizabeth e.g. during the succession agitation in 1563 and 66.
- Tried to influence foreign policy e.g. 1559 favoured intervention in Scotland to assist the Protestant Lords against Mary Guise.
- Prepared to use under hand tactics when position under threat e.g. rumours about the fate of Amy Robsart.
- However normally shared aims and beliefs, would offer advice that he felt was needed but knew that to pressure the queen could lead to her displeasure and a fall from favour.

Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester (main factions)

Background

- By 1560 Elizabeth's clear favourite at court. Master of the Horse.
- Transformed successfully from leading courtier to leading councillor, shows skill of the queen. 1562 added to the council and 1564 made a peer.
- Handsome, gifted but unreliable and arrogant his influence on Elizabeth caused dislike and distrust.
- Keen to prevent Elizabeth from marrying as this would affect his special status. E.g. agitation in 1579 over the Alencon match.
- Eager to cast Elizabeth as the champion of international Protestantism.
- Irresponsible action in 1569 to try and get the better of Cecil led to the Northern Rebellion.

Arguments in the 60s, 70s and 80s.

1567 Elizabeth considered marriage to Archduke Charles of Austria, she was worried about whether he would limit his Catholicism to private services. Leicester played the Protestant card in trying to stop the marriage. Norfolk, Cecil and Sussex were in favour of the match and Cecil accused Leicester of using religion as a mere excuse for his own aims.

1568 Plot by Sussex and Leicester for the Duke of Norfolk to marry MQS. The children of this marriage would be named successors and Cecil would have his political position weakened. The northern Earls, Westmorland and Northumberland were to march south to put pressure on the queen to agree to the match, after the plots discovery the Earls were forced into rebellion.

1578 The question of whether to send troops to aid the Protestants in the Netherlands divided the council for 7 years. Leicester and Walsingham favoured intervention whereas Burghley urged caution. Eventually in 1585 the queen agreed to sending some troops.

1579 Negotiations for a marriage between Elizabeth and the Duke of Alencon. Cecil declared that it was better than no marriage at all. Leicester whipped up public opinion against the marriage.

1586 Council are united in their desire to see MQS executed. Council want a parliament called to add additional pressure to Elizabeth. In effect Council is united against Elizabeth who still doesn't wish to produce a death warrant.

Traditional Analysis of Elizabeth's control of her Privy Council in the 60s, 70s, and 80s.

- Political balance brought about by the queen. No significant part of the political classes felt alienated enough to join in any of the plots against her. Did this by...
- a middle course in religious matters and blind eye turned to important families that continued as Catholics.
- political factions kept in equilibrium. (Leicester and Walsingham vs. Burghley and Hatton) Encouraged factions to give her options in her course

of action. Equal enough share of the patronage system to ensure happy status-quo.

Revisionist Analysis of Elizabeth's control of her Privy Council in the 60s, 70s and 80s

- Not a reversal of traditional argument but does question the idea of Elizabethan stability.
- Question whether the entire political nation so united in support for the regime. E.g. so why were the Privy Councillors in such a panic about the possibility of a significant minority of the gentry supporting MQS?
- Question whether the leading politicians did work in co-operation with one another and whether Elizabeth maintained a balance between the factions. E.g. were Walsingham and Leicester really so committed to Elizabeth's policies with their own support for Protestant activities at home and abroad.

Factions in the Privy Council at the end of the reign, 1590s

Robert Cecil (main factions)

- educated to succeed his father.
- organisational skills.
- Essex saw him as his principal rival and worked to slow his advancement.
- Cecil sought to exploit the patronage system to gain prizes for him and his followers.

Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex (main factions)

- Charming and clever but also greedy and ambitious.
- Wanted to control royal patronage and ensure his friends were appointed to court and government positions.
- Replaced Leicester as the queen's favourite and was openly jealous of other men at court.
- Aggressive in council meetings e.g. the arguments over Ireland, sought military glory e.g. final expedition to Ireland and campaigns against Spain e.g. 1589 went on a naval expedition against the queen's wishes.

Arguments in the 90s

1593 Wanted an aggressive foreign policy, a Protestant coalition against Catholicism. His strategies were contested by Cecil and Walter Raleigh who wanted a maritime policy.

1596 Essex seeks political appointments for his friends e.g. office of Attorney General for Sir Francis Bacon and is devastated by the Queen's refusal.

1596 Cecil wants England to negotiate an end to the war with Spain now that France and Spain are at peace, Essex opposed this.

1598 During a debate on who should be sent to Ireland as Lord Deputy Essex turns his back on the queen, who slaps him across the face for the insult.

1601 Essex returns from his disastrous campaign in Ireland. His patent on sweet wines is withdrawn. He plots rebellion supported by the Earls of Southampton and Bedford although other members of his faction remained loyal to the queen.

Traditional analysis of Elizabeth's control of the Privy Council in the 1590s

- Deaths Leicester in 1588, Walsingham 1590, Sir Christopher Hatton 1591, Burghley eventually died in 1598 after years of illness.
- Rise of Sir Robert Cecil and the Earl of Essex. Factional politics between the two, arguments over patronage and policy.
- Fading glory and noticeably less competent monarch.
- Unpopular at court, rewards of patronage outstripped by inflation and parliamentary taxation becoming a burden because of war with Spain.
- Unpopular with population at large. They blame rising costs on monopolies, fear being forced to serve as soldier or sailor in one of the expeditions, poor harvest between 1594-96.
- Regime weak position when few of the political nation would have rallied to save it in contrast to earlier when majority of the political nation were ready to take action against any coup by Mary.
- Regime so weak and Elizabeth incompetent that Essex right to try and dominate the queen and enforce his will, e.g. had been forgiven for disobedience
- Regime so weak that it was only Essex's incompetence in organising the coup that caused its failure.

Revisionist analysis of Elizabeth's control of the Privy Council in the 1590s.

- Regime not on the verge of collapse. Elizabeth did enjoy the general support of the political nation
- Economic conditions, heavy taxation and war weariness produced some grumbling but little disorder.
- Elizabeth wasn't losing her political skills. e.g. was giving Essex the opportunity to settle down in royal service, that she did stand up to him and refuse appointments to his friends, that in the way she finally dealt with him she denied him an appeal to public sympathy, her "Golden" speech to her 1601 parliament shows her ability.
- The factional politics between Cecil and Essex was not so bad as to split the gentry at large between pro-Cecil and pro-Essex factions.
- Agree that Essex had a huge following but argue this could not be turned into support for an armed rising.

What Tactics did Elizabeth use to control her council?

- Elizabeth took part in some meetings of the council to prevent the council agreeing on formal advice that she would have had to then reject.
- She refused to deal with the council as a whole often discussing policy with small groups.

- Elizabeth kept accurate notes that she could refer to and use to catch councillors out.
- Elizabeth consulted with people outside the council e.g. courtiers and foreign ambassadors.
- Elizabeth promoted divisions and competition in her council with her use of patronage.
- Elizabeth punished councillors
 - she showed anger e.g. slipper thrown at Burghley.
 - temporary exclusion from court e.g. Leicester and Walsingham.
 - imprisonment e.g. Davison
 - execution e.g. Norfolk and Essex
- Elizabeth also displayed affection e.g. Burghley when he was dying.
- The council gave her conflicting advice which allowed Elizabeth to make measured decisions. E.g. Elizabeth avoiding the complications of marrying a foreigner, MGS was eventually executed.

The Debate about the power of the House of Commons in Elizabeth's reign.

Did the power of the House of Commons increase during Elizabeth's reign?

Traditional	Revisionist
Outline of the interpretation	
The House of Commons became politically mature during Elizabeth's reign as Crown clashed with the House of Commons	Parliament had become more important during the Tudor period but only because Tudor monarchs worked with Parliament.
Focused on the House of Commons and its rise to maturity and challenge to the monarchy	Suggested that the importance of the House of Commons had been overstated and the importance of the House of Lords not emphasised and Parliament didn't challenge the monarch reign.
Claimed there was a group of around 40 MPs who formed an organisation opposition group which he called the Puritan Choir.	Claimed the Choir did not exist. They were not organised and few were Puritan.

Neale based his evidence on a pamphlet entitled 'The Puritan Choir' which listed a group of MPs who Neale then linked to opposition with the Crown on a number of occasions.	M.A.R. Graves showed key members of the Puritan Choir like Thomas Norton weren't Puritan
The Puritan Choir, motivated by the religious outlook, put pressure on the Queen over issues such as the religious settlement, the succession, foreign policy and MQS.	A group of MPs sometimes started debates over issues such as the religious settlement, the succession, foreign policy and MQS because they were the 'men of business' i.e. patrons of the Privy Councillors not Puritans.
Whig school of history believed that the evolution of parliament started in the Stuart era. Neale added to this by showing that this progress had begun in Elizabeth's reign.	Questioned the idea that parliament's power had steadily increased and accused Neale of making his evidence fit this interpretation.
This is the argument of John Neale.	This is the argument of Geoffrey Elton.
When were these interpretations dominant and how did this affect historians' judgement?	
Written at a time when the House of Commons enjoyed greater prestige and Britain was still seen as a great power.	Written at a time when the House of Commons isn't quite such a political force and people are more cynical about the idea that things steadily improve.
Whig tradition first started in the Nineteenth Century, at a time which emphasised the growing importance of the House of Commons as the main force in political history and believed a steady progress towards democracy had taken place. Neale continued in this tradition.	Written at a time when Historians believe the evidence should lead to the conclusion and historians need to be aware how hindsight can alter their judgement. They don't study the past to explain the present.

Were there long term factors leading to a rise in the House of Commons' power?	
The rise of the Gentry (better educated and economically powerful) was more able and willing to challenge the Crown and Privy Council for the control of parliament.	Agrees that the gentry came to dominate parliament but stresses they had a conservative rather than radical impact.
Believes Puritanism was the radical driving force which caused the Commons to clash with the Crown.	Stresses that whenever possible Puritanism operated from within the Church and had a conservative impact.
Elizabeth's Relationship with her Parliaments	
Elizabethan parliaments were often the scene of clashes between Crown and MPs over freedom of speech and the Queen's prerogatives.	Relations between parliament and crown were generally fine; there were only a few occasions in which there were serious clashes. Parliament was often dealing with private business.
Elizabeth tried to avoid calling parliament and whenever parliament was called she tried to keep sitting as short as possible.	Elizabeth saw parliament as a necessary nuisance, however there is no evidence she wanted to avoid calling parliament in the long term.
The Puritan faction in the House of Commons consistently challenged the Queen's prerogatives – led by men like Wentworth.	There was no serious challenge to the Queen's prerogatives motivated by Puritanism. When the Privy Council agreed with the Queen she remained in firm control of parliament. The serious challenges arise when Councillors were manipulating the Commons.
The Causes of the Civil War	
Believes that the Civil war was caused by long term factors such as the rise of the gentry and Puritanism.	Believes that the causes of the civil war were short term, they are in the crisis of events between 1640 and 1642.
Influenced by the Whig interpretation of history which charts a rise in the power of parliament and decline in the power of the monarch leading to an inevitable conflict.	Questioned the Whig interpretation of history and its idea that there was a steady progress in the power of parliament. Believes the Civil War was not inevitable.
Elizabeth takes the credit for managing the challenge presented by Parliament when the early Stuarts failed.	Elizabeth cannot take the credit (in comparison to the Stuarts) for managing the challenge from Parliament as there are no long term causes of the Civil War.

There is a direct link between the clashes of Elizabethan parliaments and the clashes between crown and parliament under the Stuarts.

These challenges were not a dress rehearsal for the Stuart Parliaments. Elizabeth remained in control of her parliaments.

The debate about Elizabeth and her Privy Council

Did Elizabeth control the Privy Council as the ‘mistress of faction’?

Traditional	Revisionist
Did Elizabeth manage the council as the mistress of faction?	
Elizabeth ruled by faction during the 70s and 80s, she created and manipulated these factions to give herself greater control.	Elizabeth did not rule by faction, she was fortunate as there weren't any real factional clashes in the 70s and 80s as most of the council were more united in their aims than divided.
Elizabeth was the mistress of faction; she encouraged factions so that she would have a choice of ministers and policies.	The extent to which the Queen was personally responsible for the balance between leading politicians has been over-exaggerated.
A view held by historians such as Neale and Conyer's Read who thought very highly of Elizabeth's achievements.	Historians such as Simon Adams have questioned whether factional rivalry was really at the centre of the Privy Council in the 1570s and 80s.
	Historians such as Christopher High have put limits on the achievements of Elizabeth by stressing that she was fortunate in the problems she faced.
The political balance did not happen by accident – it was one of the Queen's achievements.	Elizabeth reacted to events rather than having a clever pre-planned policy for keeping a political balance.
The regime was stable because Elizabeth kept political forces in balance. Careful distribution of patronage meant no individual felt alienated from the regime.	The 'factions' of the 1570s and 80s had more in common in their aims than previously thought, therefore Elizabeth is more a fortunate monarch than skilled master of competing factions.
Elizabeth had made a conscious decision to maintain a balance in religion which helped her to achieve political stability.	The political differences of the main figures of the 70s and 80s were ones of emphasis, their greatest fear was the collapse of an independent Protestant England, they differed only on the method to achieve this aim.
The factions especially of Leicester and Burghley, were kept happy with the shared spoils of patronage and equal influence over policy.	The power struggle between Burghley and Leicester was always limited by their similar outlook in religion, agreement on most matters of state and their mutual appreciation of their intimacy with the Queen.

	The men of the Privy Council in the 70s and 80s had been born before the Queen's accession and were therefore united in their main priority of not wishing to see a return to the turbulence of Edward or Mary's reign.
Elizabeth would play off her leading politicians against each other seeking opinions individually and then passing these opinions onto others.	Councillors were often united applying pressure on the Queen e.g. over MQS rather than divided into factions.
The dispute over intervention in the Netherlands provides a good example of factional rivalry in the 1570s and 80s which was carefully handled by the Queen's procrastination.	In the 70s and 80s political groupings were very loose and co-existed in a friendly way that scarcely deserves the term faction.
	Most of those in the Privy Council were connected by a web of marriage and family connection giving a cohesion that made real factionalism unlikely.
Was the view of near contemporaries of Elizabeth like William Camden and Robert Naunton wrote 'she ruled much by faction and parties'.	However these contemporaries served under the Stuarts and were very critical of both James and Charles, who were notorious for being dominated by a very small group of favourites. This has made them look back and judge Elizabeth favourably as a skilled politician.
A contrast between the 70s and 80s and 90s?	
The 1570s and 80s were the period of Elizabethan stability.	Has suggested that idea of a golden period of stability in the 1570s and 80s has been over exaggerated.
The regime was stable because Elizabeth was popular (70s and 80s).	There has been an exaggeration over the extent to which landowning elite were united in support for the regime (70s and 80s).
Elizabeth's popularity was due to the elaborate ceremony, public appearances propaganda-Faerie Queen, Portraits and celebrations on the anniversary of the Queen's accession.	The panic amongst ministers about MQS suggests she enjoyed some support from the landowning elite.
Elizabeth was the mistress of faction in this period (see argument above).	Elizabeth was fortunate in this period (see above) her achievements and skill has been exaggerated.

Success was due to the middle course that Elizabeth stood by with her Religious Settlement.	By the 1570s, stability came not from a balance of religious outlook on the council as religiously conservative nobility no longer played a role but from a unified religious outlook.
In the 1590s an ageing Elizabeth losing her political skill was unable to deal with the ambition of Essex.	The deaths of her leading councillor Walsingham, Leicester, Burghley and Hatton brought an end to the consensus Elizabeth had been lucky enough to have.
Elizabeth mishandled the ambitions of Essex, Robert Cecil started to dominate affairs and looked to James rather than the ageing Queen for his future.	Elizabeth struggled to deal with the ambitious Essex but had never been a 'mistress of faction'.
Essex coup was a serious threat to the Queen. She was lucky to have remained unharmed by events.	Some evidence of political skill still, e.g. gives Essex every opportunity and eventually forces him into open rebellion which left him isolated with little support.
	Pro-Protestant ministers like Walsingham would not have agreed with the Queen's refusal of military or financial support for the Protestant rebels in the Netherlands and her clampdown on Protestant at home.



Key Issue 3.
Why, and with what consequences, did Puritans challenge the Elizabethan Church?

Events

1559	First Elizabethan Parliament- religious settlement
1566	Archbishop Parker's Advertisements and Vestiarian Controversy.
1571	Cartwright's Presbyterian lectures at Cambridge William Strickland's Alphabet Bills
1572	Admonition to Parliament
1575	Edmund Grindal becomes Archbishop of Canterbury
1576	Grindal refuses orders to suppress prophesysings.
1577	Grindal suspended and under house arrest.
1578	Agitation against Alencon marriage
1582	Separatist Robert Browne publishes Treatise of Reformation without tarrying for any.
1583	The death of Grindal John Whitgift appointed Archbishop of Canterbury Whitgift's Three Articles
1584	Dr Turner's "Bill and Book" vetoed by the queen.
1585	Elizabeth sends troops to the Netherlands under Leicester.
1587	Anthony Cope "Bill and Book"
1588	Martin Marprelate Tract
1593	Act to retain the Queen's subjects in due obedience Execution of separatists Barrow and Greenwood
1595	Whitgift's Lambeth Articles.

Who were the Puritans?

- The Elizabethan Church accepted the Calvinist idea of predestination, that people were divided into the elect and the damned, the elect being predestined to go to heaven. Therefore ordinary Protestants and Puritans accepted this idea.
- Puritans made this belief central to their lives e.g.
 - Looked for signs of God's will in events, believing strongly in providence.
 - Believing themselves to be the elect they actively sought to live a Godly life e.g. anti ale houses, demands for adultery to be punished by death.
 - Their fear of popery. Seeing Catholicism not as misguided but as the anti-religion, the opposite of all that was Godly and suspecting Catholic plots and threats everywhere.
 - Their belief in the word of God and the importance of preaching in spreading God's word. E.g. Grindal's refusal to back down about

prophesysings and the Earl of Leicester's use of patronage to secure posts for puritans ministers. Puritans disappointment that Elizabeth thought it good enough to have just 3 or 4 preachers in a county.

Why did the Puritans oppose the Religious Settlement?

Theology of the Church

- Puritans were happy with the theology of the church as it set out the Calvinist belief predestination.
- This essential part of Calvinist theology was shared by all in the church, from Puritans to conservatives like Archbishop Whitgift.

Liturgy of the Church

- this is the form of worship (how services were carried out)
- Didn't like vestments (ornaments rubric), bowing at the name of Jesus, candles in church (ornaments rubric), signing the cross in the baptism service, using a ring in the marriage service, keeping Holy Days and mixing of the words of the 1549 and 1552 Prayer Book to cause ambiguity about the administration of the communion.
- These details were important as they were seen as superstitious by the Godly and as the means by which Satan could seduce the faithful from their proper worship.
- E.g. vestments controversy in 1565-66.

Discipline and Structure of the Church

- Most Puritans accepted the church structure. Minority that refused to accept the structure are called Presbyterians.
- The Presbyterian minority that challenged the episcopacy wanted a Presbyterian structure modelled on Calvin's reformed church, using elders, deacons and ministers.
- e.g. Field and Wilcox's Admonition to Parliament in 1572.
- A VERY small minority rejected any kind of national church structure and organise their beliefs and structure of the church at a local level, these were the Separatists or Brownists (named after a leader).

So remember the types of Puritan...

- Ordinary Puritans, disliked the liturgy of the church but accepted the structure of the church. E.g. vestments controversy.
- Presbyterian Puritans who disliked the liturgy of the prayer book and the structure of the church and wanted a structure modelled on Calvin's Geneva church.
- Separatists/Brownists who disliked the liturgy of the church and the structure of the church, they did not want a national church structure, they wanted individual local congregations to decide who should be their minister and the teachings of the church.

Were the Puritans a serious challenge to the church?

Why were the Puritans a potential threat?

All types of Puritan

- Their social discipline and eagerness to enforce Godly behaviour was at odds with the majority's idea of morality. The ordinary person believed they should be a good neighbour but did not accept the high morality and spirituality of the puritans e.g. name Puritan developed as a term of abuse.
- Their fear of popery dominated their world view and led them to demand war e.g. in the Spanish Netherlands and against the Alencon marriage. Therefore the fear of popery made them interfere in areas that were the royal prerogative. In the end not a threat because Elizabethan foreign policy does move to war on Spain and Elizabeth didn't marry a foreigner.
- Their concern for protecting the reformation against the forces of popery led them to carry out surveys of the clergy which revealed the poor state of the Elizabethan church.
- The Puritans had powerful supporters in the church e.g. Grindal as Archbishop reminds the queen of her role in the row over prophesysings and many of the bishops were returned Marian exiles
- The Puritans had powerful supporters in the government and high places e.g. Earls of Leicester, Huntingdon, Bedford and Warwick as well as Sir Francis Walsingham used their patronage and influence to secure that Puritan ministers get positions.
- The Puritans had supporters at local level, in many parishes the appointment of the clergy was the responsibility of local men of influence, e.g. had the support in some towns of Puritan merchants who would secure appointments for them.

Ordinary Puritans

- Certain matters were seen as adiaphora, which meant there were no clear directions on this matter in the bible. On matters which were seen as adiaphora most puritans could compromise on e.g. the structure of the church but on matters that were seen as essential to salvation such as preaching puritans would not back down e.g. Grindal and prophesyings.

Presbyterian Puritans

- There were some attempts by the Puritans to set up a "shadow" church in the 1580s this was called the classical movement. John Field set up a network of groups which met in secret. It aimed to set up a rival structure of church government based upon Calvin's church in Geneva. This was a direct challenge to the royal supremacy.
- The Puritans launched campaigns to get elected to parliament e.g. in 1584 and 1586 and used parliament to try and challenge the settlement e.g. William Strickland in 1571 Alphabet bills, Field and Wilcox Admonition to Parliament in 1572, Peter Turner's "Book and Bill" in 1584 and Anthony Cope reintroduces this "Book and Bill" in 1587.

Separatists

- Their Godliness and emphasis on bible reading led logically to the separatist demand that they withdraw from the church so that they could worship in the form they felt was correct and not contaminated by any Catholic leftovers. Separatism would mean no control by either the local hierarchy or government over the beliefs of the church.

Why did the Puritan challenge fail?

- England was moving towards war with Spain during Elizabeth's reign. By the 1580s England is at war with Spain so many Puritans rallied to defend Protestantism in England concentrating on what they agreed with in the church rather than challenging it.
- Elizabeth was determined to protect the settlement e.g. the imprisonment of Cope and Wentworth for discussing the Bill and Book in 1587, house arrest of Grindal and laws against Puritans.
- The death of Puritan sympathisers in government e.g. 1588 death of Leicester.
- John Whitgift was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 1583. He had the clergy's allegiance tested by his Three Articles, one of the articles asked to swear that there was nothing in the settlement against the word of god. Any who did not agree to the articles were suspended.
- Puritan numbers in parliament despite (Neale's arguments) were only ever small and there was little support in parliament for changing the structure of the church. Parliament was full of men who wished to maintain the status-quo and the "Great Chain of Being".
- Presbyterians were only ever a minority of the Puritans and separatist numbers were tiny. The Martin Marprelate Tracts in 1589 were a crude attack on bishops, their offensive nature didn't help the Puritan cause.
- Defence of the Elizabethan church. John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury in 1562 "An Apology of the Church of England" argued that the Catholic Church gone wrong and that the Anglican Church returned to the true faith as near to the apostles as possible and Richard Hooker "Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Politie" written in 1590s. Hooker argued that the state and church were one and that laws for the church must have the assent of the monarch.
- For the Puritans there was no alternative to Elizabeth she was all that kept them from the Catholic anti-Christ, better to conform to the Elizabethan Church despite its shortcomings than allow divisions to give opportunities to Catholic forces.

Historiography

Traditional View

- It stresses the strength of Puritanism in Elizabeth's reign.
- It sees the Puritan challenge in parliament as especially serious. Uses this to argue that the rise of Puritanism was the force that led to conflict between monarch and parliament and the rise of the House of Commons at the expense of Lords.

- Stresses that Elizabeth skilfully managed the Puritan challenge in parliament.

The Debate about the Puritan Threat

Orthodox	Revisionist
Puritans traditionally defined in relation to Anglicanism.	Question Anglicanism and whether this actually existed in the way Orthodox claims.
A radical, small but assertive, Protestant group who wanted to align the C of E with the reformed Church on the continent.	Puritans not a distinct and easily identifiable group.
The Church was split.	Lake – there was no profound theological cleavage within the Church. There was a general Calvinist consensus. Collinson and Lake define Puritanism in broad terms as lay and clerical Protestants who called themselves ‘godly’ and whose religious zeal marked them out from their contemporaries.
The Puritans were an organised opposition group in Parliament whose opposition started in earnest after the Religious Settlement. Neale’s ‘Puritan Choir’. Importance of ‘Parliament Men’ such as Wentworth stressed.	House of Commons had little or no sympathy for Presbyterian movement. Despite concerted effort in response to Whitgift’s crack down, the 1584 elections were not a Puritan triumph.
Dec 1566 – six unofficial bills introduced from Puritans proposing various reforms. Elizabeth had them stopped in the Lords, claiming that issues such as these were for the Supreme Governor and Convocation to decide. The Commons attempted to blackmail her by refusing to renew 11 acts, but Elizabeth held firm.	There is little evidence of Parliamentary support for Presbyterianism, as this would threaten interests of ruling classes over church livings etc. The fact that Elizabeth found herself in conflict with Conformist Puritans was largely her own doing.

<p>After 1568 Elizabeth's preoccupation with Catholic threat gave the Puritans some breathing space, and they continued to have support in Parliament. A feature of every Parliament was an airing of Puritan views. The Privy Council was either friendly or indifferent.</p>	<p>Puritanism in wider sense could be seen as popular with ruling classes, but Presbyterianism too different for those keen on stability. Calls for reform could and did find support in highest ranks of government but to identify H of C with Puritanism is a mistake.</p>
<p>A definite Presbyterian movement developed after 1568, leading figures being Cartwright and Field. 1572 Admonition to Parliament called for introduction of Genevan Church. This led to a pamphlet war with replies from Whitgift.</p>	<p>Parliament willing to discuss Puritan grievances, but not to support move to a Presbyterian Church.</p>
<p>Prophesying led to 'Classical Movement' which threatened to engulf the lower clergy until the death of Field, organiser and inspiration in 1588.</p>	<p>Prophesying and 'Classical Movement' more about training clergy, and not all who attended were Presbyterian. There was also no nationwide framework of classes, and Collinson has revealed whole areas of the country (such as Catholic strongholds of North, Wales, West Midlands and parts of West Country) where Puritanism in any form made no meaningful impact.</p>
<p>The Marprelate tracts did little good.</p>	
<p>Separatist groups were to have a great future in the next century, but were very small under Elizabeth.</p>	<p>Separatists were numerically insignificant but treated very harshly.</p>
<p>Puritans lost supporters in Privy Council with death of Leicester in 1588 and Walsingham in 1590.</p>	
<p>By the end of the period Puritanism had passed its peak.</p>	

<p>Key Issue 4.</p> <p>How serious was the threat posed by Roman Catholics to Church and state in the reign of Elizabeth I?</p>

Events

- 1559 First Elizabethan Parliament- religious settlement
Accession Francis II and MQS
- 1560 English troops to Scotland and withdrawal of French troops under Treaty of Edinburgh.
- 1561 Mary returns from France to Scotland
- 1565 Mary Stuart marries Lord Darnley
- 1566 Birth of James Stuart
- 1567 Murder of Darnley, MQS marries Bothwell
- 1568 Mary flees to England
William Allen founds seminary at Douai
- 1569 Norfolk/Mary Stuart marriage plot
Revolt of the Northern Earls
- 1570 Papal Bull of Excommunication
- 1571 Treason Acts (treasonable to deny that Elizabeth was the lawful queen)
Ridolfi Plot
- 1572 Execution of Norfolk
St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre.
- 1574 First Seminary Priests arrive from Douai
- 1580 First Jesuits Campion and Parsons arrive in England.
- 1581 Act to retain the Queen Majesty's subjects in their obedience
- 1583 Throckmorton Conspiracy
- 1584 Assassination of William of Orange
Bond of Association
- 1585 Act Against Jesuits, seminary priests and such other like disobedient persons.
- 1585 Parry Plot
- 1586 Babington Plot discovered
- 1587 Execution of MQS
- 1588 Defeat of Spanish Armada
- 1596 and 1597 Armada's aimed at Ireland
- 1597
- 1598 Appointment of George Blackwell as Archpriest
- 1603 Appellants sign the Protestation.

Extent of Catholicism at Elizabeth's Accession.

- At Elizabeth's accession the majority of the population were conservative in their religious views.
- The majority of the peerage and so many of the wealthiest and most powerful men were Catholic.
- The clergy was Catholic.
- The reformation was unpopular, seen as too complex, depended on the bible with an illiterate population, attacked traditional festive culture.
- During Mary's reign Catholicism had been successfully reintroduced. On the continent the counter-reformation had been able to make successful headway.

Why didn't Catholicism pose more of a threat in the first decade of Elizabeth's reign?

- The Catholic Bishops and Lords did resist the Elizabethan Settlement in the Lords, although the Lords mostly accepted the revised Act of Supremacy. However after this Marian Bishops left church refused to take the oath and the clergy mostly conformed to the new church.
- During the 1560s and into the 70s an uneasy balance was maintained in relations with Spain, initially from marriage negotiations with Philip II and his need to keep good relations with England against France.
- Majority of Elizabeth's councillors convinced of a Catholic plot to try and subvert the Protestant religion. Elizabeth had chosen a Privy Council that was definitely Protestant yet did include some of the important Catholic peerage.
- Elizabeth carefully turned a blind eye to the Catholic practices of many of the peerage.
- The conservative elements of the church gave the papacy and foreign powers hope that Elizabeth still might return England to Catholicism.
- During first decade of the reign Catholics lacked leadership, kept from excommunication by diplomatic link with the Spain and at home catholic Lords outwardly conformed.
- Much evidence of Catholic survivalism during early years of the reign but Catholics in England were kept going by "counterfeiters of the mass" (Marian Priests who altered the service in the new Prayer Book to make it Catholic). But there was no new blood amongst the Priesthood.

The Turning Point in the Catholic threat

- 1568 arrival of MQS in England.
- Northern Rising or Revolt of the Northern Earls in 1569
- Papal Bull follows in 1570 excommunicating Elizabeth.

How serious was the Catholic threat in the remainder of the reign?

A serious threat

- Mary arrived in England in 1568, next in line to the throne with a strong claim she becomes the focus of English Catholic hopes.
- Mary had the possible support of the French because of her Guise background and after 1569 the support of Philip II.
- The Papal Bull of Excommunication made it clear that all true Catholics should not respect Elizabeth's authority.
- During her 19 years in captivity in England Mary was involved in four plots. The Northern Rebellion 1569- to marry Norfolk and force Elizabeth to declare her heir, Ridolfi Plot 1571- plan for an uprising and replacing Elizabeth with Mary married to Norfolk, Throckmorton Plot 1583- plans for French forces backed by Spanish and Papal money to invade, Babington Plot 1586 letter from Mary endorsing Babington's plan to kill Elizabeth.
- Throughout these years England relationship with Spain worsened partly because of Anglo-Spanish clashes at sea in the New World.
- During the 1570s Seminary Priests trained by William Allen started to arrive in England. The Seminary Priests were trained to carry out usual parish roles and provide replacements for the ageing Marian Priests who continued to try and keep Catholicism alive by counterfeiting the mass. The first four arrived in 1574, by 1580 100 had arrived.
- 1580s the Jesuits a Catholic missionary order started to arrive in England they had been trained to fight the counter-reformation, the first Jesuits Edmund Campion and Robert Parsons arrived in 1580.

Not such a serious threat

- Legislation against Catholics became slowly harsher. E.g. recusancy fines increased in 1581 Act, recusants mobility restricted from 1593.
- Harsher legislation for Priests. E.g. 1559 penalties for saying the Pope was head of the church but this was only treason only after 3rd offence, 1585 law declaring all Jesuits and Seminarists traitors, had to leave the country within 40 days. 131 out of the 460 Seminary Priests were executed.
- Disputes amongst the Seminary Priests and Jesuits over allegiance to the crown divided missionary and Jesuit efforts.
- In 1587 Mary removed as a focus for Catholic conspiracy and in 1588 the Armada was defeated, although there were other Armada attempts.
- The Papal Bull of Excommunication was issued too late to make a difference during the Northern Rebellion, most English Catholics continued to prefer Elizabeth, the Stuarts had been excluded from the succession by Henry VIII's will and Mary was seen as too foreign.
- France could offer little assistance as it was plunged into civil war over religion between 1562 and 1593.
- Spain was in debt after years if was with France and had to deal with the threat of Islam as well as protecting Empires in the New World and Netherlands.

- Joint effort from Spain and France was unlikely as Spain did not want to see an Anglo-French alliance.
- The Privy Council's (Walsingham's) intelligence system was well informed.
- Protestantism came to be identified with English national identity during Elizabeth's reign e.g. effect of defeat of the Armada and the celebrations of Elizabeth's accession as a deliverance from Catholicism, Foxes "Book of Martyrs" celebrating the Protestant martyrs of Mary's reign.

How successful was the Catholic missionary effort?

Unsuccessful

- Criticised for concentrating on the south and east rather than north and west where there were more recusants and greater Catholic potential.
- Criticised for concentrating on the gentry. Gentry are those with the most to lose hence they were criticised for being too timid in their actions and too ready to conform. Blamed them for the creation of a seigniorial Catholicism (associated with the landowning gentry and dependent on them).
- Rivalry between the Jesuits and Seminary Priests, 1598 the Pope agreed to appoint an Archbishop for England with authority over all priests, the Pope chose George Blackwell an admirer of the Jesuits. The Seminary Priests appealed to the Pope to keep their authority, becoming known as the "appellants".
- Arguments over Royal authority. In 1602 the Appellants asked for religious toleration in return for political loyalty and the removal of the Jesuits. In 1603 a number of Appellant Priests signed protestation of allegiance to the queen that asserted they would resist Catholic attempts to depose her even though they recognised the Pope's spiritual authority.
- Recent historians argue that Catholic survivalism was strong during the 1560s and that the shrinkage of the community by 1603 was the result of strategic and logistical mistakes.

Success

- Concentrated on the south and east and gentry because of circumstances of persecution.
- Need to prepare the ground if there was a contested succession in which the elites of the south and east would be decisive as they had when Lady Jane Grey was used to usurp the throne. Had queen died would have been a question of political clout rather than numbers that would have decided the succession.
- Bound to concentrate on the gentry in a hierarchical society.
- Geographically the are nearest to the continent
- Needed the network of gentry's houses, financial support and social contacts to evade capture.
- Parish churches now Protestant, the private chapel of the manorial house the natural alternative of Catholic life.
- Not failure of seminary priests but the result of long reign of Elizabeth and certainty of Protestant successor after Mary's execution. Long and remorseless government prosecution.

Historiography

- Missionary priests, popularly thought of as brave heroes e.g. priests holes in stately homes tell the story and heroes of Catholic church, revisionist historians e.g. Haigh accuse them of making the “strategical errors” and post-revisionists have tried to excuse them from blame for these mistakes.

Revisionist View

- Sees Catholicism as the main challenge of the reign rather than Puritanism.
- Emphasises a slow reformation, Catholic survival rather than Protestant militancy as the main ecclesiastical problem.
- Rather than being self-confident sees Elizabeth’s government as deeply afraid of the Catholic threat (especially in the 1580s).

The Debate about the Catholic Threat

The strength of Catholicism at the start of the reign.

Weak	Strong
Elton argued that the reformation had gone so far that as early as 1553 England was more a Protestant nation than anything else.	Haigh has argued that religious conservatism was actually very strong in many areas at the start of Elizabeth's reign.
This would suggest that Mary's attempts to restore Catholicism were doomed and it would be a relatively easy task for Elizabeth to achieve a broadly Protestant settlement.	This would suggest that it would not be easy for Elizabeth to enforce her religious settlement.
Historians like Scarisbrook and Dickens have argued that with the exception of the Marian bishops, the fate of English Catholicism was set at the start of her reign when Catholic resistance was not mobilised.	He says that government did not dare enforce Protestant furnishing, services and beliefs upon the people at the start of her reign, all that happened up to 1563 was a burst of Protestant legislation.
Dickens and Bossy have argued that in the first two decades of Elizabeth's reign, the old faith, the medieval Catholic Church was in its dying days.	Haigh has argued that there was much continuity in English Catholicism – areas that had been religiously conservative at the start of the reign were in the later years helped by former Marian clergy.
They stress the importance of the Seminary Priests and Jesuits in reviving the Catholic Church and developing a new kind of personal Catholicism that could survive as a minority in a Protestant England.	He criticises the missionary effort for not making efforts in these areas of continuity, instead he feels these areas were neglected in favour of the South East of England and therefore allowed to drift into conformity.

The debate about the role of the missionary priests

Important	Not Very Important
English Catholicism collapsed at the start of the reign when the Catholic clergy and laity failed to mount a challenge to the Elizabethan Settlement.	Argues that the Catholic community did not die out at the start of the reign.
The argument of historians such as John Bossy.	The argument of historians such as Christopher Haigh.
The missionary effort revived English Catholicism. The wave of priests provided the personnel desperately needed and kick-started English Catholicism.	There was continuity in English Catholicism. Where Catholic communities were strong in the early part of the reign, there were communities in the 80s and 90s. Supported by Marian Priests and Catholic gentry.
This new clergy, trained abroad, brought with them a new kind of Catholicism which was more personal and shaped by the circumstance of the counter reformation.	There was no change in the nature of English Catholicism. Their training was very traditional concentrating on the pastoral care and they avoided the issue of political loyalty and papal supremacy.
This criticism is unfair, they were bound to stay in the south, as it was nearer to their point of arrival and there were established networks of safe houses in this area. It was nearer to London. Support for Catholicism in this region could bring about national change.	The missionary priests concentrated their efforts on the South East of England and therefore neglected the larger Catholic communities in the more remote parts of the country allowing them to slip into conformity.
This criticism is unfair. The network of safe houses was based upon the households of the gentry who could shield them from the authorities. In a hierarchical society it made sense to concentrate efforts on the gentry as the leaders of communities who could bring the support of their tenants and other dependants.	The missionary effort concentrated on the gentry. They acted like chaplains for gentry's households neglecting the wider community. The gentry were far more likely to slip into conformity as they were far more likely to focus on obedience to their monarch.
	The missionary effort was seriously divided. The Archpriest controversy showed the sense of competition between Jesuits and Seminary Priests.

	<p>The missionary effort was divided over the issue of political loyalty. Jesuits were seen as militant catholic agents, however some Seminary Priests stressed political loyalty to the Queen.</p>
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