

**University of Nottingham
School Of History And Art History
Department of History**

**THE FOUR HORSEMEN:
DEATH, PESTILENCE, FAMINE
AND WAR IN ENGLAND, 1550-1700**

V13293

Dr PATRICK WALLIS

LEVEL 3

20 CREDITS

Spring Semester, 2002-2003

Introduction

The module aims to give a general understanding of how natural and man-made crises in the lives of individuals and society were understood and addressed in early-modern England. During the course of this module we will look at four of the major threats faced by the inhabitants of England between 1550 and 1700: death, famine, disease and war. We will consider how individuals, families, and local and national government responded to these events and challenges. In covering these areas, attention will be paid to the question of change and continuity over the period, and factors such as the impact of religious change, demographic shifts, and transformations in urban and rural environments.

Learning outcomes

(a) Knowledge and understanding:

Through attendance and participation in seminars and lectures, and reading for seminars and essays, you should have acquired by the end of the course:

- an appreciation of how English society understood and reacted to death, disease, famine and war in the early-modern period (A1)
- an appreciation of cultural and political changes in these areas, and the forces that shaped them over the period (A2), (A3)
- a broad grasp of some of the historiographical debates in the area (A4)

(b) Intellectual skills:

Through participation in seminars, preparing and delivering presentations, and researching and writing the assessed essay and closed examination, you should have developed and displayed in different contexts:

- critical and analytical thinking on the subject matter (B1)
- evaluation of the methods and sources employed by historians of this field (B5)
- skills in constructing reasoned and independent written and oral argument on the subject matter (B6)

(c) Professional and practical skills:

By the end of the module you should have practised and improved their ability to:

- select and analyse information and arguments from a range of secondary sources (C1) (C2)
- plan, research and write a piece of critical writing that investigates a historical theme (C3)
- use appropriate footnoting and bibliographical skills (C5)

(d) Transferable (key) skills:

By the end of the module you should have:

- developed oral and written communication skills (D4) (D5)
- led and participated in group work and exercises (D6)
- improved IT skills in word processing (D11)

Teaching Methods:

The course is taught through a combination of seminars and lectures.

Each 20 credit Part II Option should take up 150 hours a semester - an average of 12 ½ hours a week.

You are required to:

- * Attend seminars.
- * Read sources and a selection of secondary works for **every** seminar and contribute to discussion.
- * In groups of 2 or 3, research and deliver an introductory presentation and chair one seminars.
- * Write one word-processed assessed essay of up to 3000 words.

Primary Sources:

These are posted on a website:

www.nottingham.ac.uk/~lqzpw1

There is a link from the department teaching page.

Seminar programme

Attendance at seminars is compulsory. Meetings will be held on Wednesday mornings in A 26 (Lenton Grove) between 11am and 1pm.

The seminars will be introduced and run by groups of two or three students in rotation. Each group will be responsible for preparing a short presentation on the subject of about 7 to 10 minutes in length – and no longer. You should aim to introduce the topic, giving a clear analysis of the area, and present a list of questions to discuss for the remainder of the seminar.

The group will then be responsible for chairing the session. The themes outlined for each week give you some guide to the areas that might be covered each week, but they are not prescriptive or comprehensive. You are also free to decide how to approach the primary and secondary material for each week. Advice on chairing seminars is contained in *Notes & Guidance*.

Assessment

This module is assessed through:

one 3,000-word essay	40%
one three-hour examination (involving three questions)	60%

Guidelines for essays:

This should be a maximum of 3,000 words, including notes, but excluding bibliography. Please follow History department guidelines on presentation and layout given in the *Notes for Guidance*. Essays should be word-processed, with footnotes and a full bibliography.

1. Essay titles should be chosen from the list enclosed.
2. Essays **must not be on the same subjects as your seminar presentation.**
3. The date for handing in the essay is **1 May 2003.**

Two copies of the essay should be submitted. One copy will be retained for assessment, the other will be returned with comments.

Late work will be penalized at 5% per working day. If you need an extension, make sure you apply to the examinations officer, Dr Nick Thomas, using an Extenuating Circumstances form and receive *written* permission for late submission.

Guidelines for Examination:

You will be required to attempt THREE questions in 3 hours. Questions will be based on seminar topics. A sample question paper and last years exam paper are attached to the booklet. You are allowed to answer exam questions on the area on which you wrote your assessed essay.

Feedback.

You can expect:

- a. written comments on your essay.
- b. the opportunity to discuss your course work and essay performance on an individual basis.
- c. feedback on your contribution to seminars at the end of the semester.

I will attempt to give feedback on essays within two weeks of its submission. Times will be arranged following submission of essays.

Ways to contact me:

My office is **A15** in the **LAW AND SOCIAL SCIENCES BUILDING** (near the Hallward Library). Office hours will be posted on my door and on the tutors' notice-board in the teaching block.

To contact me, it is best to use email: patrick.wallis@nottingham.ac.uk
My telephone number is: 0115 8467038, or if dialled internally 67038

Essay Questions

1. To what extent did plague shift from being a general judgement to the particular problem of the poor in the sixteenth and seventeenth century?
2. To what extent can it be said that priests were more important than magistrates or physicians in times of plague?
3. Was the government of early modern England better able to deal with urban or rural crises?

4. 'Riot was seldom, if ever, a simple and unpremeditated response to hunger and starvation'. Discuss.
5. Did funerals and monuments in this period serve any purpose other than 'to display and reinforce the social distinctions of the dead'?
6. Did the 'good death' have meaning outside the households of the elite?
7. Can we speak of a widespread 'military culture' in early modern England?
8. To what extent were the costs of war borne disproportionately by the elite?
9. Did apocalyptic interpretations of disasters shape the crown's responses to them?

General Background Reading:

If you feel uncertain about the more general political and social context, you might look at some of these texts. They are readable introductions to the period. Sharpe and Wrightson are more focused on the social history that is our main concern here; Hirst and Coward give a sense of the civil wars. I've added Wrigley & Schofield as it contains a lot of the demographic backdrop to the events we are considering. Don't be scared by its bulk, just use what you need.

B. Coward, *The Stuart Age: England, 1603-1714*, 2nd edn. (London, 1994)

D. Hirst, *England in Conflict, 1603-1660* (London, 1999)

J. A. Sharpe, *Early Modern England: A Social History 1550-1760*, 2nd edn. (London, 1997)

P. Williams, *The Later Tudors: England, 1547-1603* (Oxford, 1998)

K. Wrightson, *English Society, 1580-1680* (London, 1982)

K. Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain* (London, 2000)

E. A. Wrigley and R. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541-1871: A Reconstruction* (Cambridge, Mass, 1981)

1. Belief and Catastrophe.

We begin by taking a look at views on catastrophes and signs and their interpretation in early modern England.

- In what ways were disasters understood?
- In what ways did interpretations of disaster change over this period?

- What part did providential thinking play in preparations for and responses to disaster?
- How widespread and significant was millenarianism?

Original sources:

Strange Signes Seene In The Aire, Strange Monsters Behelde On The Land (1594).

W. Gouge, *Gods Three Arrows* (1636), 'To the parishioners of Black Friars'.

J. Napier, *A Bloody Almanack* (1647).

S. Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. R. Latham & W. Matthews (1972) vi, 120-125 (8- 10 June 1665).

SECONDARY READING:

* K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1971), esp. chapter 4.

*A. Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (1999), esp. pp. 8-32 & chapter 3.

A. Cunningham and O. P. Grell, *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse: Religion, War, Famine and Death in Reformation Europe* (2000), chapter 2.

*P. S. Seaver, *Wallington's World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (1985), esp. chapter 3.

C. Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform, 1626-1660* (1975), chapter 1.

B. Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press: English Almanacs, 1500-1800* (1979).

B. Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men: A Study in Seventeenth-Century English Millenarianism* (1972), esp. chapter 1, 2.

B. Capp, 'The Fifth Monarchists And Popular Millenarianism' in J. F. McGregor and B. Reay, *Radical Religion in the English Revolution* (1984), pp. 165-89.

P. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (1982).

P. Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England : Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1988), chapter 1.

D. Underdown, *Fire from Heaven: Life in an English Town in the Seventeenth Century* (1992).

W. Lamont, *Richard Baxter and the Millenium* (1979), esp. chapter 1.

P. J. Olsen, 'Was John Foxe a millenarian?', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 45 (1994), 600-24.

*C. A. Patrides and J. A. Wittreich, *The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature: Patterns, Antecedents and Repercussions* (1984), chapters 4, 9.

R. B. Barnes, *Prophecy and Gnosis: Apocalypticism in the Wake of the Lutheran Reformation* (Stanford, 1988).

K. R. Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain, 1530-1645* (Oxford, 1979).

A. Hamilton, *The Apocryphal Apocalypse: The Reception of the Second Book of Esdras (4 Ezra) from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Oxford, 1999).

H. Hotson, *Johann Heinrich Alsted, 1588-1638: Between Renaissance, Reformation and Universal Reform* (Oxford, 2000).

S. C. A. Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the Making of English Foreign Policy, 1650-1668* (Cambridge, 1996).

2. Mortality and Medicine.

In this seminar we will consider the demography of plagues in England, and the way in which the disease was understood.

- How frequent were plagues in England?
- In what ways did the impact vary between the countryside, small towns and major cities?
- How did the experiences of rich and poor differ?
- What *was* plague? How was it spread?
- What could medicine do during epidemics?
- What were the roles of physicians, surgeons and families?

Original sources:

A Generall Bill for 8 Weeks (1603).

A Generall bill for this present yeere, ending the 16 of December 1630 (1630).

T. Sherwood, *The Charitable Pestmaster* (1641).

College of Physicians, 'An Advice set down by the Colledge of Physicians', in *Certaine Necessary Directions* (1636).

Reading:

*P. Slack, *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England* (1985), Chapters 2, 6, 4 or 5.

J. Champion, 'Epidemics and the built environment in 1665', in J. Champion (ed.), *Epidemic disease in London* (1993), 35-52 [This can be found online: <http://ihr.sas.ac.uk/cmh/epichamp.html>].

J. A. I. Champion, *Epidemic Disease in London* (1993).

W. G. Bell, *The Great Plague in London in 1665*, revised edn. (1951).

A. Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine, 1550-1680* (2000), chapters 6 – 7.

A. Wear, 'Medical Ethics in Early Modern England', in A. Wear, J. Geyer-Kordesch, and R. French (eds.), *Doctors and Ethics: The Earlier Historical Setting of Professional Ethics* (1993), pp. 98-131.

C. Webster, 'William Harvey and the Crisis of Medicine in Jacobean England', in J. J. Bylebyl (ed.), *William Harvey and His Age: The Professional and Social Context of the Discovery of the Circulation*, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, Supplement, new series, no. 2 (1979), pp. 1-27.

3. Government, Church and People.

This week we turn to the ways in which the government, church and laymen responded to plague.

- In what ways did central government's response develop and change?
- What were the differences in government responses between London and provincial towns?
- What part did the church play in responding to epidemics, and how did this change?
- What was the balance of secular and religious aspects of the response to plague?
- Did the crisis break down communities or strengthen them?
- In what ways did the poor and middling sort react to plague and plague orders?

Original sources:

'Orders Thought Meet by His Majesty', item two in *Certain Necessary Directions* (1636).

T. Dekker, *The Wonderfull Year* (1603), from 'The Plague' onwards.

A Form of Meditation, very meet to be daily used of house holders in their houses, in this dangerous and contagious time (1563), in W. K. Clay (ed.), *Liturgies and Occasional Forms of Prayer set forth in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, Parker Society (1847), 503-7.

A Praier Very Comfortable and Necessary to be Used of all Christians (1603).

Reading:

*P. Slack, *The Impact of Plague*, chapters 8 - 11

P. Slack, 'Books of Orders: The Making of English Social Policy, 1577-1631', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 30 (1980), 1-22.

M. Jenner, 'The Great Dog Massacre', in W. G. Naphy and P. Roberts (eds.), *Fear in Early Modern Society* (1997), pp. 44-61.

H. J. Cook, 'Policing the Health of London: The College of Physicians and the Early Stuart Monarchy', *Social History of Medicine*, 2 (1989), 1-33.

O. P. Grell, 'Plague in Elizabethan and Stuart London: The Dutch Response', *Medical History*, 34 (1990), pp. 424-39.

R. Palmer, 'The Church, Leprosy and Plague in Medieval and Early Modern Europe', in W. J. Sheils (ed.), *The Church and Healing*, Studies in Church History, 19 (1982).

4. Central and local responses to dearth

Like plague, famine was an omnipresent fear in early modern England. Also like plague, dearth was a matter of concern for local and national government. We look this week at the impact and severity of dearth, the nature of the concerns it raised, the way in which systems of poor relief were established, and the motivation behind the efforts of the authorities.

- What was the frequency and spread of dearth and famine in early modern England?
- What impact did dearth have on the mortality, morbidity and life and work of the poor?
- What systems were created to alleviate dearth by communities and governments?
- In what ways and why did relief change over this period?
- Compare the response of the authorities to dearth to their response to plague.

Sources

Orders Appointed By His Maiestie To Be Straitly Obserued, For The Preuenting And Remedyng Of The Dearth Of Graine And Victuall (1630).

'Archer's Case', in S. R. Gardiner (ed.), *Reports of Cases in Star Chamber*, Camden Society, 1st ser., 39 (1886), pp. 43-9.

'Petition from the inhabitants of Norfolk for Liberty from the restraint on the exportation of corn, 1602', in H. W. Saunders, *The Stiffkey Papers, 1580-1620*, Camden Soc, 3rd ser., 26 (1915), p. 145.

'The General Increase of Luxury', in *Acts of the Privy Council, 1596*, pp. 383-6.

Reading:

* R.B. Outhwaite, *Dearth, Public Policy and Social Disturbance in England, 1550-1800* (1991), chapter 3.

*P. Slack, *Poverty and Policy* (1988), chapter 7.

P. Slack, 'Dearth and Social Policy in Early Modern England', *Social History of Medicine* (1992).

*J. Walter and K. Wrightson, 'Dearth and the Social Order', *Past and Present* (1976).

R. B. Outhwaite, 'Dearth and Government Intervention in the English Grain Markets, 1598-1700', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., 34 (1981), 389-406.

R. Nielsen, 'Storage and English Government Interventions in Early Modern English Grain Supply', *Journal of Economic History*, 57 (1997), 1-33.

K. Wrightson, & D. Levine, 'Death in Whickham', in J. Walter & R. Schofield (eds), *Famine, Disease and the Social Order in Early Modern Society* (Cambridge, 1989), pp.129-65.

S. Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century London* (1989), chapter 5. [read with Archer, below].

I. W. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (1991), chapter 5.

M. Power, 'London and the Control of the "Crisis" of the 1590s', *History*, 70 (1985), 371-85.

*A. B. Appleby, *Famine in Tudor and Stuart England* (1978).

P. Williams, *The Tudor Regime* (1979), chapter 6

A. B. Appleby, 'Nutrition and Disease: The Case of London, 1550-1750', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 6 (1975).

A. B. Appleby, 'Disease of Famine? Mortality in Cumbria, 1580-1640', *Economic History Review* (1973).

S. Hindle, 'Dearth, Fasting and alms: the campaign for general hospitality in late Elizabethan England', *Past and Present*, 172 (2001), 44-86

S. Hindle, *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England, c.1550-1640* (2000)

P. Laslett, *The world we have lost* (1965), chapter 5

P. Slack, 'Books of Orders: The Making of English Social Policy, 1577-1631', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5th ser. 30 (1980), 1-22.

D. Arnold, *Famine: Social Crisis and Historical Change* (1988)

5. Dearth, Disorder and the Marketplace

From the responses of government, we turn to the reactions of the people. These ranged from riot to reordering prices forcibly. The nature of community, relations to authority, and the basis on which popular 'morals' were accepted or rejected remain disputed despite extensive historical work on these areas.

- What role did a 'moral economy' play in responses to dearth?
- At what point and for what reasons did dearth produce violent action?
- In what ways did social and economic structures help people survive dearth?
- What was the relationship between popular and elite expectations and actions?

Sources:

'Old aunt Key of Bury', *The Autobiography of Henry Newcome*, Chetham Society, 26 (1852), i, 82-4.

W. Gouge, 'Dearth's Death', in *Gods Three Arrows* (1636).

'Examination of Bartholomew Steere and Roger Symonds, 7-8 Jan 1597', *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1597*, pp. 342-5.

For a further riot:

Acts Privy Council, 1630-1, pp. 268-83

Reading

*E. P. Thompson, 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd', *Past and Present* (1971). Reprinted in his *Customs in Common* – which also includes a review of his critics.

R. Houlbrooke, 'Women's Social Life and Common Action in England from the Fifteenth Century to the eve of the civil war', *Continuity and Change* 1 (1986).

- J. E. Martin, *Feudalism to Capitalism: Peasant and Landlord in English Agrarian Development* (1983), chapter 9.
- K. Wrightson *English Society 1580-1680*, pp 173-182.
- D. Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England* (Oxford, 1985).
- P. Griffiths, J. Landers, M. Pelling, & R. Tyson. 'Population and Disease, Estrangement and Belonging, 1540-1700', in P. Clark (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, Volume II: 1540-1840 (2000), pp.195-233.
- J. Walter, 'The Oxfordshire Rising of 1596', *Past and Present* 107 (1985), 90-143.
- J. Walter, 'Grain Riots and Popular Attitudes to the law: Maldon and the Crisis of 1629', in J. Brewer and J. Styles (ed.), *An Ungovernable People: The English and Their Law in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (1980), pp. 47-84.
- *J. Walter, 'The Social Economy of Dearth in Early Modern England', in J. Walter & R. Schofield (eds), *Famine, Disease and the Social Order in Early Modern Society* (1989), pp.75-128.
- J. Walter, 'Public Transcripts, Popular Agency and the Politics of Subsistence in Early Modern England', in M. Braddick and J. Walter (eds), *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Britain and Ireland* (2001), pp.123-48.
- Lis and H. Soly, *Poverty and Capitalism* (1979).
- D. Arnold, *Famine: Social Crisis and Historical Change* (1988).
- A. Sen, *Poverty and Famines*.

For comparison:

- E. Le Roy Ladurie, *Times of Feast, Times of Famine* (1967).
- A. Cunningham and O. P. Grell, *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* (2001), chapter 4.

6. Ways of dying

Death in early modern England has been written about extensively. We will be looking at ideas about death, particularly the good death, and how practices around death changed over this period. The 'loss' of purgatory, impact of reformed practices, and variations across age-group, especially in views of children, will be major concerns this week.

- What were the main characteristics of the demographic regime of early modern England?
- What was a good death?
- What impact did changes in theology and religious practice have on the treatment of death in this period?
- What effect did the age and status of the dying person have on the form and reception of their death?
- Why was a good death important? And to whom was it important?
- What was a bad death?

Original sources:

R. Josselin, *The Diary of Ralph Josselin, 1616-1683*, ed. A. Macfarlane (1976), pp. 200-204.

J. Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E. De Beer (1955), iv, pp. 420-430.

G. Herbert, *A priest to the temple Or, The Country Parson His Character* (1652), chapter XV.

I. Walton, *The Life of Dr. John Donne* (1640), pp. 47-53.

W. Caxton, *Here Begynneth A Lityll Treatyse Short And Abrydgyd Spekyng Of The Art And Crafte To Knowe Well To Dye* (1495).

Reading

*L.M. Beier, 'The Good Death in Seventeenth-Century England', in Houlbrooke (ed) *Death, Ritual and Bereavement* (1989).

*R. Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England 1480-1750* (1998) chapters 6-7.

D. Cressy *Birth, Marriage & Death: Ritual, Religion and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (1997), chapters 17-19.

D. Stannard *The Puritan Way of Death* (1977), chapters 4-5.

R. Wunderli and G. Broce, 'The Final Moment before Death in Early Modern England', *Sixteenth Century Journal* (1989) PHOTOCOPY

C. Cross, 'The Third Earl of Huntingdon's Death Bed', *Northern History* (1985)

*E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, (1992), pp. 310ff.

P. Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford, 2002).

C. Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England 1066-1550* (1997), ch 1 – 2.

B.R. Dailey, 'The Visitation of Sarah Wright', *Church History* (1986).

D.W. Atkinson, 'The English Ars Moriendi: its Protestant Transformation', *Renaissance and Reformation* (1982) PHOTOCOPY.

E. Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (1997).

M. MacDonald and T. R. Murphy, *Sleepless Souls: Suicide in Early Modern England* (1990).

P. Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London, 1996).

P. Aries, *The Hour of Our Death* (1981) chapter 3.

P. Aries, *Centuries of childhood* (1962).

M. Collins, 'A Little Known "Art of Dying"', in J.H.M. Taylor (ed), *Dies Illa: Death in the Middle Ages* (1984), pp. 179-93.

B. Gordon and P. Marshall (ed.), *The Place Of The Dead: Death And Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*.

L. Stone *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (1977), selectively.

L. Pollock, *Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relations from 1500-1900* (1983), chapters 1 –4.

Hurtig, 'Death in Childbirth: Seventeenth-Century English Tombs and their Place in Contemporary Thought', *Art Bulletin* (1983), 603-15.

A. Macfarlane, *A. The Family Life of Ralph Josselin: A Seventeenth-Century Clergyman* (1970).

7. The dead.

From dying, we turn to the dead and the ceremonies and material culture that surrounded them.

- How and why did funerals change over this period?
- How and why did tombs and monuments change over this period?
- In what ways were the dead remembered?
- Did the social role of the dead as an 'age-group' (Bossy) decline?

Sources

The burial of Recherd Morgayn, in *The Diary of Henry Machyn*, Camden Society, 1st ser., 42 (1848), pp. 106-7.

'John Baret of Bury, 1463', in *Wills and inventories of Bury St Edmunds*, Camden Society, 1st ser., 49 (1850), pp. 16-18.

Misson, *Memoirs and observations* (1719), 88-93, in J. Litten, *The English Way of Death: The Common Funeral since 1450* (London, 1991).

A Directory for the Publique worship of God throughout the three kingdoms (1645), pp. 74-5

Prayer Book (1552), pp. 136-138.

Monuments in: St Mary's, Nottingham, and Clifton Church, Clifton.

Reading

*N. Llewellyn, 'Honour in Life, Death and in the Memory: Funeral Monuments in Early Modern England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (1996).

J. Bossy, *Christianity in the West, 1400-1700* (1985), pp. 26-34.

A. Laurence, 'Godly Grief: Individual Responses to Death in Seventeenth-Century Britain', in R. Houlbrooke (ed.), *Death, Ritual and Bereavement* (1989).

R. Houlbrooke *Death, Religion and the Family in England 1480-1750* (1998), chapters 8, 10 (funeral sermons), 343 ff (monuments and epitaphs).

C. Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (1984).

V. Harding, "'And one more may be laid there": Location of Burials in early Modern London', *London Journal*, 14 (1989), 112-29.

S. Bassett (ed.), *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100-1600* (1992).

D. Cressy, *Birth, Marriage & Death: Ritual, Religion and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (1997).

N. Llewellyn, *The Art of Death: Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual, c. 1500-1800* (1991), chapters 14-15.

*N. Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (2000)

D.E. Stannard, *The Puritan Way of Death* (1977), chapter 3.

- *P. R. Seddon, 'Marriage and Inheritance in the Clifton Family during the Seventeenth Century', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society* 84 (1980), 33-43.
- J. Wilson, 'Holy Innocents: Some Aspects of the Iconography of Children on English Renaissance Tombs', *Church Monuments* (1990), 57-63.
- J. Wilson, 'I Dote on Death: the Fractured Marriage in English Renaissance Art and Literature', *Church Monuments* (1996).
- G. Broce & R. M. Wunderli, 'The Funeral of Henry Percy, Sixth Earl of Northumberland', *Albion*, 22 (1990), 199-215.
- W. Coster 'Tokens of innocence: infant baptism, death and burial in early modern England', in B. Gordon and P. Marshall (eds.), *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (2000).
- G.W. Pigman, *Grief and English Renaissance Elegy* (1985) chapters 1-2.
- B. A. Doebler, *Rooted Sorrow: Dying In Early Modern England* (1994), chapter 10.
- K. A. Esdaile, *English Monumental Sculpture since the Renaissance* (1927).

8. Armies, conflict and honour

The early modern period was marked by changes in the organisation and technology of warfare that have led some historians to argue for a military revolution. Our focus today will be on those who served in the armies of the period and the relationship between warfare and English culture.

- Did England undergo a 'military revolution' in this period?
- How were armies funded and paid for?
- In what ways did the place of war, violence and military skill in gentry and aristocratic society change?
- What was the ordinary soldiers' experience of military service like?

Sources:

The Souldiers Language (1644).

Nehemia Wharton's experiences in Essex's army in 1642, in *Archaeologia* 35 (1853).

Militia Statutes, 4 & 5 Philip & Mary, c. 2, 3, in *Statutes of the Realm, Ed. VI-Eliz I*, pp. 316-20.

R. Ram, *The Souldiers Catechisme* (1645), pp. 18-27.

Lawes and Ordinances of Warre established by Essex (1645).

Reading:

*L. Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy* (1965), chapter 5.

*P. Wilson, 'European Warfare, 1450-1815' in J. Black, ed., *War in the Early Modern World* (1999), pp. 177-206.

M. C. Fissel, *English Warfare, 1511-1641* (London, 2001).

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9. The Human Cost Of War

This week will be spent examining the impact that the experience of war had on local communities - financial, social and human.

- What obligations and costs did maintaining the military put on society in wartime?
- What impact did the waging of war have of on local communities?
- Was there a difference between soldier and civilian?
- What was the relationship between the reporting of war and its understanding?

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