

3. THE ATLANTIC WORLD, COMMERCE, AND WARS OF RELIGION, 1560–1648

Among the general treatments for these years, covering institutional and international developments, the best guides are G. Parker, *Europe in Crisis, 1598–1648* (rev. 2001); H. Kamen, *Early Modern European Society* (2000), which describes the evolving social history of the era; V. G. Kiernan, *State and Society in Europe, 1550–1650* (1987); and J. H. Elliott, *Europe Divided, 1559–1598* (rev. 2000). F. Braudel's magisterial work stressing broad geographic, demographic, and economic developments, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (rev. and abr. ed., 1992), has been cited in the introductory section. More recent histories of the age include H. Schilling, *Early Modern European Civilization and Its Political and Cultural Dynamism* (2008); and G. Parker, *Success Is Never Final: Empire, War, and Faith in Early Modern Europe* (2002).

Analytical treatments focusing on the concept of crisis in the seventeenth century (and useful also for chapter 4) include T. Aston (ed.), *Crisis in Europe, 1560–1660: Essays from Past and Present* (1966); G. Parker and L. M. Smith, *The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century* (1978); and T. Munck, *Seventeenth-Century Europe: State, Conflict, and the Social Order in Europe, 1598–1700* (rev. 2005). Agrarian and urban unrest is studied in P. Zagorin, *Rebels and Rulers, 1500–1660* (2 vols., 1982); J. A. Goldstone's sociological study, *Revolution and Rebellion in the Early Modern World* (1991); and C. Tilly, *European Revolutions, 1492–1992* (1992). Readers will find a well-informed review of popular culture in P. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (2009).

The impact of military change on society is examined in G. Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500–1800* (rev. 1996). B. M. Downing, *The Military Revolution*

and Political Change: The Origins of Democracy and Autocracy in Early Modern Europe (1992) is intended to revise and supplement B. Moore, *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (1966, reissued 1993). For detailed studies of the modernization of warfare and of warfare in context, see D. Parrott, *The Business of War: Military Enterprise and Military Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (2012); M. Mallett and C. Shaw, *The Italian Wars, 1494–1559: War, State and Society in Early Modern Europe* (2012); J. Glete, *War and the State in Early Modern Europe: Spain, the Dutch Republic and Sweden as Fiscal-Military States, 1500–1660* (2002); and M. Pollak, *Cities at War in Early Modern Europe* (2010). The new professional soldiers' social life is discussed in D. Showalter and W. J. Astore, *Soldiers' Lives through History: The Early Modern World* (2007).

The Opening of the Atlantic

Good introductions to European exploration and settlement, beginning in the pre-Columbian age, are D. Buisseret (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to World Exploration* (2007); F. Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus: Exploration and Colonization from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, 1229–1492* (1987) and *Pathfinders: A Global History of Exploration* (2006); and R. Love, *Maritime Exploration in the Age of Discovery, 1415–1800* (2006). An analytical overview of European imperial expansion is available in D. B. Abernethy, *The Dynamics of Global Dominance: European Overseas Empires, 1415–1980* (2000); and there is a helpful survey of European expansion throughout the world in D. R. Ringrose, *Expansion and Global Interaction* (2001). The importance of technology for the European explorations is discussed in C. M. Cipolla, *Guns, Sails, and Empires: 1400–1700* (1965, reissued 1985), and L. Paine, *Ships of Discovery and Exploration* (2000); while R. Unger, *Ships on Maps: Pictures of Power*

in *Renaissance Europe* (2012) explores the impact of cartography and representation of the new world order. A. W. Crosby tackles these subjects in a far-ranging study, *The Measure of Reality: Quantification and Western Society, 1250–1600* (1997).

The 500th anniversary of Columbus's first voyage stimulated the appearance of numerous books, many vehemently critical of the European impact on the New World and seeing the voyages less as discovery than intrusion or conquest, or at best as an encounter between very different peoples and cultures. Three examples of this critical literature are K. Sale, *Christopher Columbus and the Conquest of Paradise* (rev. 2006); T. Todorov, *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other* (trans. 1984, reissued 1999); and D. E. Stannard, *American Holocaust: Columbus and the Conquest of the New World* (1993). Two balanced accounts placing Columbus in the context of his time without overlooking the consequences of the European arrival are W. D. Phillips Jr. and C. R. Phillips, *The Worlds of Christopher Columbus* (1991), and C. Mann, *1493: Uncovering the New World Columbus Created* (2011). Other scholarly efforts to examine much that remains obscure about the explorer are V. Flint, *The Imaginative Landscape of Christopher Columbus* (1992); C. Delaney, *Columbus and the Quest for Jerusalem* (2011); and N. W. Gómez, *The Tropics of Empire: Why Columbus Sailed South to the Indies* (2008). Recent literature on Columbus and his time include L. Bergreen, *Columbus: The Four Voyages* (2011), and D. Hunter, *The Race to the New World: Christopher Columbus, John Cabot, and a Lost History of Discovery* (2011). P. K. Liss, *Isabel the Queen* (1992), is a thoughtful biography of his patron.

A splendidly illustrated catalog prepared for an exhibition to commemorate the quincentenary, J. A. Levenson (ed.), *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration* (1991), presents the impressive art and artifacts of

people from all over the globe in this age, including the New World. In two thoughtful books A. W. Crosby demonstrates that European plants, animals, and diseases had as much to do with the success of European expansion and the consequent devastation of the indigenous peoples as military conquest did: *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (1972; rev. 2003) and *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900* (1986), a broader study. C. C. Mann describes the diversity of Native American societies before the arrival of Europeans in *1491: New Revelations of the Americas before Columbus* (2005). Another interesting account of pre-Columbian North America is T. Horwitz, *A Voyage Long and Strange: Rediscovering the New World* (2008). For the impact of the discoveries on European thought, one may turn to W. Brandon, *New Worlds for Old: Reports from the New World and Their Effect on the Development of Social Thought in Europe, 1500–1800* (1986); J. H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New, 1492–1650* (1970, 1992); and A. Pagden's two books, *European Encounters with the New World: From Renaissance to Romanticism* (1992) and *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain, and France, c. 1500–c. 1850* (1995). The latter may be compared with the two works of P. Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492–1640* (1995) and *American Pentimento: The Invention of Indians and the Pursuit of Riches* (2001). One will also find additional perspectives on the cross-cultural encounter in the work of the demographic historian M. Livi Bacci, *Conquest: The Destruction of the American Indians* (trans. 2008). On European interactions with native peoples in the years after the initial explorations, see the important books of J. Axtell, *Beyond 1492: Encounters in Colonial North America* (1993) and *Natives and Newcomers: The Cultural Origins of North America* (2001).

Portugal and Spain in Europe and Overseas

A good introduction to the overseas exploits of both countries is available in L. N. McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World, 1492–1700* (1983). Portuguese maritime and colonial enterprises are recounted in C. R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire: 1415–1825* (rev. 1991); F. Bethencourt and D. R. Curto (eds.), *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400–1800* (2007); and M. Newitt, *A History of Portuguese Overseas Expansion, 1400–1668* (2005). On Portugal, there are sound histories by J. M. Anderson, *The History of Portugal* (2000), and D. Birmingham, *A Concise History of Portugal* (rev. 2003); and on the Iberian peninsula as a whole, S. G. Payne, *A History of Spain and Portugal* (2 vols., 1973).

The best accounts for Spain in the early modern centuries are J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469–1714* (1964, reissued, 2002), which may be supplemented by his *Spain and Its World, 1500–1700* (1986); J. Lynch, *Spain under the Habsburgs, 1516–1700* (2 vols.; rev. 1992); and H. Kamen, *Empire: How Spain Became a World Power, 1492–1763* (2003). The origins of the Spanish Empire are explored in the intriguing work by S. Bown, *1494: How a Family Feud in Medieval Spain Divided the World in Half* (2012). Social trends in Spanish society are discussed in J. Casey, *Early Modern Spain: A Social History* (1999). For the Spanish monarch, one may read G. Parker, *Philip II* (rev. 1995) and *The Grand Strategy of Philip II* (1998). H. Kamen, *Philip of Spain* (1997), is more sympathetic than other biographical accounts. More recent accounts of Philip's important reign are found in D. de Lario (ed.), *Re-shaping the World: Philip II of Spain and His Time* (2008).

On the Spanish arm of the Counter-Reformation, see H. Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision* (1997), which attempts to redress the balance in favor of a less harsh judgment, to which even his own earlier writings contributed.

Other appraisals of the subject appear in B. Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth-Century Spain* (rev. 2001); J. Perez, *The Spanish Inquisition: A History* (trans. 2005); and H. Rawlings, *The Spanish Inquisition* (2006).

Although G. Mattingly, *The Armada* (1959, 1989), remains the classic study of this dramatic episode in its diplomatic and ideological setting, readers may also turn to C. Martin and G. Parker, *The Spanish Armada* (rev. 1999); F. Fernández-Armesto, *The Spanish Armada: The Experience of War in 1588* (1989); and the more recent J. McDermott, *England and the Spanish Armada: The Necessary Quarrel* (2005); N. Hanson, *The Confident Hope of A Miracle: The True History of the Spanish Armada* (2005); and R. Matthews, *The Spanish Armada: A Campaign in Context* (2009).

Books examining Spain after the age of Philip II include R. A. Stradling, *Philip IV and the Government of Spain, 1621–1665* (1988), and two outstanding studies by J. H. Elliott: *The Revolt of the Catalans: A Study in the Decline of Spain, 1598–1640* (1963, 1984) and *The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline* (1986), on Philip IV's principal adviser from 1621 to 1643.

For the Spanish Empire in the new world, one may read C. Gibson, *Spain in America* (1966, 1990); S. J. Stein and B. H. Stein, *Silver, Trade, and War: Spain and America in the Making of Early Modern Europe* (2000); D. J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (1995); and C. M. MacLachlan, *Spain's Empire in the New World: The Role of Ideas in Institutional and Social Change* (1988). A pioneer inquiry into the impact of the discovery of silver upon economic changes in Europe was E. J. Hamilton, *American Treasure and the Price Revolution in Spain, 1501–1650* (1934, 1965), although some of its conclusions have been modified. The subject is also examined in J. N. Ball, *Merchants and Merchandise: The Expansion of Trade in*

Europe, 1500–1630 (1977); H. Erlichman, *Conquest, Tribute, and Trade: The Quest for Precious Metals and the Birth of Globalization* (2010); and P. Koch, *Imaginary Cities of Gold: The Spanish Quest for Treasure in North America* (2009).

For the Spanish conquest, readers may turn to M. Wood, *Conquistadors* (2000), and M. Restall and F. Fernández-Armesto, *The Conquistadors: A Very Short Introduction* (2012). Other historical scholarship is reflected in R. L. Marks, *Cortés: The Great Adventurer and the Fate of Aztec Mexico* (1993), and in H. Thomas, *Conquest: Montezuma, Cortés, and the Fall of Old Mexico* (1994). On attempts by the church and others to mitigate the evils of the conquest, one still turns to L. Hanke, *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America* (1949, reissued 2002), now updated with two recent books on the Spanish regime's most famous critic: L. Clayton, *Bartolomé de las Casas: A Biography* (2012) and *Bartolomé de las Casas and the Conquest of the Americas* (2011). Some of the best scholarly accounts of the enforced labor and demographic consequences of the conquest may still be found in the chapters contributed to L. Bethell (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, vols. 1 and 2, *Colonial Latin America* (1988).

The Atlantic slave trade and slavery, which launched the massive, forced migrations of people that historians now call the African Diaspora, can be studied in numerous important historical works. Among the most informative are H. S. Klein, *African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean* (1987); V. B. Thompson, *The Making of the African Diaspora in the Americas, 1441–1900* (1988); R. Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery* (1997); D. Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (2000); and W. Klooster and A. Padula (eds.), *The Atlantic World: Essays on Slavery, Migration, and Imagination* (2005). E. Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944, reissued 1994), emphasized the ways in

which the emerging Atlantic economy was supported by African slavery. The grim story of the slave trade is also recounted in many other notable books, among them J. Pope-Hennessy, *Sins of the Fathers: A Study of the Atlantic Slave Traders, 1441–1807* (1968); P. D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (1969); and H. S. Klein, *The Middle Passage* (1978). H. Thomas, *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1440–1870* (1997), graphically conveys its multinational character. The role of Africans in the slave trade is found in the renowned J. Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1800* (1998), and debated in E. Konde, *European Invention of African Slavery: Origins of the Atlantic Slave Trade in West Africa and the African Diaspora in the Americas* (2006). A recent update to material covered in the classic texts mentioned above is found in H. S. Klein, *The Atlantic Slave Trade* (2010). Two valuable syntheses of historical writings on slavery in its North American setting are P. Kolchin, *American Slavery, 1619–1877* (1993), and I. Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (1998).

Changing Social Structures, Early Capitalism, Mercantilism

A key study of early modern economic history is J. De Vries, *The Economy of Europe in an Age of Crisis, 1600–1750* (1976). The context of exploration-era, precapitalist commerce is covered in M. Howell, *Commerce before Capitalism in Europe, 1300–1600* (2010). One may also consult C. M. Cipolla, *Before the Industrial Revolution: European Society and Economy, 1000–1700* (rev. 1994); P. Kriedte, *Peasants, Landlords, and Merchant Capitalists: Europe and the World Economy, 1500–1800* (1983); A. K. Smith, *Creating a World Economy: Merchant Capital, Colonialism, and World Trade, 1400–1825* (1991); and A. Maddison, *Growth and Interaction in the World Economy: The Roots of Modernity* (2005).

The rapid economic change in Western Europe is placed in a wider geographical context in E. L. Jones, *The European Miracle: Environments, Economics, and Geopolitics in the History of Europe and Asia* (rev. 2003), and in J. Baechler et al. (eds.), *Europe and the Rise of Capitalism* (1988).

A remarkable though often impressionistic account of social and economic change in the early modern centuries is the three-volume work of F. Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Century* (trans. 1981–1984; reissued 1992): vol. 1, *The Structures of Everyday Life*; vol. 2, *The Wheels of Commerce*; and vol. 3, *The Perspective of the World*. The broad themes of the work are summarized in *Afterthoughts on Material Civilization and Capitalism* (trans. 1977). Another large-scale study, reflecting the influence of Braudel and focusing on the shifting of economic power, is I. Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System* (4 vols., 1974, reissued 2011), analyzing the origins of the world economy, mercantilism, and the expansion of the global economy from 1730 to the 1840s. The development of a capitalist economy is also traced in W. N. Parker, *Europe, America, and the Wider World: Essays on the Economic History of Western Capitalism* (2 vols., 1984, 1991); and important intercultural dimensions are added in P. D. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (1984). Much of the debate on the early modern centuries focuses on the continuity of European economic history since the Middle Ages and on early industrialization. The debate on “protoindustrialization” is examined in P. Kriedte (ed.), *Industrialization before Industrialization: Rural Industry and the Genesis of Capitalism* (1981), and in M. P. Gutmann, *Toward the Modern Economy: Early Industry in Europe, 1500–1800* (1988).

For demography one may turn to M. W. Flynn, *The European Demographic System, 1500–1820* (1981); and for the growth of cities one may consult P. M. Hohenberg and L. H. Lees, *The Making of Urban*

Europe, 1000–1994 (rev. 1995); J. De Vries, *European Urbanization, 1500–1800* (1984); and the *longue durée* perspective of P. Clark, *European Cities and Towns: 400–2000* (2009). There are valuable chapters in C. M. Cipolla (ed.), *The Fontana Economic History of Europe: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1974), and in E. E. Rich and C. H. Wilson (eds.), *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, vol. 4 (1976) and vol. 5 (1977).

Revolt of the Netherlands

G. Parker, *The Dutch Revolt* (1977), an admirable comprehensive study, may be compared with P. Geyl’s masterful, classical accounts, *The Revolt of the Netherlands, 1555–1609* (1932; trans. 1958) and *The Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century, 1609–1715* (2 vols.; trans. 1961–1964). More recent contributions include J. D. Tracy, *The Founding of the Dutch Republic: War, Finance, and Politics in Holland, 1572–1588* (2009), and J. Pollman, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520–1635* (2011). Dutch political culture is examined in H. H. Rowen, *The Princes of Orange: The Stadholders in the Dutch Republic* (1988), and K. W. Swart, *William of Orange and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1572–84* (2003). The Spanish military effort to quell the 80-year revolt of the Netherlands is covered admirably in G. Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567–1659: The Logistics of Spanish Victory and Defeat in the Low Countries’ Wars* (2004).

The Tudor Age: Elizabethan England

The best older syntheses for the Tudor monarchs are G. R. Elton, *England under the Tudors* (rev. 1991); and J. Guy, *Tudor England* (1988); a useful collection of articles is available in J. Guy (ed.), *The Tudor Monarchy* (1997). Informative for the Tudors and their successors are D. M. Loades, *Politics and Nation: England, 1450–1660* (rev. 1999), and J. Guy and J. Morrill, *The*

Tudors and Stuarts (1993), a volume in the *Oxford History of Britain*.

For the Elizabethan era, one may read W. T. MacCaffrey's trilogy of distinction—*The Shaping of the Elizabethan Regime* (1968), *Queen Elizabeth and the Making of Policy, 1572–1588* (1981), and *Elizabeth I: War and Politics, 1588–1603* (1992). For the religious question in these years, one may turn to D. MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation in England, 1547–1603* (rev. 2001). For the militant faith of Elizabeth and the Tudors, see S. Ronald, *Heretic Queen: Queen Elizabeth I and the Wars of Religion* (2012); L. Álvarez-Recio, *Fighting the Antichrist: A Cultural History of Anti-Catholicism in Tudor England* (trans. 2011); and D. Eppley, *Defending Royal Supremacy and Discerning God's Will in Tudor England* (2007). On the naval and imperial side, one may also read D. B. Quinn and A. N. Ryan, *England's Sea Empire, 1550–1642* (1983), and K. R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder, and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480–1630* (1985).

Of the numerous biographies of Elizabeth, one may read A. Somerset, *Elizabeth I* (1992, 2003), a lively volume; S. Bassnett, *Elizabeth I: A Feminist Perspective* (1988); D. M. Loades, *Elizabeth I* (2003); and the concise account in S. Doran, *Queen Elizabeth I* (2003). There are other commendable studies by L. B. Smith (1976), E. Erickson (1983), A. Weir (1998), C. Haigh (rev. 2001), and J. Richards (2012). A. Fraser, among her many notable volumes, has written *Mary Queen of Scots* (1969, 1993). On Elizabeth's devoted courtier, H. Kelsey, *Sir Francis Drake: The Queen's Pirate* (1998), is a scholarly account. For women's agency in the period, see R. Warnicke, *Wicked Women of Tudor England: Queens, Aristocrats, Commoners* (2012).

An overview of society and economy is helpfully presented in D. M. Palliser, *The Age of Elizabeth: England under the Later Tudors, 1547–1603* (rev. 1992), and J. Forgeng, *Daily Life in Elizabethan England* (2010).

Social and economic changes of this age and the following period are masterfully explored in L. Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558–1641* (1965; abr. ed., 1967); and in L. Stone and J. C. Stone, *An Open Elite? England, 1540–1880* (1984; abr. ed., 1986), which questions upward social mobility in England. Other important studies are G. E. Mingay, *The Gentry: The Rise and Fall of a Ruling Class* (1976); I. W. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (1991); and the recent challenging text by P. Withington, *Society in Early Modern England: The Vernacular Origins of Some Powerful Ideas* (2010).

Historical research to reconstruct the history of the family is brilliantly exemplified in L. Stone's several works: *The Family, Sex, and Marriage in England, 1500–1800* (1977; abr. ed., 1979), *Road to Divorce: England, 1530–1987* (1990), and a volume of revealing case studies, *Uncertain Unions and Broken Lives: Marriage and Divorce in England, 1660–1857* (1995). Other recommended studies are A. Macfarlane, *Marriage and Love in England: Modes of Reproduction, 1300–1840* (1987), and B. J. Harris, *English Aristocratic Women 1450–1550: Marriage and Family, Property and Careers* (2002).

Two important books are P. Laslett, *The World We Have Lost: England before the Industrial Age* (1965, rev. 2004), a pioneering work that presents a somewhat overly stable picture of these years, and E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541–1871* (1981), a model of demographic research.

Disintegration and Reconstruction of France

Informative introductions to the religious and dynastic turmoil in sixteenth-century France include R. Briggs, *Early Modern France, 1560–1715* (rev. 1998); H. A. Lloyd, *The State, France, and the Sixteenth Century* (1983); and R. J. Knecht, *French Renaissance Monarchy: Francis I and Henry II*

(rev. 1996) and *The French Renaissance Court, 1483–1589* (2008). J. H. M. Salmon's two books are of special value: *Society in Crisis: France in the Sixteenth Century* (rev. 1979) and *Renaissance and Revolt: Essays in the Intellectual and Social History of Early France* (1987). Major French works available in translation are R. Mandrou, *Introduction to Modern France, 1500–1640: An Essay in Historical Psychology* (trans. 1976); E. Le Roy Ladurie's two studies *The French Peasantry, 1450–1660* (rev. and trans. 1986) and *Early Modern France, 1460–1610* (trans. 1993); and R. Mousnier, *The Institutions of France under the Absolute Monarchy, 1598–1789* (2 vols., trans. 1979–1984), an exhaustive study of society and the state. Readers may also find interesting perspectives in M. Randall, *The Gargantuan Polity: On the Individual and the Community in the French Renaissance* (2008).

The religious wars are explored in N. M. Sutherland's *The Huguenot Struggle for Recognition* (1980); B. B. Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris* (1991); H. Heller, *Iron and Blood: Civil Wars in Sixteenth-Century France* (1991); M. P. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562–1629* (rev. 2005); and R. J. Knecht, *The French Wars of Religion, 1559–1598* (2010). The 1572 atrocities in Paris are summarized with helpful source materials in B. Diefendorf, *The Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre: A Brief History with Documents* (2009). The family most known for their war against the Huguenots is discussed in S. Carroll, *Martyrs and Murderers: The Guise Family and the Making of Europe* (2009). The intellectual dimension is examined in D. R. Kelley, *The Beginning of Ideology: Consciousness and Society in the French Reformation* (1981). An illuminating biography of the first Bourbon king, D. Buisseret, *Henri IV* (1984), may be supplemented by R. S. Love, *Blood and Religion: The Conscience of Henry IV, 1553–1593* (2001); V. Pitts, *Henri IV of France: His Reign and*

Age (2009); and the comprehensive work of N. M. Sutherland, *Henry IV of France and the Politics of Religion: 1572–1596* (2 vols., 2002). A broader look at the Bourbon dynasty is found in J. H. Shennan, *The Bourbons: The History of a Dynasty* (2007).

Constitutional developments are comprehensively explored in J. R. Major, *Representative Government in Early Modern France* (1980), stressing the vitality of the early representative bodies. For the development of absolutism, see H. H. Rowen, *The King's State: Proprietary Dynasticism in Early Modern France* (1980); E. Le Roy Ladurie, *The Royal French State, 1460–1610* (trans. 1994); J. B. Collins, *The State in Early Modern France* (2009); and A. James, *The Origins of French Absolutism, 1598–1661* (2006). The cultural values of the early modern nobility are examined in E. Schalk, *From Valor to Pedigree: Ideas of Nobility in France in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1986), and K. B. Neuschel, *Word of Honor: Interpreting Noble Culture in Sixteenth-Century France* (1989).

For the era of Louis XIII and the minister who overshadowed him, one finds helpful information in V. L. Tapié, *France in the Age of Louis XIII and Richelieu* (trans. 1974; reissued 1984). The scholarship on Richelieu includes J. Bergin, *The Rise of Richelieu* (1991); R. J. Knecht, *Richelieu* (1991); D. Parrott, *Richelieu's Army: War, Government, and Society in France, 1624–1642* (2001); and A. Levi, *Cardinal Richelieu and the Making of France* (2000). The strengthening of royal power under Richelieu and his successor is examined in R. Bonney, *Society and Government in France under Richelieu and Mazarin, 1624–1661* (1988); J. B. Collins, *The State in Early Modern France* (1995); A. Tziampiris, *Faith and Reason of State: Lessons from Early Modern Europe and Cardinal Richelieu* (2009); and J.-V. Blanchard, *Éminence: Cardinal Richelieu and the Rise of France* (2011). The king himself is studied in A. Lloyd Moote, *Louis XIII: The Just* (1989).