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A

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1485—1580.

BY

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HONOURMAN IN MODERN HISTORY AND CLASSICS (FIRST CLASS);

WITH

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AUTHOR OF A HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE, 1485 TO 1580,
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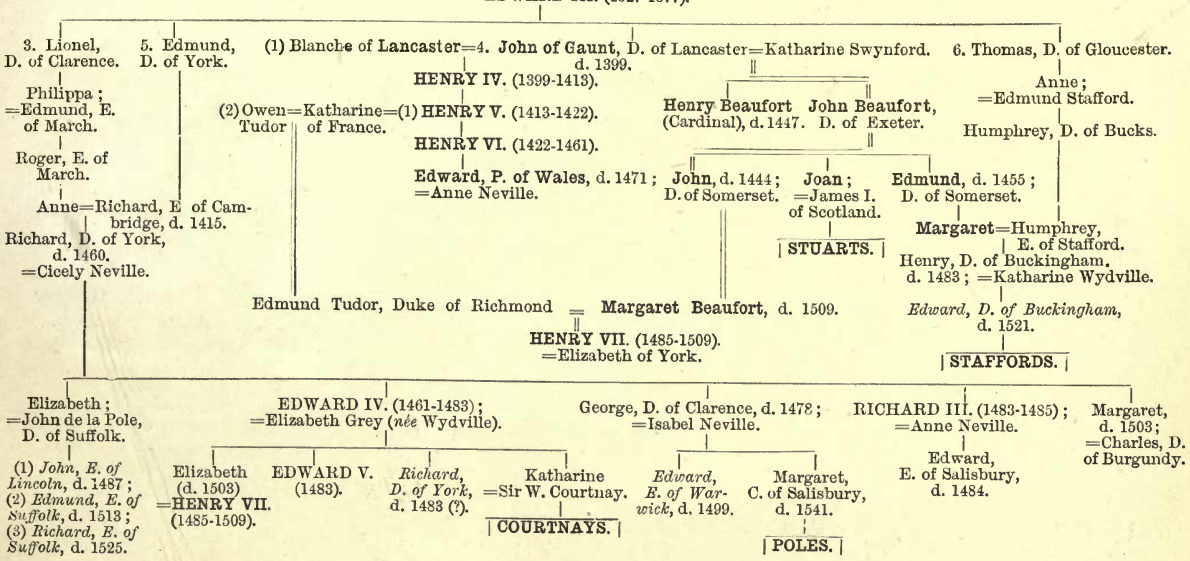

NOTE.—The Lancastrians and family names in dark type; eminent rivals of the Tudors in *italics;* sovereigns in capitals (the figures within brackets denoting the period of their reigns). The descent of Henry VII. shown by a double line.

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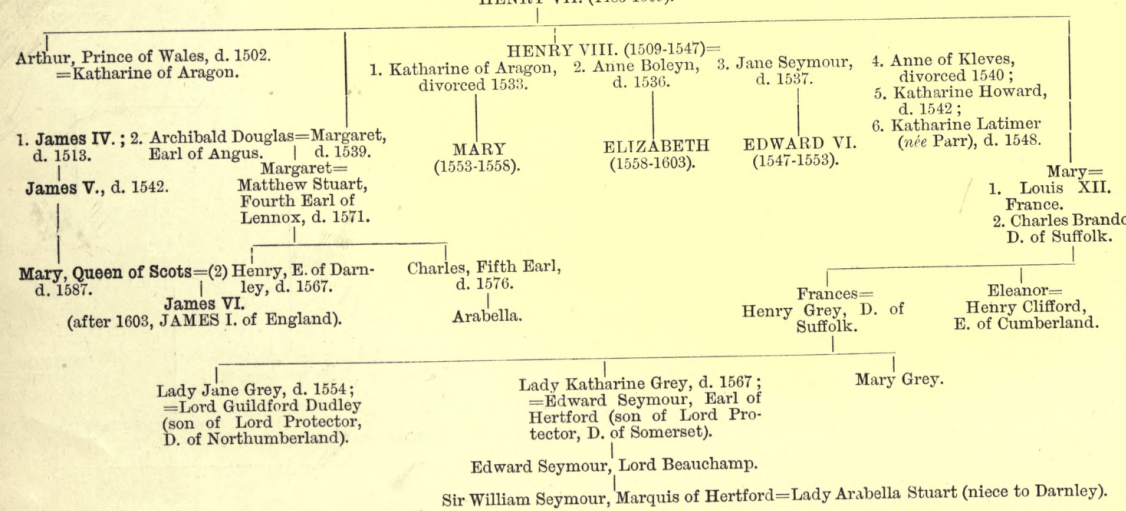


NOTE.—English sovereigns in capitals (the dates within brackets denoting the period of their reigns); Scotch in dark type.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

1485—1580.

CHAPTER I.

Henry VII. (1485-1509).

§ 1. The Close of the Middle Ages—§ 2. England in the Fifteenth Century—§ 3. The Battle of Bosworth—§ 4. Henry VII.'s title to the Crown—§ 5. Risings of Lord Lovel and Lambert Simnel—§ 6. Perkyn Warbeck, and the Cornish Rising of 1497—§ 7. Henry's Relations with France and Flanders—§ 8. His Marriage Connections with Scotland and Spain, and his Foreign Policy—§ 9. Henry's Administrative Reforms: the Star Chamber—§ 10. The Crown and the Three Estates of the Realm under the Tudors—§ 11. Henry's Finance and Character.

§ 1. With the fifteenth century the Middle Ages pass away. In other words, the old ties binding man to man, State to State—ties which had been in process of elaboration for a thousand years—have worn themselves out, and new ones are unconsciously found to replace them. Feudalism became an impossible basis of healthy society when town artisans and rural labourers rose above the status of villeins: their individual interests were irreconcileable with feudal obligations. A common religion, a common obedience to one representative of Christ on earth, were no longer a sufficient basis for what may be called by anticipation international relations. Other links than these were necessary: other links, though their forging was neither

Characteristics of the Fifteenth Century.

begun nor completed in this century, silently take their place during its course. An epoch cannot be so precisely dated as an event; but for convenience' sake each country has taken some crisis in its own history as that from which the new era commences. If one be wanted for Europe as a whole, the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, in 1453, is adopted: English historians commonly regard the mediæval chapter of our history as closing with 1485.

Changes in the Relation of State to State.

A brief review of Western European States, with particular reference to England, will make the nature of the transition clearer and its importance more striking. The idea of the unity of Christendom was as a working force quite dead;* and the institutions based on it—the *Papacy* on the religious, the *Holy Roman Empire* on the political side—had passed their prime. That was proved by the miserable failure of Pius II. and other Popes to unite Christian princes against the very real danger of Ottoman dominion: it was accounted for by the disgust felt at the manner in which the great question of supremacy between Pope and General Council had been fought out, and at the tendency of the Popes, after Pius II. (d. 1464), to subordinate their ecumenical position to their position as Italian princes. Religion was beginning to affect the relations of State to State less than questions of commerce. And this influenced not merely the mutual relations of States to one another, but their respective importance. The discovery of an all-ocean route to the East in 1497-8, like the discovery of a New World in the West six years before, tended to shift the commercial centre of gravity westwards from the Italian republics, and was a leading factor in the development of Spain, Portugal, France and England during the following century.

Meanwhile, a process was going on within individual countries which fitted in well with these interstate

* This statement is not falsified by the religious struggle of the ensuing century. That was animated not so much by a desire to act with unity, as by the old horror of the idea of heresy and division; and it was further complicated by political causes.

tendencies. Throughout the West of Europe there was an effort on the part of the more powerful princes to turn their loose feudal suzerainty into an effective supremacy, and to weld scattered possessions into one dominion. In *Italy*, where there was least chance of success, the attempts were feeblest and least effective. In *Germany* it still remained uncertain till well into the next century whether the Emperor would overcome the disruptive policy of the majority of his princes, who each wished to become absolute in their own territories. Hard by, Charles the Rash, Duke of Burgundy, failed in his great design of making a strong, centralized kingdom of his strange medley of territories.* On the other hand, the efforts of two astute sovereigns towards internal consolidation were attended with a fuller measure of success. Louis XI. continued his father's work of liberating *France* from the English by absorbing into France a large part of the Burgundian possessions (1477) and Provence (1481); whilst his feeble son, Charles VIII., by marrying Anne, heiress of Brittany (§ 7), gave to France almost its modern compactness of form (1491). Ferdinand of Aragon married Isabella of Castile, and the union of the *Spanish* kingdoms thus effected (1479) was followed up by the conquest of the last Moorish kingdom—Granada (1492). Both Louis and Ferdinand, too, were highly successful, not merely in absorbing land, but in putting down possible elements of opposition, whether of individuals or of classes.

Changes within the States: Rise of the Modern Nations.

§ 2. 'England had long been territorially one: what it wanted was constitutional and governmental consistency' (Stubbs). This the Lancastrian Kings (1399-1461) tried to give by working hand in hand with the Parliament that had called them to the throne; but they were poor, and they were engaged in a ruinous war with France. Henry V.—'the only Englishman of the age who aspired to greatness'—died

England in the Fifteenth Century.

* These covered, more or less, the same ground as Holland and Belgium of to-day, with detached districts lying further south—especially the duchy and county *(Franche-Comté)* of Burgundy.

young, and was succeeded by an infant who, though he reigned forty years, was never in mind more than a child. The nobles played off rival branches of the royal house against the crown. The result was, in the words of a contemporary, 'many laws and little right.' The lesser gentry and the towns cared little for the formal completeness of the theory of parliamentary government, and found that their material welfare suffered from the weakness of the administration. At Towton they gave their voice and their strength for the rival house, and Edward of York came to the throne.

Subservient as his Parliaments were, he called but six during his reign of twenty-two years. 'His reign,' Green notes, 'is the first since that of John in which not a single law which promoted freedom or remedied the abuses of power was even proposed in Parliament.' By his confiscations, by forced loans or 'benevolences' (§ 11), and by his French 'pension' or 'tribute,' he was able to 'live of his own.' He was one of our worst Kings: yet, as he secured a fair measure of peace, and did much for commerce, he was popular. But when he died, in 1483, he left behind him two hostile factions: his wife's relations, the Wydvilles, and the older nobility, headed by Henry, Duke of Buckingham (Tree, p. vii.). Richard, Duke of Gloucester, and uncle of the young King Edward V., saw that he must either be of no account during the minority or else work with the latter party against the Queen-mother and her set. With their assistance, therefore, he secured the person of the King; then, on the ground that the boy was illegitimate, had himself named King (June 26, 1483). Despite his beneficial legislation in 1484, the general belief that he had murdered his nephews—the King and his brother Richard—rendered him unpopular. Before he had been on the throne four months, Buckingham—dissatisfied as the great 'king-maker,' Warwick, had been, with his rewards—rose for a rival; and, though he failed, the rest of Richard's reign was little but a desperate attempt to keep that rival out.

The House of York, 1461-1485.

§ 3. The chosen competitor was Henry of Richmond,

whose mother, Margaret Beaufort, was the only surviving member of the family that issued from the third marriage of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, the fourth son of Edward III. (Tree, p. vii.). The Beaufort family had been legitimatized under Richard II. (§ 4), and were the mainstays of the reigning house of Lancastrians. Partly for this reason, partly because its grandfather, Owen Tudor, had married Henry V.'s widow, Henry VI. took care of the infant Henry on its father's death in 1456. In 1471 Henry was saved from the rout at Tewkesbury by his uncle Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, and sought shelter in Brittany. Thence, in October, 1483, he sailed to support Buckingham's rising, but was driven back by a storm. Richard tried in vain to induce Duke Francis to give him up; and Henry made a bid for Yorkist support by solemnly swearing, in the cathedral at Rennes, on Christmas Day, 1483, to marry Edward IV.'s eldest daughter, Elizabeth.

Henry Tudor, Duke of Richmond.

On August 1, 1485, Henry landed at Milford Haven with over 2,000 Norman troops, which were joined by many a Welshman before he drew near the King's forces at Bosworth in Leicestershire. Henry's numbers were considerably less than Richard's, but, unlike his, were not disaffected; and on the eve of the battle he was joined by some 5,000 men under Sir William Stanley, whose brother, Lord Stanley (stepfather to Henry), held aloof till the day of battle, his son being in Richard's power. A close encounter followed, in which most of the carnage was on Richard's side. Richard saw the day was lost, but refused to fly; and 'if he lost his life, he died a King.' His crown was picked up from a hawthorn bush by Sir William Stanley, and placed on the victor's head amid shouts of 'King Harry!'

Battle of Bosworth, Aug. 22, 1485.

§ 4. Henry VII., having secured the persons of his betrothed, the Lady Bessy, and of her cousin Edward, Earl of Warwick, marched to London. He was there crowned on October 30, by Archbishop Bourchier, and the same day instituted

Henry's Coronation and Title to the Crown.

the *Yeomen of the Guard*.* About a month later he met the Parliament he had summoned to recognise or sanction the title he had assumed, to reverse the attainders of his own party, and to attaint 'the heads and principals of his enemies.' Henry claimed to have become King 'by just title of inheritance, and by the true judgment of God in giving him the victory over the late usurper.' Parliament refrained from stating the grounds of its assent, and simply registered an accomplished fact by declaring—

'That the inheritance of the crown be, rest, remain and abide in the most royal person of our now sovereign lord King Henry VII., and in the heirs of his body.'

It was just as well, perhaps, thus to slur over the nature of Henry's claims to the crown. A claim founded on conquest alone would have been neither judicious nor true. The validity of the title by inheritance is much disputed, for the rules of succession to the crown have been less elaborated than those regarding private lands. A glance at the Tree on page vii. will show that Henry was descended from John of Gaunt by his third wife, Katharine Swynford. Her children had been born while she was still his mistress, but they were legitimatized in 1397; and this act was ratified in 1407, with the important modification, *excepta dignitate regali*. In point of fact, putting aside the absent descendants of John of Gaunt by his second and Spanish marriage, he was the nearest kinsman to Henry VI., and this consideration was held more important than the technical difficulty about the half-blood. In line of descent from Edward III. the daughters of Edward IV. and the children of Clarence stood before him; but the latter were attainted, and the former had been declared base-born by Richard's Parliament. This stigma was now removed in order that Henry might fulfil his promise to marry the Lady Bessy. But he carefully avoided the appearance of wishing to strengthen his own claim by that marriage: it was intended merely to conciliate Yorkists and to ensure that his descendants

* These numbered only fifty archers, but, with the garrisons at Berwick and Calais, form the germ of a standing army.

should be acceptable to both parties. Henry likewise refrained, unlike the early Lancastrians, from being content with a purely parliamentary title.

§ 5. Henry's title was a few months later confirmed in the fullest sense by Innocent VIII.; but his position was almost as difficult to secure as to define. Nearly twelve years elapsed before Henry was really safe from rivals who disputed his title, and was free to turn to those foreign intrigues in which he delighted, and which at least gave England some weight in the affairs of Europe. To this work, as the founder of a dynasty (§§ 5, 6) and as a diplomatist (§§ 7, 8), must be added his useful but unostentatious work in remedying the old evil of 'lack of governance' (§§ 9-11).

Divisions of Henry's Reign.

Henry's first trouble came whilst he was making a progress in the North to wean it from its Yorkist affections. An old supporter of Richard, Viscount Lovel, marched on York, whilst Sir Humfrey and Thomas Stafford, connections of the Duke of Buckingham, rose in Worcestershire. But their rising was, as Henry said, 'a mere rag or remnant of Bosworth Field, and had nothing in it of the main party of the House of York.' Before a promise of pardon the insurgents quickly melted away; 'the heralds,' Bacon notes, 'were the great ordnance' which won the success of Henry's uncle Jasper, who had been raised to the dukedom of Bedford, as Lord Stanley to the earldom of Derby, after the coronation. Lord Lovel escaped to Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, Edward IV.'s younger sister, whose court at Brussels was for a long period the fertile 'seed-bed of plots against the English monarchy.'

Lord Lovel's Rising, April, 1486.

She contributed the main strength of the next rising, though it seems not to have been initiated by her. The central figure of this was a boy of some eleven years old, who turned out to be the son of an organ-builder at Oxford. Lambert Simnel had been trained by a priest named Richard Symons to personate Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, and as such he was recognised in Ireland, where he made his

Lambert Simnel, Feb.-June, 1487.

first appearance in March, 1487, and won the support of the ex-deputy, the Earl of Kildare, and of the latter's family connections, the Geraldines. Henry easily demonstrated the falseness of his pretensions by parading the real Edward in public, but the very usefulness of the prisoner for this purpose saved his life. Simnel was crowned at Dublin in May, and soon afterwards landed with a formidable force at Fouldrey, in Lancashire, where the Yorkist, Sir Thomas Broughton, had much influence. He advanced southwards, but 'his snowball did not gather as it went;' and on June 16 Kildare's kerns and gallowglasses and Martin Schwartz's 2,000 'Almains' were utterly defeated after some three hours' hard fighting at Stoke, near Newark. Amongst the slain was John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln (Tree, p. vii.), who had been adopted as his heir by Richard III. on the death of his own son Edward. Simnel became a turnspit in the royal kitchen, and later his good behaviour elevated him to the post of falconer. True to his policy of preferring mercy to vengeance, Henry let Yorkist suspects off with fines; and 'finding where his shoe did wring him, and that it was his depressing of the House of York that did rankle and fester the affections of his people,' he had the Queen crowned with much state in November. She had earned her crown matrimonial by giving birth to a son fourteen months before, on whom the Keltic name of Arthur had been bestowed.

Minor Outbreaks, 1489-1492.

The next two disturbances at home seem to arise out of discontent at the taxation, and to stand apart from any dynastic question. Both took place in Yorkshire, where, notes Bacon,' the memory of King Richard was so strong that it lay like lees in the bottoms of men's hearts, and if the vessel was but stirred it would come up.' The rising at Thirsk in 1489 occasioned the death of the Earl of Northumberland; but it was easily put down by the Earl of Surrey. One of its leaders, Sir John Egremont, took refuge, as usual, in Flanders; another, 'a very *boutefeu*,' who called himself John-a-Chamber, was gibbeted at York. A more obscure *émeute* at Acworth

was likewise suppressed by the Earl of Surrey, whose father had fallen at Bosworth fighting faithfully for Richard.

§ 6. This was in 1492, a year marked also by the appearance of a competitor for the crown whose origin is mysterious, who was long before the public, and who never was particularly dangerous, perhaps, though he certainly might easily have become so. This was a 'fair-spoken, richly-dressed youth,' who in February, 1492, landed at Cork from Portugal, and claimed the crown as Richard, Duke of York, one of the princes supposed to have been murdered in the Tower. In his confession several years later he gave out that he was the son of a Flemish Jew of Tournay, and that his real name was Piers Osbeck, or Perkyn Warbeck. The 'historic doubts' that have been entertained as to whether he was really an impostor have now been scattered, and the general truth of his confession confirmed. From Ireland Warbeck went to France, whence he was expelled in October in accordance with the *Treaty of Estaples* (§ 7). He found refuge with the Dowager Duchess Margaret, who gave him a bodyguard and 'the delicate title of *The White Rose of England.*' But his cause was seriously damaged by the publication of the confessions of the murderers of the two princes, and by the execution* of many Yorkists who were intriguing with him, and whose names were revealed to Henry by Sir Robert Clifford, an informer (1494). In July, 1495, he landed at Sandwich, and was repulsed. He then attempted the siege of Waterford, which was rewarded for its loyalty to Henry with the title of *Urbs Intacta.* At the end of the year he was invited to the court of James IV. of Scotland. James gave him in marriage a cousin of his, Katharine Gordon, daughter of the Earl of Huntley, and twice invaded England on his behalf. The Earl of Surrey beat them off, and, thanks to the marauding of his allies, against which he protested in vain, 'Richard, Duke of York,' gained little support in England. In 1497 James was induced to send

Perkyn Warbeck, 1492-1497.

* Amongst those implicated were Sir William Stanley, who did not think he had been adequately rewarded for his services of 1485. He was executed early in 1495.

him away. Henry had in the previous year succeeded, by removing restrictions recently placed on the trade with Flanders, in making an arrangement by which rebels against either party should be expelled from the territories of the other. Warbeck's only place of refuge was Ireland, but though the recent Poynings' Law (1495) had caused considerable irritation there (VII. § 2), he did not venture into the eastern, or English, part of the island.

The Cornish Rising: Fall of Warbeck, 1497.

Meanwhile, a most serious rebellion took place in England. Annoyed at the grant of a heavy subsidy to guard the northern frontier, the Cornishmen rose in revolt under the leadership of a farrier named Michael Joseph, and Thomas Flammock, a lawyer, and an old Lancastrian, Lord Audley. They numbered some 16,000 men when they reached London, but on June 22, 1497, were routed on Blackheath Field, despite the excellence of their archery, by Lord d'Aubigny. Two thousand rebels fell on the field; the three leaders were captured and executed; the remainder were pardoned.

Warbeck was at once attracted by the disaffection. He landed in September at Whitsand Bay, near Penzance, assumed the title of Richard IV., and with some 3,000 men laid siege to Exeter. Driven thence, he pushed on to Taunton with a force which now numbered 7,000 men. But, like a later pretender in the same district—Monmouth in 1685—Warbeck's courage failed him, and he sought sanctuary at Beaulieu Abbey. He was induced to leave it, and was imprisoned. He attempted to escape next year, but gave himself up when he found the roads blocked; and in November, 1499, he and his fellow-prisoner, Warwick, were accused of plotting against the king, and were executed. Warbeck's wife was made lady-in-waiting to the Queen, and 'the name of the *White Rose*, which had been given to her husband's false title, was continued to her true beauty.'

§ 7. Henry's relations with France, Flanders, and Scotland were affected to a considerable extent by Warbeck: those with Spain perhaps still more by the presence

of other rivals. With France Henry was brought into conflict by the necessity of aiding his old protector, Francis, Duke of Brittany (§ 3). Francis had no heir, and there were several candidates for the hand of his daughter, Anne, and his duchy. The two principal of these were Charles VIII. of France, and Maximilian, King of the Romans.* Henry supported the latter. The taxation which Henry levied for the defence of Duke Francis caused a rising in the North under Sir John Egremont (§ 5), and the support even when sent was but lukewarm. Earl Rivers suffered a reverse at *S. Aubin* in 1488, and little came of Lord d'Aubigny's victory at *Dixmude* next year. Maximilian busied himself with other things, and in December, 1491, Charles VIII. married the heiress. In response to the cry for war, Henry raised large sums for an invasion of France. He landed at Boulogne, but soon, like Edward IV. at Pecquigny, entered into negotiations, and, in return for £149,000, signed the *Treaty of Estaples*, November, 1492. Thus Henry, remarks Bacon, 'gained from his subjects by war, and from his enemies by peace.'

Relations with: (1) France, 1488-1492.

With no country had the English more intimate trade relations than with Flanders: the two countries had been 'counted as man and wife for a long time.' Nothing did more to make Edward IV. popular than his restoration of the old security of trade —which was mainly in cloth and wool—with that country. It was at this time administered by Margaret, Edward IV.'s sister, on behalf of her step-grandson, Philip (Tree, p. 19). 'She set up King Henry,' remarks Bacon, 'as a mark, at whose overthrow all her actions should aim and shoot, insomuch as all the wounds of his troubles came chiefly out of that quiver.' Her persistent support of Yorkist pretenders caused Henry in return to banish all Flemings from England, and proclaim Calais, instead of Antwerp, as the *staple*, or wool-market (September,

(2) Flanders.

* A title commonly given to the heir apparent of the German King, who himself became *Holy Roman Emperor* on being crowned by the Pope. Maximilian, in 1508, assumed the title *Emperor-Elect* without waiting for the latter ceremony.

1493). The blow was so serious that in 1496 the Archduke Philip—who took over the direct government of the Netherlands when his father, Maximilian, became, in all but name, Emperor—agreed to expel political exiles in return for a commercial treaty. This was called the *Great Intercourse*, and provided for the exchange of commodities 'without pass or license,' and for the maintenance of order in the narrow seas. It was modified by a treaty ten years later, called by the Flemings *Malus Intercursus*, as being less favourable to them; by it Philip had to give up Edmund de la Pole (Tree, p. vii.), a rival whom Philip and his father had been keeping for some years as a possible trump card against Henry. This treaty was not quite voluntary on Philip's part. He had been driven by bad weather to take refuge on our coasts as he sailed south to claim the throne of Castile, in right of his wife Joanna: the treaty was the price of his release. Two matrimonial alliances were also arranged (§ 8), but fell through.

§ 8. With his nearest neighbour Henry was at first on friendly terms. James III. of Scotland, however, fell in 1488 before a combination of nobles, whose excessive power he had done so much to cut down; and his son, James IV., renewed the old Scotch policy of hostility to England. His support of Warbeck mentioned above (§ 6), was withdrawn in 1497, largely through the influence of the Spanish court; and in 1502 the marriage of Henry's daughter Margaret with the Scottish king—which had been some time under consideration—actually took place, and cemented the *Perpetual Peace* signed in January. It was this marriage which, in the third generation, brought about the union of the English and Scottish crowns on the head of James I. of England.

(3) Scotland.

Another marriage alliance is remarkable, not only for the contentions which were to arise out of it in the next reign (II. §§ 10-12; III. §§ 3-6), but for the curious way in which the negotiations for it connect themselves with Henry's efforts for undisputed possession at home, and for prestige abroad. As early as 1490 Henry had close diplomatic relations with

(4) Spain.

the 'Catholic sovereigns' of Spain, Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile (§ 1). The immense increase in their power, within and without the peninsula, during the next ten years, made Henry desirous of a nearer connection with them. It is believed that the execution of Warwick and Warbeck, in 1499 (§ 6), was due mainly to Henry's knowledge that their existence, as giving malcontents a possible rallying point against him, stood in the way of such a connection. And the flight of the late Earl of Lincoln's brothers (§ 5 and Tree, p. vii.) in 1501 seems to show that they feared a similar fate. At any rate, it was not till November, 1501, that Henry's eldest son, Arthur, married Katharine of Aragon, Ferdinand's second daughter. On the death of the young Prince of Wales, in April next year, a dispensation was obtained from Pope Julius II. for Henry, Duke of York, to marry his brother's widow. The betrothal was, however, not followed up by marriage till after the King's death.

Henry's Foreign Policy.

The six years which elapsed between the death of Henry VII.'s wife in 1503, and his own in 1509, are taken up with Henry's 'adventures in the matrimonial market, which contribute the one serio-comic element in this severely business-like reign' (Stubbs). Amongst those whom he thought of marrying were the Dowager Duchess Margaret of Burgundy—this would have given him a hold on the Low Countries; her step-granddaughter, Margaret, Philip's sister; and after Philip's death his neglected but devoted widow, Joanna. Like the marriage proposed in 1506, between Philip's son Charles and Henry's daughter Mary, these did not come off—perhaps were not all seriously meant to; but they are important as showing Henry's willingness to take part in European affairs, and the general drift of his inclinations. The period was marked by a diplomatic activity such as had never before been seen; and the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. of France in 1494 had begun the long conflict between France and the Hapsburgs. During these years France was mostly pitted against Spain, and the powers with which it had family ties—Maximilian, Archduke of

Austria and King of Germany, and his son, Philip, who ruled the old Burgundian possessions. Henry threw his weight on the side of whichever of the opponents of France suited him best for the time being. Had he aspired to becoming head of a coalition of some sort, he had assuredly less formidable rivals for such a position than his son Henry had. He died, however, without making any definite move.

§ 9. Undoubtedly Henry's best work was done at home. The dignity which he gave England abroad was after all only a complement—a valuable complement it is true—to the security he wrought within the country. His legislation has received high praise from Bacon,* who calls him the greatest legislator since Edward I. In the remark quoted below there is, at least, this much truth: 'that his measures at home were dictated, not by the necessities of the moment, but by those of the time.' Hence they can be better grouped together as a whole than treated chronologically.

Home Government of Henry VII.

Henry's first object was to secure his position, and he fully possessed the Tudor aptitude for making self-interest harmonize with popular feeling. He saw clearly enough that, in addition to removing his rivals, he must root out the disorders in local government which sprang for the most part out of the jealousies of the great baronial houses; that he must attach as many as he could to his rule by creating confidence in its stability; and, above all, that he must look well after his exchequer.

One of the greatest evils of the fifteenth century was the control which local magnates held and exercised over the ordinary administration of justice; in particular, they manipulated or intimidated juries by means of their huge bands of *retainers*. Edward IV. had tried to get at these powerful offenders by giving new powers of criminal jurisdiction to the lord high constable, the earl marshal, and the lord chancellor.

The Court of Star Chamber.

* 'Deep, and not vulgar, not made upon the spur of a particular occasion for the present, but out of providence for the future, to make the estate of his people still more and more happy, after the manner of the legislators in ancient and heroical times.'

Henry, in 1487, obtained the sanction of Parliament to an act which gave a general supervision of *criminal* offences—analogous to the equitable jurisdiction of the chancellor in *civil* matters—to a committee of the *Privy Council*, as the King's ordinary council had come to be called. This committee consisted of the chancellor, the treasurer, the lord privy seal, taking to themselves a bishop, a lord temporal, and two chief justices. Their function was to summon before themselves, examine, and punish (with any penalty short of death) misdoers in the following respects: 'Unlawful *maintenances*,* giving of *liveries*,† untrue demeaning of sheriffs in making of panels and other untrue returns, great riots, and unlawful assemblies.' The court was originally intended, as its historian Hudson said, for 'cases where all other courts want power, for want of law to warrant them, and have no weight sufficient to poise the question.' But, possibly through Wolsey's influence, both its composition and its functions extended: 'every misdemeanour came within the scope of its inquiry;' and its powers were exercised by the whole council. It took its name of *Star Chamber* from the star-spangled roof of the room in which it generally sat. The name itself does not appear till 1529.

Much was done for law and order by the restrictions placed in 1488-89 on *benefit of clergy* and the *right of sanctuary*. The former was the exemption enjoyed by clergymen from criminal proceedings before a secular judge, and anyone who could read was accounted a clergyman. Henry enacted that a convict clerk should be branded in the hand, M. for murder, and T. for felony. The latter right had become so extended that a criminal could take shelter in one of the numerous sanctuaries—every church and churchyard was an asylum—for forty days, and then, after declaring his offence to the coroner,

* *Maintenance* is defined as 'the act of assisting the plaintiff in any legal proceeding in which the person giving the assistance has no valuable interest.' Those thus called in were naturally men of influence. The practice had been ineffectually struck at in many laws from Richard II. to Richard III.

† *Liveries* worn as a badge of being the retainers of a great man. Cf. the story of Henry VII. fining the Earl of Oxford £10,000 for receiving him in state, with crowds of such retainers: 'I may not have my laws broken in my own sight.'

journey, cross in hand, to the coast and so escape. In return for a few compliments, Innocent VIII.* gave Henry a Bull, authorizing material modifications of the right: a sanctuary-man who broke out and committed any trespass was to lose all right to such protection thenceforth; the goods of a man who was in sanctuary might be seized, and a man guilty of high treason who took refuge in sanctuary might be watched by the King's keeper.

Statutes of *Fines*, and of *De Facto* King.

Two of Henry's statutes seem devised with a view to making it more profitable to adhere steadily to Henry than to waver. The *Statute of Fines* provided that after five years' unchallenged occupancy of land the title of the occupier thereto should be secure. This was necessitated by the frequent changes of ownership during the late fifty years of disturbances. Another statute (of 1495) declared that no one who served the King for the time being should be liable to be attainted as a traitor. This was an amnesty for the old Yorkists, and an attempt to make Henry's own adherents feel safe in remaining true to him.

Henry VII.'s Constitutional Position.

§ 10. Parliament did not play a very important part in Henry VII.'s reign. During its twenty-four years it met but seven times, and all but one of these sessions were held before 1497, *i.e.*, whilst Morton was Henry's chief adviser. Perhaps this was because Henry did not wish to see old controversies refought; perhaps because he thought the old Lancastrian reliance on Parliaments had not proved quite successful; perhaps because he felt himself strong enough to get on fairly well without them. In point of fact, the stage of our history when all estates of the realm were acting together against the crown had passed away, as completely as that, under the Norman Kings, when King and people were allied against the baronage. The time had come when all classes wished for peace, and were ready to seek it under the guidance of a strong, sensible monarchy. And such they had for a century.

The older baronage had lost many of its members in

* Bacon represents him as being pleased with Henry's fair words, because he 'knew himself to be lazy and unprofitable.'

the civil wars. Commynes says eighty of the blood royal alone perished. 'But it was attenuated in power and prestige rather than in numbers,' says Bishop Stubbs, who notes that the average attendance of lay peers under Henry VII. was about the same as it had been throughout the century—*i.e.*, forty. And the new peers, created sparingly by Henry VII., lavishly by his son, acted heartily with the sovereigns to whom they owed their elevation. The Commons had no particular reasons for opposing the crown, and, accustomed as they were to lean on the nobles, probably could not if they would. Besides, the recent restriction of the franchise to 40s. freeholders had narrowed the range of their representativeness. The Church had been frightened by the old Lollard threats of spoliation, and clung meekly to the throne.

The result of these conditions was that, as Hallam says, 'the founder of the House of Tudor came, not certainly to an absolute, but to a vigorous prerogative.' This was extended by his successors, and exercised arbitrarily enough at times. But the Tudors set up no theory of absolute government such as lost two Stuarts their thrones: they governed through their council, and, when matters of importance arose, managed to secure, too, the support of Parliament (VIII. § 5).

§ 11. Henry's first Parliament (1485-86) granted him tunnage and poundage *for life*—a practice found earlier under Edward IV.; and it also passed an *Act of Resumption*, whereby recent grants of crown-domain were cancelled. The money thus acquired he spent sparingly, but well, for the security of his throne. He supplemented parliamentary grants by *benevolences*,* and even obtained a sort of legislative sanction to these when, in 1495, Parliament ordered that all sums promised to the King as gifts should be paid up in full. These promises had been exacted by means of a piece of practical logic known as

Henry's Methods of Raising Money.

* *Benevolences* are thus described by a contemporary: *Ut per benevolentiam, quilibet daret quod vellet, immo verius quod nollet.* The collection of such 'free gifts' had been systematized by Edward IV. Richard III.'s Parliament of 1484 abolished them as 'new and unlawful inventions'; but, of course, as he was a usurper, his legislation was regarded as invalid.

Morton's fork: a man must be either thrifty or extravagant; in the former case, he should give out of his hidden savings; in the latter, out of his manifest plenty. The way in which Henry made money out of the French war in 1492 has already been related (§ 7). His later years were marked by the extortions of his officers, Richard Empson, the son of a Towcester tradesman, and Robert Dudley, a Warwickshire squire. They displayed vast ingenuity in obtaining fees for pardon and privileges, and fines for petty and forgotten offences.

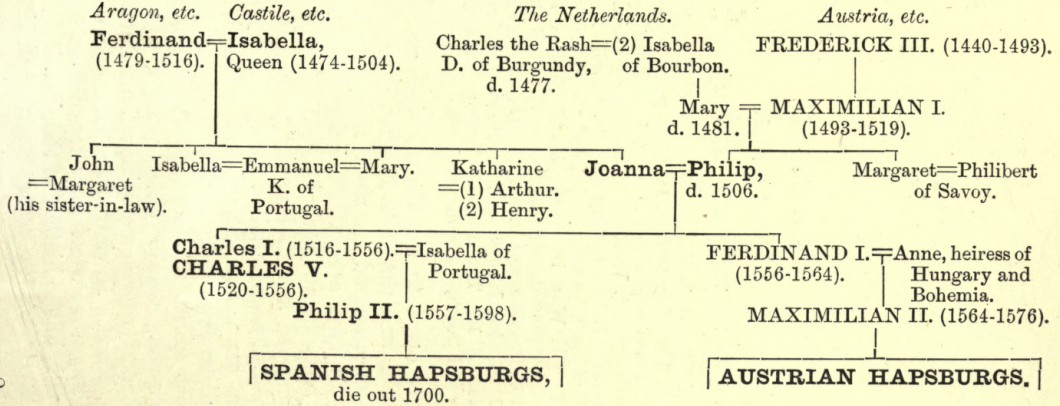
To their conduct especially is due Henry's reputation for avarice. He, like Marlborough, has often been quoted as one of the few instances of 'really great men who loved money for its own sake.' Without approving his methods, it is possible to think this sentence somewhat too hard. If the Lancastrian *régime* had any obvious lesson, it was that the want of money was the root of all evil. And Henry was quite capable, had he seen it to be worth while, of spending profitably to himself and the nation the £1,800,000 of which, on April 22, 1509, he died possessed.

Henry's Character and Importance.

'Henry's reign bridges over the strait between the Wars of the Roses and the Reformation, between England isolated and England taking a first place in the counsels of Europe, between England weak and England strong' (Stubbs). And it is idle to deny that this contrast is due first of all to the capacity of the King himself. He lacked originality? So did Alfred, who, alone of our Kings, is known as 'the Great.' He made good use of other people's ideas, and he was successful. He came to the throne under unfavourable conditions; yet he both secured internal peace and left a likelihood of its continuance in an undisputed succession. He gave England order at home and dignity abroad. That is the achievement which has won him the title—fitting enough, but that it savours of an ostentation foreign to his character—'the Solomon of England.'

TABLE III.

The Descent of Charles V.



NOTE.—The dates within brackets represent the period during which a title was held. The Emperors are printed in capitals, Spanish sovereigns in dark type.

CHAPTER II.

Henry VIII.

DOWN TO THE FALL OF WOLSEY, 1529.

§ 1. Henry VIII. and the New Learning—§ 2. Henry's Earlier Acts at Home—§ 3. The *Holy League*, 1511-13—§ 4. The Battle of Flodden Field and Peace with Louis XII.—§ 5. The Rise of Wolsey: his Domestic Policy—§ 6. Wolsey's Foreign Policy: Affairs Abroad from 1515 to 1518—§ 7. The Rivalry between Francis I. of France and Charles I. of Spain for the Empire, and for Henry VIII.'s Support, 1519-1520—§ 8. War in Scotland and France, 1521-1523—§ 9. Gradual Estrangement between Charles V. and Henry VIII., 1525-1528—§ 10. The Rise and Progress of the Divorce Question, 1527-1528—§ 11. Political Aspect of the Divorce Question: the Legatine Commission—§ 12. The Fall of Wolsey, 1529—§ 13. Wolsey's Character and Death, November 29, 1530.

§ 1. HENRY came to the throne with everything in his favour. He was the first English King for a century unhampered by rival claimants to the crown. He took over a full treasury and a well-trained body of advisers like Fox and Warham. He himself enjoyed a well-deserved popularity. He was a handsome and accomplished man, with a character from which, as his worst enemy Pole allowed, nothing but good could be expected. Above all, he had the confidence of the best spirits of his time—those promoters of the New Learning whose chief patron was Archbishop Warham, and whose most illustrious names are Colet, Erasmus, More. In view of the later events of the reign, it is well to gather what they hoped from him, and what their place is in the history of thought.

Henry and the New Learning.

These men were the representatives in England of the

great movement known as the Renascence. The Renascence eludes definition. It primarily expresses the 'new birth' of the knowledge of classical antiquity consequent on the long-increasing acquaintance with non-Christian Latin writers, and on the recent revival of the study of Greek letters in the Western world. Both of these were helped forward by the new discovery of the printing-press* and the rapid multiplication of printed books. The effect of this —which can only be adequately realized by the comparative study of European literature of the fourteenth and of the end of the fifteenth centuries—has been described by Michelet as 'the discovery of the world and the discovery of man.' The phrase means that the old mediæval notions fell to pieces. In face of this strange new world, revealed in the pages of the classics, the thinking man could no longer tolerate the scholastic learning which had lost its life and shrivelled into formulas: in face of the new world revealed in the West by Columbus and others in and after 1492—books about which 'were in every man's hand,' says More—he could not confine his interest to Christendom and to the future life. The key-note of this stirring of men's minds was long ago struck by Terence: *Homo sum, nihil humani a me alienum puto.* This was the 'discovery of man.'

The Renascence in Italy and in England.

Such were the main lines of the Renascence, but it took a very different shape on the two sides of the Alps. The Italian Renascence was a brilliant epoch in letters and art. Amongst its more famous patrons were Lorenzo de' Medici, Pope Nicholas V., and Leo X. Amongst its more illustrious workers stand out the names of Poggio, Ficino, Raffaele, Michael Angelo, and Cellini. But in religion it only produced a conforming scepticism, and in sociology no interest whatever. It was different in the North. True, into France arts and artists were im-

* The first book of any note to be printed from movable types was the *Mazarine Bible*, issued from the press of Fust, Gutenberg and Schoeffer, at Mainz, about 1450. The invention was quickly taken up in the Netherlands and Italy, where by 1485 thirty towns had presses, and where it was carried to a high degree of perfection by Aldus at Venice (1494-1515). William Caxton, who had learnt the art with Colard Manson at Bruges, set up his press at Westminster in 1476.

ported from Italy; but in Germany and England the New Learning centred round the reform of religious abuses and of education, and the improvement of the daily life of men. This last is the feature which lifts the *Utopia** of Sir Thomas More above contemporary works. The first was the occasion of much satire by More and Erasmus, and of much preaching by Dean Colet. But the abuses which these Oxford reformers strove honestly to sweep away were too vast for a few men of culture to remove: the task was left for others to perform—Luther by taking, Henry VIII. by forcing, the people into partnership with themselves.

§ 2. Henry was in sympathy with the new movement. He liked the gaiety which these new scholars encouraged, in opposition to the recluse-like habits of the older type of student. And he approved of the demand for reform of the Church, nor was his opinion without value. Theologian as he was—there is a story that he was brought up with a view to the primacy—he joined Warham in protecting Colet when accused of heresy for attacking the clergy, and for distinguishing between the voice of Christ and the voice of the Church. But he would not devote his life to the execution of the ideas of the New Learning: he preferred martial glory and popular adulation—he was no philosopher-king.

Henry's Earlier Acts.

Henry began his reign with two acts which seemed like a deliberate abandonment of his father's policy. He arrested and imprisoned many of the latter's legal and financial agents. The chief among them, Empson and Dudley (I. § 11), defended themselves so well on the charge of illegal exactions that an accusation of conspiring to compass the new King's death was trumped up against them. They were convicted by a jury and attainted by Parliament,† and after a long respite were

* The more noticeable points of this treatise are vividly drawn out at the end of Ch. VI., § 4, of J. R. Green's *Short History of the English People*. See, too, U. C. C. *Literature*, 1485-1580, Ch. III.

† This Parliament also granted the King *for life* tunnage and poundage, and the subsidy on wool, woolfels and leather. *Tunnage* was a duty of 3s. per tun on wine, and *poundage* a duty of 6d. per pound on dry goods imported. They were fixed at these sums in 1373.

executed in August, 1510. Parliament also defined more clearly several points of law whose ambiguity had been made use of by the two lawyers.

The other act was the completion of the marriage with Katharine of Aragon (see I. § 8). He had been contracted to her within a year of his brother's death, but had not been permitted to complete the marriage in his fifteenth year, as arranged with her parents. Henry TII. had excused the delay on various grounds—the non-payment of the balance of the dowry, etc.—and had caused his son to claim his freedom from all obligation to marry her. Naturally enough the younger Henry fell in love with the lady who was thus kept away from him, though she was six years older than he himself was; and the marriage* seems to have been entirely a case of mutual affection, not of political expediency (June, 1509).

§ 3. Henry's foreign policy, if, like these acts at home, more impulsive than the late King's, was at least on his father's lines. Henry VII.'s last interference with Continental affairs had been to give in his adhesion to the *League of Cambray*, contrived by the warlike Pope, Julius II., against Venice (December, 1508). As the latter's object was simply to make the Papal States the leading Italian Power, he readily accepted the submission of Venice when it had lost its land possessions (February, 1510), and made the refusal of France to do the same an excuse for breaking with that State, and for setting his late allies generally by the ears. This time his aim was, in his own phrase, 'to expel the barbarians from Italy;' and as the barbarians were in this case the French, he easily formed into a *Holy League* to protect himself all who hoped for any territorial gain at the expense of France. It was joined before the end of 1511 by Ferdinand, Henry, and Maximilian; and Henry was flattered by being named *Head of the Italian League*. The really decisive event of

Henry joins the *Holy League*.

* 'Katharine was dressed in white, and wore her hair loose—ceremonies appropriate,' says Lingard, 'to the nuptials of maids.' This is important. See § 10.

the war was the disastrous victory of the French at *Ravenna* (April 11, 1512), gained over Spanish and papal troops at the expense of the brilliant young commander Gaston de Foix, whose death was quickly followed by the expulsion of the French from Italy.

Outside Italy the war took a national form, though by distracting Louis' attention it helped the Pope, and so justified its name. Henry reasserted the old claim to the French crown, and in support of it made two invasions of France. The first was directed to the conquest of Guienne: the second to that of Normandy. That of 1512 consisted of some 7,000 troops under the Marquis of Dorset, who kept his troops at Fontarabia rather than help Ferdinand's generals in conquering that part of Navarre which lay south of the Pyrenees. Whilst this was going on the English lord high admiral, Sir Edward Howard, gained a small victory off Brest, but lost the finest vessel of the fleet—it was some 1,000 tons burden—*The Regent*. Next year he lost his life near the same place, and was succeeded by his brother, Lord Thomas Howard.

English Invasion of France, 1512-13.

During the winter Louis secured breathing-space from both Ferdinand and Julius. Henry's ardour was unquenched, and in June, 1513, he himself took* the command of some 25,000 men, and laid siege to the fortress-town of Terouenne, near Calais. The Emperor Maximilian joined him as a volunteer, at 100 crowns a day; and it was largely through him that, after over a month's siege—during which an attempt of the French cavalry to relieve the place resulted in a panic known as the *Battle of Spurs*—Terouenne surrendered (August). A month later the populous neighbouring town of Tournay fell. With these expensive laurels and the promise of Maximilian's son Charles for his sister Mary (talked of in 1506), Henry returned to England.

§ 4. Meanwhile war had broken out with James IV. of Scotland, brother-in-law though he was to Henry. The

* Before leaving he ordered the execution of the Duke of Suffolk (see I. § 7), apparently because his younger brother Richard, *the White Rose*, was serving in the French army, as he did till his death at *Pavia*, 1525.

causes were trivial enough: the non-delivery of certain jewels left to Margaret, and the death of a Scotch privateer, named Andrew Barton, in an action with the Howards. To these must be added the solicitations of Louis XII. and of his wife, Anne of Brittany.* After several forays on either side, James IV. crossed the border with a large force and an exceptionally fine park of artillery of seventeen pieces. In addition to this he occupied a strong position on the hill of *Flodden*, on the banks of the river Till, when he was attacked, defeated and slain, by the Earl of Surrey. The Scotch, having lost 8,000 against the English loss of 6,000, retreated next day.

The Battle of Flodden Field, Sept. 9, 1513.

Active preparations were made for continuing the war; but Julius II. had in March, 1513, been succeeded by the peace-loving Leo X., and the ostensible object of the war was gained when Louis XII. yielded most of the points at issue with the Holy See before the end of the year. During the winter he also made it worth the while of both the King of Aragon and the Emperor to cease active operations. They had the grace not to make peace without the participation of England, though they had no very great respect for that 'wealthy parvenu in the great family of nations' (Brewer). But they would not help Henry, and so he was driven to make peace. As his father's hoard and heavy extraordinary subsidies were already spent, he was willing to do this 'if he received an equivalent for his inheritance of France.' Accordingly, in August, 1514, three treaties were signed, whereby Louis agreed to make a life alliance with Henry, marry his sister Mary,† and pay to Henry and his heirs, by thirty-eight half-yearly instalments, the sum of one million crowns (p. 67).

Peace with Louis XII., Aug. 1514.

About the same time peace was made with Scotland, which was now under the Regency of the Queen-Dowager Margaret. The latter had, however, the Tudor *penchant* for wedlock, and soon married Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus. She thus lost

Affairs of, Scotland, 1514-20.

* For Anne, see I. § 7. On the death of Charles VIII., Louis XII. had married his relict in order to retain Brittany in the possession of the French crown.

† Louis' wife, Anne of Brittany, being lately dead, and the parties to the contraction of Charles to Mary (§ 3) having now formed other views for him.

her influence, and was supplanted by the Duke of Albany, who was French in birth and breeding. The latter was, late in 1516, ordered by the new King of France, Francis I., to retire; and his departure restored the country to a nominal obedience to Angus and the Queen-dowager. (See § 8.)

§ 5. The year of these partial pacifications was also marked by the elevation of Thomas Wolsey to the See of York, and his distinct appearance as the leading adviser to the King. The son of an Ipswich grazier, he had early become known as the *Boy Bachelor* of Magdalen College, Oxford, and, thanks to his own energy and the kindness of many patrons—in especial, Fox, Bishop of Winchester—entered the service of Henry VII. That monarch was particularly struck by his quickness in performing an important mission to the imperial court, in which he travelled to Brussels and back in some eighty hours. As almoner to Henry VIII., he commended himself to the young King by his readiness, without neglecting business, to take part—not always with decorum—in the ceaseless revels and frolics of the court. Preferment after preferment was poured on him at home (see Appendix): the highest civil office—that of lord chancellor—was thrust on him in 1515; about the same time Leo X. tried to win his voice in the council by making him cardinal; and two years later he was lifted above the head of Warham, the primate, by being invested with the powers of legate. More than this, the years during which Wolsey was thus supreme in both secular and spiritual matters (1515-29) were precisely those during which Henry was still capable of being guided, whereas for the rest of the reign no minister was more than a mere instrument of a King who had learnt he could do what he liked, and who did not shrink from doing it.

Rise of Wolsey, 1514.

Wolsey's chief characteristic was his enormous power of work. As chancellor, so much business was sent to him that subordinate courts had to be erected to transact parts of it. As legate, he did not hesitate to take on his shoulders, in addition to his ordinary business, the im-

mense task of attempting to correct clerical abuses. Like Morton, he saw the 'incurable uselessness' of so many religious houses, and suppressed a considerable number in order to devote their revenues to the furtherance of the New Learning.*

In home affairs he held faithfully by the principles of the New Monarchy. As he himself said on his death-bed, he served his prince more diligently even than he served God. He hated Parliaments. During his long tenure of power, only one was summoned—in 1523; and the result of the experiment was not encouraging to him. On the top of a long series of loans and benevolences there came the demand for £800,000 for the French war, to be raised by taking a fifth of every man's goods and lands. Wolsey attempted to overawe the Commons by going 'with all his pomp, his maces, his pillars, his pole-axes, his cross, his belt, and the Great Seal too.' The speaker,† Sir Thomas More, had to represent to him that it was contrary to their ancient liberties to be thus constrained; but after sixteen days' debate a grant of one-tenth was made. 'No man in my life,' said a member of the Commons, 'can remember even half as large a grant.' Two years later an illegal subsidy of one-sixth was demanded, but was, on the advice of the Duke of Norfolk, withdrawn after 'the shedding of many salt tears'—and some blood in the eastern counties (§ 8).

Quite consistent with this distrust of Parliament and the adoption of arbitrary methods of raising money, was Wolsey's extensive use of the Council, to avoid, perhaps, the dangerous *appearance* of absolutism. At any rate, it was—according to Sir Thomas Smith—under Wolsey that the Star Chamber 'took that augmentation and authority' which made it interfere with the pettiest details of a man's daily life, and gradually won for it so much hatred (VIII. § 5).

§ 6. It was, however, in foreign affairs that Wolsey's

* The Grammar School of Ipswich, and Christ Church, Oxford (a fragment of his intended *Cardinal College*), are the living monuments of this activity.

† Under the Tudors 'the speaker was the manager of business on behalf of the crown, and probably the nominee either of the King himself or the chancellor.'—*Stubbs.*

real interest lay. He sought, by means of the endless diplomatic intrigues of the day, to make England 'an umpire between great rival parties on the Continent, from whose humiliation nothing was to be gained, and from whose over-exaltation something was to be feared' (Stubbs). But beneath this common ideal of the time lay his personal ambition to attain the papal tiara. It is time to see how this affected the attitude of England.

Wolsey's Foreign Policy, 1515-18.

The years immediately following the peace with France in 1514 are years of little importance in the history of England, but—to say nothing of Luther's appearance—of much intricacy in European affairs. Louis XII.'s efforts to please his young wife—he was fifty-three, while Mary was but sixteen—brought him to his grave within three months after his marriage;* and after a still smaller interval his widow married her old lover, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk — probably with Henry's connivance, certainly with that of Louis XII.'s successor. This was Francis I., who, like Henry, began his reign by throwing himself into war, but with greater success. By *the Battle of the Giants*, at *Marignano* (September 14, 15, 1515), he broke down the hitherto unchallenged prestige of the Swiss pikemen, reconquered the Milanese, and terrified Europe. Wolsey's cardinal's hat was a bid from Leo X. for his goodwill with Henry. Soon afterwards Maximilian made a fantastic proposal, whereby Henry was to receive Milan and become Emperor, while he himself became Pope. Henry needed no such inducements to act against Francis: he was jealous of a King who was his rival in his own most cherished fields of superiority—love and war. But for the present he contented himself with subsidizing the enemies of Francis, until the threatening attitude of the Ottoman conqueror, Selim I., forced the Western Powers, England, France, and Spain, to enter into a confederacy whereby each bound himself to support the others against any aggressor, even if one of

* 'He entirely changed his way of living,' says a contemporary. 'He had been wont to dine at eight, whereas now he must needs dine at noon; he had been wont to retire at six o'clock, whereas now he frequently did not get to bed till midnight.'

themselves. By this *Treaty of London* (October, 1518) the 'ten years of war and negotiation, of bloodshed and perfidy, which began with the League of Cambray, were brought to a close.' No one was any the better for it: to all the conflicting Powers the dictum which has been applied to England can be justly applied — 'Honesty would have been the simpler and cheaper policy.'

The Struggle between Charles V. and Francis I., 1519-21.

§ 7. The death of Maximilian in the following year left the Empire vacant. The Elector of Saxony, Frederick the Wise, Luther's protector (III. § 2), having declined to stand, three competitors were found for the throne of Augustus: Charles I. of Castile and Aragon,* Francis I. of France, and Henry VIII. The latter saw he had no chance, and supported Charles, who, by the liberal expenditure of money and promises, obtained the seven votes of the electoral college, and was chosen king in June, 1519. He followed his paternal grandfather Maximilian's practice, and took the title of Charles V., Emperor-elect.†

'With their candidature for the imperial crown,' says Michelet, 'burst forth the inextinguishable rivalry between Francis I. and Charles V. The former claimed Naples and Navarre; the latter, the Milanese and the Duchy of Burgundy. Their resources were about equal. If the dominions of Charles were more extensive, the kingdom of France was more compact. The Emperor's subjects were richer, but his authority more circumscribed. The reputation of the French cavalry was not inferior to that of the Spanish infantry. Victory would belong to the one who should win over the King of England to his side. Henry had reason to adopt as his device: *Whom I defend is master.*'

The Field of the Cloth of Gold, June, 1520.

Hard pressed as he was by the religious agitation in Germany (III. § 2) and by the dissatisfaction in Spain, owing to his preference for Flemish ministers, the Emperor paid especial court to his uncle. The practical utility of friendship with the ruler of the Low Countries joined with Henry's jealousy of Francis, as a gentleman and a gallant, to make Charles's suit easy. Hence the French King's effort to win over Henry in a personal conference on the

* He had succeeded his grandfather Ferdinand in Aragon in 1516. See Stemma on p. 19.

† It may be noted—though its connection with English history is but slight—that the same year (1519) was marked by the accession of a fourth sovereign, who has perhaps better claims to greatness than any of the three claimants for the Empire—*Suleiman the Law-Giver.*

plain of Ardres, near Calais (June 7-24, 1520), in which the Kings and their attendants so vied with one another in extravagance of dress and living that the meeting is known as the *Field of the Cloth of Gold*, had much less influence with Henry than two quiet interviews with Charles, at Canterbury and at Gravelines respectively, before and after the tourneys and delights with Francis.

A year of uneasy relations between the two continental sovereigns followed, until Wolsey, called, in accordance with the treaty of 1518, to act as arbitrator between them in the *Conference of Calais* (August-October, 1521), gave his decision that Francis had been the aggressor, both on the Flemish frontier and in helping the revolted *comunidades* of Spain, and that, therefore, Henry was bound to help Charles. A treaty—practically agreed on during the conference, in an interview at Bruges between Wolsey and the Emperor—was immediately made between Charles, Henry, and Leo X., by which, amongst other things, Charles engaged himself to his cousin Mary of England. Thus Henry again broke with 'his good brother and perpetual ally' of France.

§ 8. The war which followed is of European rather than English interest. The chief suffering fell on the unfortunate inhabitants of Northern Italy, where the chances of war fluctuated for several years. The most striking feature is the total failure of the Constable of Bourbon's treasonable attempt in 1523 to permanently partition France between himself, Charles and Henry. So far as it concerns England, the war falls readily into the divisions of defensive and aggressive.

Henry's Alliance with Charles, 1521-25.

Francis attempted to distract the English attention by giving Henry trouble in Ireland and Scotland. In neither was he successful. In the former he neglected to support Desmond, whom he had roused to declare his hostility against the English (VII. § 3). In Scotland his instrument was the Duke of Albany, who now proved to the hilt his inefficiency. Twice was he sent to Scotland with ample means to assert himself

Albany in Scotland, 1522-23.

as Regent. In 1522 Lord Dacre thrust him back with a threat of the near approach of English forces, 'which,' says Lingard, 'instead of being on their march, were not in reality assembled.' In 1523 Surrey finally expelled him from Scotland, and reported that 'undoubtedly there was never a man departed with more shame or more fear than the duke has done to-day.' From that time till 1542 (III. § 19) Scotland escaped the horrors of war, though torn by internal dissensions.*

Meanwhile Henry was making in his turn two invasions of France, as futile as these attempts, and much more expensive. Surrey was recalled from Ireland in 1522 to take command of nearly 20,000 troops, which burned numerous villages round Calais and caught the dysentery. Next year Suffolk, with 20,000 men, invaded Picardy, whilst Germans were to invade Burgundy, Spaniards Guienne, and Bourbon was to raise Provence in Francis' rear after his passage of the Alps. The plan failed utterly. Suffolk reached Montdidier, and then had to retreat to disband his sickly forces. He only escaped the royal displeasure by Wolsey's earnest entreaty.

Invasions of France, 1522-23.

This ended the active participation of England in the war. How difficult it had been to raise the money for the campaign of 1523 has been already related (§ 5). Less successful still was the attempt of 1525 to levy forced loans by means of agents sent round to demand one-sixth of each man's property as assessed two years before. Even Henry had to give way to the popular feeling which backed the cry that 'if men should give their goods by a commission, then were it worse than the taxes of France, and England should be bond, not free.' Besides, by that time the war, according to Warham, gave the people 'more reason to weep than to rejoice. The winning of France should be more chargeful to England than profitable, and the keeping thereof much more chargeful than the winning.'

§ 9. Poverty was not the only cause of the cessation

* See biographies of Albany and Angus.

of Henry's energy. He was gradually veering round to Francis' side. The failure of Bourbon to secure Marseilles for Charles in 1524 was followed in the next year by a disastrous battle near *Pavia* (February), in which Francis 'lost all save honour,' by being taken prisoner. The news was at first joyfully received at the English court. But Charles looked askance at Henry's proposal for the division of France and the ultimate union of all their several possessions under the sway of the descendants of Charles and Mary (§ 7). He also gave evidence of his intention to make the most of his 'good brother's' captivity, as he in fact did by the *Treaty of Madrid* (January, 1526), whose terms were so hard that Francis' repudiation of them, when released, can scarcely be wondered at, however much it may be condemned. Thus Charles's power seemed to Henry and his chief minister to need checking rather than forcing. Besides, Wolsey had been long discontented with the Emperor for the inefficiency of the support given to his candidature in the papal vacancies which had been filled successively by the election of Adrian IV. (1522) and Clement VII. (1523).

Gradual Estrangement of Charles and Henry, 1525-28.

In the same year as Francis' capture, the English court not only used its influence on Francis' behalf, but made a treaty of alliance with his mother, Louise of Savoy, the Regent. Various little things, such as the seizing of the imperial ambassador's letters in England, helped to put Charles and Henry apart, and in August, 1527, a treaty of alliance was made between Francis and Henry to defend the Pope, who was now a captive of the Emperor's, or rather of imperial troops. In the preceding May Rome had been sacked for five days by a joint force of Lutheran and Spanish troops, under Bourbon. 'The Eternal City,' says Lingard, 'suffered more from the ravages of a Christian army than it had ever done from the hostility of pagan barbarians.' Naturally, such an act shocked Henry—the Defender of the Faith (III. § 3)—and Wolsey—the aspirant for the Papacy. In the treaty they now signed with Francis, they arranged a marriage between

Henry VIII.'s daughter Mary* and either Francis himself or his second son, the Duke of Orleans, and stipulated

'that during the captivity of the Pontiff the two Kings should neither consent to the convocation of a General Council, nor admit any Bulls or briefs issued by Clement, in derogation of their rights, or of the rights of their subjects; and that the concerns of each national Church should be conducted by its own bishops; and that the judgments of Wolsey in his legatine court should, in defiance of any papal prohibition, be carried into immediate execution' (Lingard).

§ 10. The whole clause, particularly the last paragraph, was highly significant. It showed how much Henry had set his heart on a new marriage, and how far he was at present prepared to go in order to dissolve his existing wedlock. Henry had doubtless loved his wife, and she never forfeited his esteem. But Katharine was older than himself; she was not particularly lively; and in May, 1522, a young Englishwoman had returned to England from the French court (whither she had gone on the marriage of Louis XII. and Mary) who inspired him with an overmastering passion. Anne Boleyn was the pretty and vivacious daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn (created Viscount Rochford early in 1525) and of a daughter of the Duke of Norfolk. She steadily declined to become the King's mistress as her sister Mary, amongst others, had been before, and the removal of Katharine was thus necessary to the attainment of her ambition.

The Beginning of the Divorce Question, April-Dec., 1527.

It does not, however, follow that this passion was the only real cause for Henry's wish for a divorce. He himself attributed that desire to a timorous conscience and to the fear of disputed succession. He thought that in his wife's miscarriages, and the death of four children, one after the other—which left him without male heir—he saw the proof of Heaven's curse. The feeling was probably quite genuine. 'Henry was nothing if not conscientious,' we may agree with Dr. Creighton, 'though he made large drafts on his conscience, and paid them back in small coin.' And he certainly was troubled about his heirlessness. Already he had cleared away two nobles

* Charles, with Henry's assent, married Isabella, Infanta of Portugal, early in 1526.

whom he suspected of aiming at the crown—the Duke of Suffolk in 1513, and the Duke of Buckingham in 1521.*

The Divorce: the Point at Issue.

The first hint of the 'secret matter' which was to occasion such protracted negotiations in the next seven years, and to supply a sort of official link between England and the great fact of the time — the Reformation — was given when, during some negotiations with France, in April, 1527, the Bishop of Tarbes questioned Mary's legitimacy. Nothing much came of it at the time. In a later treaty of the same year, above referred to (p. 32), Mary was accepted by the French as legitimate; and about the same time Charles V.'s alarm was quieted by assurances that the marriage was not to be disputed; but at the end of the year Henry formally applied to Clement VII. to bring the question to an issue. There was some thought at first of making the case turn on technical irregularities in Julius II.'s Bull of Dispensation, and on Henry's declared dissent (p. 23); but, at the advice of an Oxford professor named Wakefield, it was preferred to take up the position that no dispensation could authorize marriage with a deceased brother's wife (Levit. xviii. 16; xx. 21) if the previous marriage had been consummated. Henry's previous relations with Anne's sister, however, laid his proposed marriage open to the same canonical objection.

The Divorce: its Unpopularity and its Connection with Foreign Affairs.

§ 11. It may be noticed, too, that not only was the technical question difficult, but that the divorce itself was far from popular—so markedly so that, at the end of 1528, Henry called together the leading citizens of London, and explained his motives at some length. Those who were moved by sentiment were drawn to the sweetness of Katharine's character and the loneliness of her position; those who looked at the morality of the question were influenced by the decision of Fisher,

* For these see Genealogical Table (p. vii.). Buckingham was charged with imagining the King's death, and with entertaining designs on the succession; in this he had had dealings with astrologers. He was the last regular lord high constable.

Bishop of Rochester, against the divorce; those with whom commercial convenience had weight feared that, in retaliation for so mortal an offence, Charles would place restrictions on the English wool-trade with Flanders.

Nor was this all. Besides being beset with legal problems, hitherto purposely left unsolved, and disliked by the nation at large, the divorce was complicated by political considerations. Clement VII. wished to do all he could for his faithful ally Henry VIII., but, with Charles's power at hand to defend his aunt, he dared do nothing, lest the Emperor should be driven into the arms of the German reforming party. Had Francis' attempt of 1528 to regain Italy not proved a disastrous failure—owing to the faults of his general, Lautrec, and to his own quarrel with Andrea Doria—Clement might have plucked up courage to openly—he did annul it secretly—annul the marriage. As it was, he procrastinated whilst the English envoys at Orvieto, Stephen Gardiner and Dr. Edward Fox, harassed him with fresh proposals and new documents to sign.

The Legatine Commission June-July, 1529.

Ultimately a commission was issued, authorizing Wolsey and Campeggio (the latter on Wolsey's nomination) to try the case. The latter arrived in England in October, but spent so much time in negotiations that Henry grew utterly tired of waiting. Before the end of the year he recalled Anne Boleyn to court, from which she had been removed, and publicly treated her as his future Queen. The court began its sessions on June 18, 1529, at the Blackfriars, when Katharine appealed to the Pope. On the second session, three days later, occurred the scene so effectively portrayed in 'Henry VIII.,' Act II., sc. iv. After hearing much evidence as to the fact whether the marriage of Katharine and Henry had been consummated, and the opinions of many canonists and jurists as to how far the validity of the marriage depended on that circumstance, the commissioners, on July 23, adjourned for the summer vacation. In a few days it became known that Clement VII.—now once more at peace with Charles V.—had

twelve days earlier recalled the hearing of the suit to Rome.

Wolsey and the Divorce.

§ 12. 'Never did cardinal bring good to England!' exclaimed Suffolk, when the expectations of a decision in favour of the King were thus frustrated. Wolsey took the words to apply to himself, and made a pointed defence of his action. It is time briefly to review the minister's conduct in the matter. Though probably not, as Pole insinuated, and as he was commonly reputed, *instigator et auctor consilii*, he readily took up the affair, hoping to secure for Henry the hand of some French lady, *e.g.*, Renée, daughter to Louis XII., or Margaret, Duchess of Alençon. Presumably, he considered the King's amours as short-lived as his own. His hopes of thus exchanging a marriage-alliance with Spain for one with France were not quite destroyed till April, 1528, when he found that, even after a long absence from the King, owing to the prevalence of the sweating sickness, Anne Boleyn still retained her power. Though he knew Anne to be connected with the party opposed to him, he had to go through with the matter, and seems to have done his best whilst expecting the worst. What he feared came on October 9th, when the attorney-general formally charged him with infringing the *Statute of Præmunire* of 1393.* The charge was manifestly unfair, since he had exercised his powers by royal license, and such royal dispensations from the penalties of the statute had been occasionally sanctioned by Parliament. But Wolsey knew his danger; he pleaded guilty; he surrendered his whole personal estate, worth 500,000 crowns, to the King, whom once before (in 1527) he had conciliated with Hampton Court. He attempted, on his servant Cromwell's advice, to win a late support amongst leading courtiers by granting them the fruition of certain of his benefices. Despite

* This statute (an enlargement of one in 1353) provided that 'if any purchase or pursue in the Court of Rome translations (to benefices), processes, excommunications, Bulls, etc., he and his notaries, counsellors, and *abettors* (hence the Submission, 1532), should forfeit their lands and tenements, goods and chattels, to the King.' The statute takes its name from the writ *Præmunire* (=*præmonere*) *facias*, addressed to the officer who is to forewarn the offender when and where he is to answer the charges.

the efforts of *the night-crow*, as Wolsey called Anne Boleyn, Henry VIII. wavered in his persecution of the fallen minister. He still possessed the quality of mercy, and could extend it to one whose 'face was dwindled to half its natural size.' He allowed him to retire to Esher; he permitted Thomas Cromwell to oppose successfully the forty-four articles*—'so frivolous,' says Hallam, 'that they have served to redeem his fame with later times'—exhibited against him in the Lower House, when in November it met for the first time since 1523. He ultimately gave him a general pardon (February, 1530), and let him retire to his northern archbishopric.

§ 13. Wolsey's chance of restoration was now gone: no one seemed to regret him. 'Metuebatur ab omnibus,' says Erasmus: 'amabatur a paucis ne dicam a nemine.' Yet many a worse minister has fared better with contemporaries. His industry, his justice, his loyalty, his services for education, and his desire for religious reform went for less than his arbitrary methods, his magnificent haughtiness, and his share in the Divorce. Even in his retirement, when he at last found time for his ordinary spiritual duties, hostility followed him. 'I would not lose him for twenty thousand pounds!' Henry had exclaimed during Wolsey's residence at Esher; and such esteem explained the ceaseless machinations, which in November, 1530, on the eve of his installation feast as Archbishop of York, ended with his summons from Cawood to London on a fresh charge of high treason. But he broke down on his journey. Enfeebled by dysentery, he reached Leicester Abbey only 'to lay his bones there.' His last words to the lieutenant of the Tower are so full of light on his own character and his King's, 'and

Death of Wolsey, Nov. 29, 1530.

* 'The word "impeachment" is not very accurately applicable to these proceedings against Wolsey, since the articles were first presented to the Upper House, and sent down to the Commons' (Hallam). Properly *impeachment* is a *judicial* process whereby a man is tried before the Lords on the accusation of the Commons; whilst a *bill of attainder* is a *legislative* act of both Houses, attainting a man for causes alleged in the preamble. See III. § 13.

paint with so terrible a truthfulness the spirit of the New Monarchy,' that they cannot too often be quoted :

'He is a prince of most royal courage ; sooner than miss any part of his will he will endanger one half of his kingdom ; and I do assure you I have often kneeled before him, sometimes for three hours together, to persuade him from his appetite, and could not prevail. And, Master Kingston, had I but served God as diligently as I have served the King, He would not have given me over in my gray hairs. But this is my due reward for my pains and study, not regarding my service to God, but only my duty to my prince.'

CHAPTER III.

Henry VIII.

FROM THE FALL OF WOLSEY TO THE DEATH OF THE KING.

§ 1. The Reformation: Its Meaning and Importance—§ 2. The Need of Reform and its Expression (*a*) in the Fifteenth Century, (*b*) by Martin Luther—§ 3. The Meeting of the Long Parliament, 1529; Progress of the Divorce, 1529-1530—§ 4. The *Recognition of the Headship*, 1531—§ 5. The *Submission of the Clergy*, and the Parliamentary Session of 1532—§ 6. The *Statute of Appeals*, and the Marriage with Anne Boleyn, 1533—§ 7. The *Act of Supremacy*, and Final Breach with Rome, 1534—§ 8. The Execution of Fisher and More—§ 9. Activity of Cromwell as Vicar-General; Dissolution of the Lesser Monasteries, 1536—§ 10. The *Ten Articles*, and the Execution of Queen Anne, 1536—§ 11. General Discontent: Rising in Lincolnshire, 1536—§ 12. The *Pilgrimage of Grace*, 1536-1537—§ 13. The Courtnays and the Poles, 1538-1541—§ 14. The Dissolution of the larger Monasteries, 1539—§ 15. Consequences of the Dissolution: Union of Wales and England, 1526-1543—§ 16. Doctrinal Changes and Persecution, 1536-1539—§ 17. Marriage with Anne of Kleves, and Fall of Cromwell, 1540—§ 18. Henry's Last Two Wives; his Attitude towards the Two Religious Parties—§ 19. The War with Scotland and France, 1543-1546—§ 20. Financial Expedients of the years 1542-1547; Henry's Death and Character.

'The majestic lord who brake the bonds of Rome.'—GRAY.

§ 1. THAT is the text on which the rest of the reign is a commentary. Both parts of the verse are significant: both connect themselves with the fall of Wolsey, and with the divorce which caused that fall. It was only after the removal of the cardinal that Henry showed himself forth distinctly as 'the King, the whole King, and nothing but the King.' 'The nation which trembled before Wolsey learned,' says

The Fall of Wolsey as a Landmark.

Green, 'to tremble before the King who could destroy Wolsey with a breath.' And it was not till after four years of wrestling with the Papacy for the Divorce that Henry would throw over the Pope, and thus bring himself into inevitable, if unwilling, contact with what is called the Reformation.

The connotation of this latter term is less vague than that of the Renascence, of which we have spoken above (II. § 1). It is perhaps easier, and certainly more important, to have some notion what the leading characteristics of the Reformation are, and to recognise as clearly as possible that, though single in spirit—a revolt against authority,* and an appeal to reason—it took various forms in different parts of Europe. It may thus be convenient to briefly pass in review the causes of the movement, and to anticipate later events by contrasting its course in Germany and in England.

The Meaning and Importance of the Reformation.

The Reformation is something more than Luther's agitation against indulgences, and a good deal less than the first discovery, 1,500 years after Christ's death, of what Christ really meant. Those are the views of contemporaries: to us, looking backward, the Reformation seems the movement whose tendency was to strike off the fetters from men's souls even as that of the Renascence was to free men's minds, that of the French Revolution to free men politically, and that of Socialism to free men socially. Tendency, mind, not result: even in the first pair the result is not yet attained, and in the second pair it is still but an aspiration. At first, indeed, the Reformation seemed likely to bind rather than loose; but with three distinct creeds claiming to be the Truth, it soon became apparent that 'goodness depended on something else than the holding of orthodox opinions.' In other words, religious toleration, though as alien to the

* The keynotes of the new and the old religious ideas were struck a century before, during the Council of Basel, when, in answer to a cardinal's *Credel* a Hussite responded *Probal* The Reformation rested, in fact, on the substitution of the conscience of the individual for the voice of the Church. Yet each set of Reformers—Lutherans, Zwinglians, Calvinists, etc.—tried to crush the individual conscience, more or less, under a new mass of dogma.

Reformers—at least, when they had the upper hand—as to the Catholics, sprang directly out of the Reformation.

The Need of Reform, and its Expression in the Fifteenth Century.

§ 2. The Reformation did not begin in 1517. For more than a century before that there had been a continuous cry for 'the reform of the Church in head and members.' It had come to nothing so long as the Church was left to reform itself; and this simply because the head was as a rule willing to reform the members just as the latter in turn were willing to reform the head, but neither head nor members seemed to think they themselves required reform. The standing grievances against the head were both political and religious: the ever-increasing claims of the Papacy for temporal power were irritating to Kings; its ever-increasing demands for *annates*, *provisions*, *reservations and mandats*,* and other means of exaction, were annoying alike to clergy and laity. Naturally enough, some of the hostility which the several Popes acquired by their partiality during the *Babylonish Captivity* (1305-1376), and by their unseemly wrangling during the *Great Schism* (1377-1417), was turned against the Papacy itself. But the attacks on it by volunteers, such as Wyclif (d. 1384) in England, and his follower Huss (d. 1415) in Bohemia, failed because they became connected with doctrinal and social innovations; and the attempts to revive the system of general councils as a check on the Papacy—in other words, to give the Church once more the constitution of a limited monarchy—were foiled through the disunion of the *Councils of Pisa* (1409), *of Constanz* (1414-1418), *and of Basel* (1431-1438). Accordingly, the rulers of France and Germany protected themselves by concordats which defined the limits of the rights of the Papacy, as England had already done by the *Statutes of Provisors* and *Præmunire* (1351, 1353).

A *modus vivendi* between the world-wide sovereignty of

* *Annates* = the first-fruits or first year's income of a benefice, and especially of a bishopric. *Provisions* and *reservations* sprang out of the right of the Pontiff to decide in cases of contested elections to vacant benefices: both were extensions of papal patronage dating from the thirteenth century. By the former the Pope provided a successor to a vacant living: by the latter he reserved a living not yet vacant for some *protégé* of his. *Mandats* were commendatory letters to patrons, which tended to become commands.

the Pontiff and the national sovereignty of the chief princes of Europe being thus established, there still remained the religious grievances against the Church in all its grades. Save for quite detached bodies of mystics, the Church of the fifteenth century was unusually worldly. 'Lewd' became the fixed epithet of 'priest.' The clergy were indolent with wealth, yet always grasping for more. Heavy fees were levied on the making and probate of wills, or burying (*mortuaries*), or marrying; small social offences were made all right by heavy fees; benefice upon benefice was held by one man—often a resident in some other country (*pluralities*). 'The rule of the Church,' says Froude, 'was nothing for nothing.'

It was this rule that occasioned the outbreak which, after so many failures, was successful. It took place in Germany—never very patient of papal interference, and now indignant with the immorality of the Roman curia and loath to part with large sums of money every year for the Popes to spend on Italian wars and on the embellishment of the Eternal City. Amongst the most lucrative ways of using the Church's powers was to sell—there was even a fixed tariff—dispensations, pardons, etc. 'God willeth not the death of a sinner,' remarked Alexander VI., 'but rather that he should pay and live.' It was against this abuse that Martin Luther, an Austin friar and a professor at the Saxon university of Wittenberg, raised his voice in 1517. To gather money for building St. Peter's, recently begun by Julius II., Leo X. had commissioned the Archbishop of Mainz, Primate of Germany, to sell indulgences throughout his province. Of course these indulgences only remitted (for a graduated consideration) the penalties canonically due in expiation of sins, and did not touch the guilt of the sinner. Yet it seems certain that the Dominicans, who were used as agents for their distribution, did not shrink from giving people to understand that these indulgences actually opened the gate of heaven. Luther's *Ninety-five Theses against Indulgences* (October 31, 1517) were only the expression of the general feeling amongst the better classes in Saxony

The Reformation in Germany, 1517-31.

against the irreligious spirit in which Tetzel hawked his spiritual wares. Leo at first laughed at Luther's 'fine intellect' and 'this wrangling amongst friars.' But when all who were discontented with the power of the Church and her way of using it flocked round Luther, he was told to retract his errors, and, on refusing this unless he were proved to be wrong, he was excommunicated. Luther's breach with the Papacy was made irreconcilable when, on June 15, 1520, he burnt the Bull excommunicating him. When condemned by the Diet of Worms, in 1521, he was protected by Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony; and the political necessities of Charles V. (troubles in Spain, war with France and the Turks, etc.) forced him to temporize, whilst Lutheranism spread apace. It was not till the *Treaty of Cambray* in 1529 gave peace with Francis that Charles could seriously set about crushing the *Protestants*—as they were now called—from 'protesting' against the decree forbidding innovations (Spire, April, 1529). In the following year they accepted the *Confession of Augsburg*, drawn up by Melancthon, and in 1531 formed the defensive *League of Schmalkalde*. A religious war seemed imminent when Charles and his brother had to give way in order to unite the Empire against Suleiman.

Such in bare outline is the Reformation in Germany. How England was gradually drawn into political, even more gradually into religious, sympathy with this 'Teutonic revolt from a Latin Church' we have now to trace. Only we must remember that in the changes in England religious enthusiasm, which constituted the strength of Lutheranism, hardly becomes a factor until Edward VI.'s reign. The Reformation in England was in its origin a question of political expediency.

The Seven Years' Parliament, 1529-36.

§ 3. The Parliament which was assembled on Wolsey's fall (November, 1529), and which sat the altogether unprecedented length of over six years, gave early indications of its impending activity in religious reform. It attacked certain minor privileges of the clergy. The clergy* were alarmed at

* Their worthiest member, Bishop Fisher, was made to apologize for seeming

seeing the reforms long urgently needed being carried out by others, and annoyed that the laity should thus interfere with them; but the King's influence enabled Bills to be passed limiting probate fees and mortuaries—a blow to the bishops and lower clergy respectively—and forbidding non-residence, pluralities, and the practice of trading as farmers and tanners, indulged in by the lower clergy. Such legislation was full of significance.

That the existing Parliament could be readily manipulated was clear both from this and from its passing of a bill of remittal, which cancelled the King's debts since 1523. Though the Commons resisted this act of bankruptcy, they were only able to obtain a general pardon as *quid pro quo* when they ultimately yielded, and 'freely, liberally, and absolutely gave to the King's highness all and every sum which to them is, ought, or might be due.'

There was no session in the following year, which was full of negotiations for the Divorce. Amongst the new advisers who succeeded Wolsey, one at least, Sir Thomas More—who received the Great Seal—was unfavourable to the Divorce: the others, including Norfolk and the Lady Anne's father—now Earl of Wiltshire—hoped to carry it through by negotiating with the Emperor. But when offered a bribe of 500,000 crowns for his help early in 1530 Charles said he 'was not a merchant to sell the honour of his aunt.' About the same time Henry's last attempt to win over Clement failed, and, under pressure from Charles, the Pope issued a breve ordering Henry to take back Katharine as his wife until sentence should be given. This ill-success depressed the King, who began seriously to take into consideration the advice of two men who wished for more extreme measures, one wishing to question, the other to deny, the papal authority. Thomas

The Progress of the Divorce, 1529-30.

to impute heresy to the Commons in a speech: 'My lords, you see daily what Bills come hither from the Common-House, and all is to the destruction of the Church. For God's sake, see what a realm the kingdom of Bohemia was [during the Hussite troubles early in the fifteenth century], and when the Church went down, then fell the glory of the kingdom. Now with the Commons is nothing but "Down with the Church!" And all this, meseemeth, is for lack of faith.'

Cranmer, a chaplain of the Boleyn family, suggested that the opinion of the universities of Europe should be obtained, as a likely means of impressing or overawing the Pope. Henry caught at the idea, but profited little by it. In Germany the result went entirely against him; in Italy bribes, in France the favour of Francis I., in England intimidation, won the approval of certain universities, but the verdict was not sufficiently unanimous to carry much weight.

The advice of Thomas Cromwell—in which Cranmer also agreed—was simply that the King should assert his supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs, and sue for a divorce in his own spiritual courts. This was only the explicit expression of the idea which underlay William I.'s ecclesiastical regulations, the Constitutions of Clarendon, and the Statutes of Præmunire and Provisors; yet Henry, greedy as he was of power, shrank from a step which was so likely, by weakening the papal authority, to strengthen the hands of the Lutherans. Throughout the year 1530 Henry was trying all expedients, rather than seem by such a course to be going back from the position which he had taken up in 1521, when he wrote the *Assertio septem Sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum*, which won from Leo X. the title of *Fidei Defensor*—a title still retained by the English sovereign.

§ 4. The year of wavering being over, Henry began, in 1531, to feel his way towards following Cromwell's suggestion. In January Katharine was formally dismissed from Windsor. 'Go where I will, I shall still be his lawful wife;' and with these words, she retired to Ampthill, with an allowance suitable to her position as Dowager Princess of Wales. Parliament, still faithful to the Queen, and indisposed to quarrel with the Pope, was adjourned after its members had been informed of the decision of the universities, and instructed to convey the information to their constituents. The real business, however, took place in Convocation.* The clergy were implicated as

The Recognition of the Headship, 1531.

* After the twelfth century two Convocations took the place of the National Church Councils in England. After Edward I.'s reign these met on the same day

'fautors and abettors' in Wolsey's offence against the Statute of Præmunire (note, p. 36). They at once offered a large sum, payable within five years, in purchase of a pardon, the northern Convocation giving £18,840, that of Canterbury £100,000; but more than this was required. The preamble to the grant contained the words:

'Of which Church and clergy we acknowledge his majesty to be the chief protector, the only and supreme lord, and, *as far as the law of Christ will allow*, the supreme head.'

The words italicized had to be inserted to force the measure through the southern Convocation;* and even then its president, Warham, had to employ what was simply a dodge. On the motion being put there was a dead silence. 'Qui tacet consentire videtur,' said Warham. 'Itaque tacemus omnes,' cried a voice: and thus was manufactured 'the fulcrum for the whole ecclesiastical policy of the future' (Stubbs).

§ 5. This Act, which is generally known as the *Recognition of the Headship*, was followed in the next year by that called the *Submission of the Clergy*. This had not so direct a bearing on the question of the day, but it shook the prestige of the clergy and put them still more in the King's power. The Commons having complained that laws enacted by Convocation were frequently incompatible with the statute-law, Convocation, after a struggle, gave way to the pressure put on them by the King. They recognised his superior learning and piety, and promised never more to enact or enforce their constitutions without the royal authority, and to submit all existing canons to the approval of a committee of thirty-two members, half lay, half cleric, chosen and headed by the King (May 15).

The *Submission of the Clergy*, and the Session of 1532.

Meanwhile Parliament was reluctantly following the King's lead in an attack on annates, or first-fruits (note,

as Parliament. Each Convocation consisted of two houses: (1) the Upper House, consisting of the bishops of the province; (2) the Lower House, consisting of the deans, archdeacons, a proctor from each chapter and two from each diocese, elected by the parochial clergy. Their power of *legislation* practically came to an end in 1532 (§ 5); that of *self-taxation* in 1664. Between 1717 and 1861 Convocation never met for business.

* In the northern Convocation, Tunstall tried to insert the words *in temporalibus post Christum*.

p. 41). Since the thirteenth century these had been habitually paid to the Pope, in return for the Bulls confirming the election of a bishop, and formed the chief fund for the support of the cardinals in attendance on the Pontiff. Though they amounted at this time on the yearly average to some £4,000 only, they were objectionable to all concerned, and in the previous year Convocation had petitioned for their withdrawal from the Pope. Parliament accordingly now enacted—

That they should be discontinued.
That any bishop paying them should forfeit his personalities to the King and the profits of his see.
That any bishop who, through refusing first-fruits, could not get the usual Bulls from the Pope, should act as bishop none the less for that.
That the King should be authorized to suspend or modify, to annul or enforce, the operation of the statute by his letters patent.

To get this Bill through each House the King's own presence was necessary: in the Commons a division—then an unusual proceeding—had to be taken before the King to pass it. Though, as we have seen, Parliament helped Henry to exact the Submission, it would itself have none of his two measures concerning wills and uses;* and one member of the Lower House, Mr. Thomas Temys, of Westbury, actually moved that the King be requested to take back Katharine.

The tendency of these measures—'to make priests of less account than shoemakers, who might, at least, regulate their own trade'—was obvious enough. Henry was evidently now bent on Cromwell's plan, and two of the latter's rivals had to leave the Council-board. On the day after the Submission, Sir Thomas More resigned the Seal and was succeeded by Audley, who as speaker of the Long

Cranmer and Cromwell replace the Moderates.

* The *Statute of Uses* was ultimately passed in 1536, the *Statute of Wills* in 1540. The former was directed against the practice whereby the *use* or profits of lands belonging to one man were enjoyed by another. The legal ownership of land had thus come to be different from the actual ownership, and thus the burden of liabilities had become unfair and uncertain. The statute enacted that *cestui qui use* should be regarded as the owner of the property. By this new law landowners could not make their heir pay moneys out of their inheritance to their younger children; by the common-law they could not devise their land to whom they wished. This hardship (§ 11) was alleviated by the *Statute of Wills*, which enabled a man to leave as he wished two-thirds of his land if held *in chivalry*, and the whole if held *in socage*.

Parliament had proved himself subservient enough. Gardiner fell into disfavour for his unwillingness to push the Divorce any farther. Finally, Warham resigned his archbishopric, and died in August. Cranmer was nominated to the vacant primacy, but Henry resolved to keep friends with the Pope until his nominee had obtained all the requisite powers. In this he was encouraged by Francis I., with whom he had interviews at Calais and Boulogne in October, and who promised to arrange a meeting of themselves with Clement at Marseilles in the following year. Clement had still so marked a liking for Henry that a personal meeting with him might have the desired issue: this liking he now showed by abstaining from the publication of a breve which he had found himself obliged to sign against Henry's cohabitation with the Lady Anne.

§ 6. Henry's impatience could, however, stand no further delay. Before dawn, on January 25, 1533, he was married to the lady at Whitehall by Dr. Rowland Lee. At Easter the secret of the marriage was allowed to leak out, though, for the sake of the offspring, the marriage was antedated, and supposed to have taken place immediately after the return from Calais (November 14, 1532). Very soon after his consecration,* Cranmer wrote the King a collusive letter, requesting leave to proceed to 'the hearing, final determination, and judgment of the great cause.' Henry assented, and the archbishop held a court at Dunstable, near Katharine's residence, and, after a session of fifteen days, gave sentence that the marriage was without force and effect from the beginning. Soon afterwards he declared that with Anne lawful. She was crowned on June 1, and on September 7 gave birth to a daughter—Elizabeth.

Marriage with Anne, Jan. 25, 1533; Cranmer pronounces that with Katharine null, May 23.

Though the general sense of the country was probably against these measures, they were, so far as form went, supported by the nation. For instance, the letter of the

* March 30, 1533. He made a secret protest that 'by the taking the pontifical oath he did not intend to bind himself to anything contrary to the law of God, or prejudicial to the rights of the King, or prohibitory of such reforms as he might judge useful to the Church of England' (Lingard).

archbishop was ostensibly the outcome of the decision by the theologians of the Convocation of Canterbury, that no papal dispensation could authorize marriage with a brother's widow if the first marriage had been consummated—as, according to the canonists amongst the Convocation, it had been. And the validity of Cranmer's sentence formally rested on the *Statute of Appeals*, whereby the archbishop's court was made the highest spiritual court in England. The Bill was stubbornly opposed, mainly on the ground that it might cause the Emperor to stop the wool-trade with the Netherlands; and the imperial ambassador thought the feeling against Henry so strong that Charles would be welcomed as a deliverer. It was, however, forced through, and, with the Annates Bill (p. 47), now at length put into force, 'proclaimed with one breath the competence of the English Church for complete internal administration under the supremacy of the King' (Stubbs).

There still seemed a chance that Henry would cancel all this anti-papal legislation if the Pope would give way; but that chance disappeared when, during the conference of Francis I. and Clement at Marseilles, in October, Bonner appealed in Henry's name to a General Council. Even then it was not till after the lapse of six months that the papal decision was finally taken. He had annulled Cranmer's sentence at once, and ordered the King and Queen to separate. On March 23, 1534, after a consistory in which only three cardinals out of twenty-two had voted for further delay, he definitively declared Katharine a lawful wife, and required Henry to treat her as such.

§ 7. On March 30—some days before this intelligence could have been received in England—the royal assent had been given to the *Statute of the Submission*, which formally completed the breach with Rome. By this statute, otherwise known as the *Second Act of Appeals*, the Submission of 1532 was ratified without qualification, and amplified by the enactment that all existing canons and ordinances

Final Breach with Rome: Legislation of 1534.

that were not repugnant to the statutes and customs of the realm or the prerogatives of the crown should remain in force till otherwise ordered. It also gave a right of appeal in causes spiritual from the archbishop's court to the King in Chancery, as represented by occasional commissioners called the *High Court of Delegates*.

Two other measures marked the same session—the *Second Statute of Annates* and the *First Act of Succession*. The former vested in the crown all payments previously made to the Pope, forbade bishops to sue for Bulls of confirmation at Rome, and restored the election of bishops to the dean and chapter of the diocese.* The other measure pronounced Henry's first marriage unlawful, the second 'true, sincere, and perfect,' and Elizabeth, the child of the second, legitimate, and Mary illegitimate: to deny this in writing, printing, or deed, was treason; in words only, misprision of treason; every subject of full age, man or woman, declining to swear obedience to the Act, thereby incurred the penalties of the latter.

Meanwhile both Convocations had formally declared that the 'Bishop of Rome hath no greater jurisdiction conferred on him by God in the kingdom of England than any other foreign bishop.' And in an autumn session of Parliament there was passed an *Act of Supremacy*, which epitomized the outcome of all this anti-papal legislation. By this it was enacted

The *Act of Supremacy*, Nov., 1534.

'That the King shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only Supreme Head in earth of the Church of England, and shall have and enjoy, annexed and united to the imperial crown of this realm, as well the title and style thereof, as all the honours, jurisdictions, authorities, immunities, profits and commodities to the said dignity belonging, with full power to visit, repress, redress, reform, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, contempts and enormities which by any manner of spiritual authority and jurisdiction might or may lawfully be reformed.'

Nor was this all. 'For the augmentation of the royal

* When a vacancy occurred, *congé d'élire* was sent to the chapter, authorizing them to elect the person named in the accompanying *letter-missive* on pain of the penalties of præmunire. The next steps were: (1) the swearing of fealty; (2) consecration by the archbishop or four bishops; (3) investiture of temporalities.

estate and the maintenance of the supremacy,' the first-fruits of all benefices and tenths of the annual income of all livings were annexed to the crown for ever. And as a sort of pendant to the Act just quoted, it was made treason

'to deprive the King or his successors of the dignity, style, and name of their royal estates, or slanderously and maliciously to publish or pronounce by words or writing that the King is a heretic, schismatic, tyrant or infidel.'

§ 8. 'Penal statutes,' remarks Lingard on these measures, 'might enforce conformity; but they could not produce conviction.' Cromwell gave, however, a choice between intellectual and judicial conviction: men must either accept the new *régime* or suffer for it by death. The whole legislation was so novel that it required a commentary to drive home its meaning; so by way of practical illustration, Cromwell urged the King to make an example of some leading dissentients, and to give a sample of his ecclesiastical reforms.

The Execution of Fisher and More, 1535.

Amongst the victims of the revolution were many members of the Carthusian order, three priors of whom swung at Tyburn, and two of the most distinguished men of the day, Sir Thomas More and Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. Both had been highly esteemed by the King. To Fisher he had been entrusted by his dying grandmother, the Lady Margaret: the speakership and the chancellorship had been given to More. But Fisher was one of the earliest to lift his voice against the Divorce (in 1528): More's tacit disapprobation (§ 5) had enormous weight with all men. They had both been implicated in the treasons of Elizabeth Barton,* but had escaped. Both were called upon to take the oath to the Act of Succession, and both declined on practically the same grounds. They regarded the actual settlement as within

* A servant of Richard Masters, incumbent of Aldington, Kent, whose epileptic ravings were accepted as prophecy. As *the Nun*, or *Holy Maid, of Kent*, she became the instrument of the clerical party: she prophesied that, should the King put away Katharine, he would die within seven months, and she was in communication with the Emperor. She was a real danger to the crown, so was condemned by the Star Chamber, confessed her imposture at St. Paul's, was attainted of high treason by Parliament, and in April, 1534, executed with six accomplices.

the competence of the civil power, but could not conscientiously assent to the theological assumptions of the preamble. Cranmer urged this partial acceptance of the oaths; but Cromwell had his way, and both were declared guilty of misprision of treason, *i.e.*, they lost the profit of their lands during life, forfeited their personal estate, and were imprisoned for life. This was in April, 1534.

A year later Fisher was found guilty of maliciously and traitorously denying the King to be head of the Church. While in prison, the new Pope, Paul III., had named him cardinal. On hearing this, Henry remarked: 'Paul may send him the hat: I will take care that he never have a head to wear it on.' The threat was fulfilled on June 22, 1535.

Meanwhile, More had been condemned despite an able defence, which rested mainly on the fact that he had cautiously avoided expressing any opinion on questions connected with the Divorce. The words—probably false, for they were on the evidence of Rich—which secured his condemnation put his real conviction well enough: 'The Parliament cannot make the King head of the Church, because it is a civil tribunal without any spiritual authority.' He was executed on July 6, and next month Paul III. drew up, but did not as yet see fit to publish, a Bull of Deposition against Henry, 'in which,' notes Lingard, 'care was taken to embody every prohibitory clause invented by the most aspiring of his predecessors' (§ 13).

§ 9. The death of 'the foremost Englishman of his time' (Green), and of the aged bishop, sent a shock through Europe, and showed with sufficient precision how much Henry meant in saying, 'the sovereign hath no superior in earth, and is not subject to the law of any creature.' He soon showed how fully this theory applied to his spiritual headship. Early in 1535 Cromwell was appointed royal vicegerent, vicar-general, and principal commissary—

Cromwell as Vicar-General, 1535.

'with all the spiritual authority belonging to the King as Head of the Church, for the due administration of justice, and in all cases touching

the ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the godly reformation and redress of all errors, heresies and abuses in the said Church.'

As vicar-general, Cromwell, layman as he was, was a few years later given precedence over the primate, both in Parliament and in Convocation: he was, in fact, the legate of the new 'regal Papacy.' He began his official career by issuing a circular letter suspending the exercise of all episcopal power pending a royal visitation. After an interval the bishops were required to beg its restoration, and were then given to individual commissions to do whatever belonged to the office of a bishop. All the bench submitted to this novel idea. Similarly, Cromwell hit upon the happy notion of 'tuning the pulpits.' Every parish priest was to preach on prescribed lines in favour of the royal supremacy in causes spiritual; the bishops were made responsible for the clergy, the sheriffs for the bishops; failing them, Cromwell's spies were everywhere, and any neglect or half-heartedness was sharply punished.

More notable in its outcome was the commission issued during 1535 for a visitation of the monasteries. The task was carried out by agents of professed unscrupulousness, the chief of whom were Doctors Legh and Leghton, commissaries in the North Country. Their report was ready early next year, and its general tone is sufficiently obvious from its title, *The Black Book*. Its destruction by Mary leaves us in doubt as to whether the evidence they collected in answer to their list of eighty-six inquiries was enough to justify Parliament in suppressing the smaller houses with incomes not exceeding £200 a year. The charges brought against them were indolence, ignorance, and immorality. There was doubtless a good deal of truth in all this: the conditions of monastic life obviously conduce thereto. Morton had found the charges true at St. Albans: Wolsey had the thought in his mind in the dissolutions which Cromwell had carried out for him.* Certainly the verdict of thinking men was

The Dissolution of the Smaller Religious Houses, 1536.

* The precedent of 1416, whereby the *alien priories—i.e.*, religious houses depending on foreign houses—were vested in the crown, was due to political causes rather than to any zeal for religious reform.

dead against monasticism. Neither Luther's 'In the cloister rule the seven deadly sins,' nor Bruno's 'Insani fugiunt mundum immundumque sequuntur,' can be discredited simply because they are epigrams. So far as one can see, the smaller houses at least were useless if not noxious, and provided their forfeited revenues were used as they were meant to be, their suppression was advisable. The property of the 280 monasteries thus suppressed was vested in the crown, and its management entrusted to a new body, the *Court of Augmentations*. But though there was much talk of new bishoprics and new schools, most of the spoil — estimated at some £32,000 a year—went to the King's own amusements and amusers. Scant provision was made for the ousted religious: superiors were pensioned for life; monks under twenty-four years of age were absolved from their vows, whilst others were either drafted into larger houses or given secular work; nuns received a gown apiece.

§ 10. The dissolution of the smaller religious houses was the last act of the Long Parliament. Its career had shown how true Fisher's complaint during its first session had been: truly, 'all was to the destruction of the Church.' Henry had made its jealousy of the Church a lever to force its consent to the Divorce and his own supremacy. Its opposition had almost died away before the conviction of its futility.

The *Ten Articles* of 1536.

The Convocation which sat contemporary with its successor (May, 1536), began the course of doctrinal reform which was inevitable after the structural alterations, so to speak, thus effected. In answer to fifty-nine objections against Lutheran doctrine, Henry drew up *Ten Articles of Faith* which were duly accepted by Convocation. By these

'the three creeds were defined to be necessary to salvation, and the three great sacraments of baptism, penance, and the altar, to be the ordinary means of justification. Several ceremonies were commended, but not enjoined, and the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments ordered to be learnt in English'

There were several traces (*e.g.*, justification by faith)

of the influence of the *Confession of Augsburg** in these articles; but the general tone was conservative.

The interval between the two Parliaments of 1536 was occupied with fresh trouble in the King's household. In January, Queen Anne had shown her joy at the death of her rival and predecessor, Katharine, by wearing a yellow dress on the day of her funeral, though the court went into mourning. On May 1 she was arrested at Greenwich, and next day sent to the Tower. She was charged with adultery with four gentlemen of the privy chamber and her own brother, Lord Rochford. Two of the former, Mark Smeaton and Sir Henry Norris, confessed, and all were condemned by a jury of high treason, and executed. The Queen and her brother were tried by twenty-six peers, under the presidency of the Duke of Norfolk as lord high steward. Both were found guilty and sentenced to death. The Queen was tried also before Archbishop Cranmer, who found that, inasmuch as she had been previously contracted to Henry Percy, now Earl of Northumberland, her marriage with the King was null and void *ab initio*. Obviously, if she was not a wife, she could not be an adulteress: none the less, she was beheaded on May 19. Next day, Jane Seymour became Queen.† There must have been some solid reason beyond this new affection for the severe measures taken against Anne, her execution being quite unnecessary to secure a change of consort. Her own conduct was certainly frivolous, but cannot be proved more than imprudent. The evidence adduced at the trial is lost, and the question of Anne's guilt is little more than a shuttlecock for Catholic and Protestant historians to play with.

The Execution of Queen Anne, May 19, 1536.

§ 11. The sweeping measures and arbitrary conduct of

* Henry had invited Melancthon over in the preceding year, but he could not come; and the talk of political and religious alliance with the Protestants came to nothing (see § 2, *supra*).

† The Parliament, which met in June, bastardized Elizabeth, declared Jane's issue to be heirs of the crown, and authorized the King in default thereof to name his successor by will or letters-patent. Henry's natural son by Bessie Blount, Henry Fitz-roy, Duke of Richmond, was probably intended.

Causes of National Discontent, 1536.

the last few years—all put down to Cromwell,* by the way—had been quietly opposed in Parliament: they were now to be resisted in arms. Doubtless, had the Emperor had the leisure, he would have been more active in taking advantage of the widespread dissatisfaction in England; and it was, perhaps, well for Henry that the death of Katharine removed the cause of hostility between Charles and this country, before internal discontent came to a head. This it did in the autumn of 1536. Whether the whole country sympathized or no with the movement does not appear: certainly, in the North and West—always, till the nineteenth century, the most backward part of the country—all classes were full of grievances. The Church objected to the spoliations and innovations to which it had been subjected in so high-handed a manner. The nobility hated the 'villein blood' in the Council—particularly Cromwell and Rich, attorney-general. The gentry were sore about the recent Statute of Uses (note, p. 47). The lower classes joined with these in resenting the suppression of the religious houses; for the monks were the schoolmasters to their children as well as to those of gentle blood, and kindly landowners to boot.

The first rising took place in Lincolnshire; its grievances, which have just been recounted, were summed up in the *Horncastle Petition*. It was a distinctly popular movement, but Lord Hussey, whose duty it was to put it down, showed a passive sympathy with it by quitting the county—a sympathy for which he afterwards atoned by his death. Their leader, who called himself Captain Cobler, led a mob to Lincoln; but the whole movement fell at once to pieces when Sir John Russell and Suffolk appeared. The ringleaders of the insurgents were executed, and a rough answer returned to their petition.

§ 12. The rising in Yorkshire was a different affair: it

* 'Thou art the very special and chief cause of all this rebellion and wickedness, and dost daily travail to bring us to our ends and strike off our heads.'—*Darcy to Cromwell in the Council.*

was the first real danger at home since the Cornish revolt, forty years before. It was tinged with a distinctly religious colour: all who took part in it wore as a badge the five wounds of Christ; and it called itself the *Pilgrimage of Grace*. It was so ably organized by a young lawyer named Robert Aske, that a very few days after the raising of their banner York and Hull opened their gates to the insurgents, and all the five northern counties were won over. Pomfret was soon surrendered by Lord Darcy, who readily took the oath exacted from all whom the rebel host* came across, and became second in command. With 30,000 'tall and well-horsed' men they pushed southwards, till they were fronted at Doncaster by 5,000 men and a park of artillery, under the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Duke of Norfolk. Being unable to pass the swollen Don, they entered into negotiations, and to some extent disbanded; but on a delay in receiving an answer from the King to their demands, they reassembled in November, when, at Norfolk's earnest entreaty, Henry promised a general pardon and a Parliament at York. Aske possessed very fully the disinterestedness claimed in the oath of the pilgrim-rebels and eagerly accepted the terms.

The *Pilgrimage of Grace*, 1536-37.

Unfortunately for Henry's good fame, Cromwell's advice outweighed Norfolk's, and the terms were not kept. Under pretence of making preparations for the promised Parliament, Norfolk garrisoned the chief towns throughout the disaffected district, and advantage was taken of an abortive rising, under Sir Francis Bigod, to withdraw the general pardon.† Martial law was established in March, 1537, and seventy-four persons were hanged, besides nineteen executed in Lincolnshire. The leaders of the old movement were, probably without justice, implicated. Darcy was beheaded in London, and Aske was hung in chains at York (June).

* By this all were bound, 'for the love which they bore to Almighty God, His faith, the Holy Church and the maintenance thereof, to the preservation of the King's person and issue; to the purifying of the nobility; and to expulse all villein blood and evil counsellors from his grace and Privy Council: not for any private profit, nor to do displeasure to any private person, but for the restitution of the Church and the suppression of heretics and their opinions.'

† Part of the discontent was due to the fact that this had to be sued for individually, and was only granted in exchange for the oath of allegiance.

To prevent a repetition of the revolt thus stamped out, and to secure a firmer hold on the wild North Country, the Court of the *Council of the North* was set up in 1537 to try cases of riot and violence, and to give justice in civil suits where the parties were too poor to use the process of common law.

§ 13. Closely connected with this revolt there was an *émeute* in the West, which occasioned an attack on the principal family there—the Courtnays and Poles (see Tree, p.vii.). They were esteemed dangerous as the most prominent surviving Yorkists; their leading members, Edward Courtnay, Marquis of Exeter, and Henry Pole, Lord Montague, were personal enemies* of Cromwell. Reginald Pole, brother to this last, had resisted all Henry's attempts to win his support of the Divorce, had definitely sided with the Papacy by accepting a cardinal's hat from Paul III. at the end of 1535, had gone as legate to the Low Countries in 1537 with the object of keeping up the Catholic feeling of the North, and was suspected of being the prime instigator of the publication of the Bull of Deposition, in 1538. At the end of that year Exeter and Montague were arrested on the charge of 'maintaining, promoting, and advancing . . . the King's enemy beyond the sea.' They were convicted, mainly through the evidence of Reginald's brother Geoffrey, and were executed in the following January.

The Courtnays and the Poles, 1537-39.

A second mission of Cardinal Pole immediately afterwards—to persuade Charles and Francis to unite in carrying out the Bull of Deposition—not only failed, but brought about the death of his mother, the aged Countess of Salisbury. 'Pity that the folly of one witless fool,' grimly observed Cromwell, 'should be the ruin of so great a family.' The old and bad precedent of attainting by Act of Parliament, without trial or confession, was raked up against the countess, who, after nearly two years' imprisonment, was beheaded in May, 1541. This vengeance on a lady whom neither gray hairs nor near-

* 'Knaves rule about the King,' Exeter is reported to have said; 'I trust to give them a buffet one day.'

ness of kin—she was Henry's nearest relation, remarks her son—could save, can hardly be put down to Cromwell's account, for Cromwell had fallen a year before her death.

§ 14. Many hoped that the smouldering discontent thus revealed to Henry would teach him moderation, and for the next few years the moderate party, under Norfolk and Gardiner, tried to secure by persuasion what they could of the rebels' armed requests, whilst Cromwell and Cranmer threw their weight on the other side. Neither side* got all they wished, for Henry had a tantalizing habit of rounding on the party which seemed to have just gained a complete triumph, and of making it swallow a favourite principle. On the whole, the Moderates held their own in doctrinal matters, while Cromwell failed in his bold bid for a decisive political alliance with Protestantism. In another matter he was more successful: he swept away the larger monasteries and the convents of friars, the former of which had been preserved for their good conduct, the other neglected through their poverty. The method of procedure was somewhat different to that employed previously. Commissioners, headed by the Earl of Sussex, were sent round the northern counties to inquire into the conduct of the religious houses, and their success stimulated activity in the South also. The result was either voluntary or purchased surrenders† to the crown; or, if the abbots held out against this, a 'real or fictitious charge of immorality, or peculation, or high treason,' led to the confiscation of the lands and property of the monastery. The inmates fared pretty well, the superiors receiving from £6 to £266 per annum, monks £2 to £6, and nuns about £4. A few refractory abbots—*e.g.*, of Reading, Colchester, and Glastonbury—suffered

The Dissolution of the Larger Monasteries, 1539.

* It is somewhat difficult to find a name for these two parties, whose struggles form the internal history of the rest of this reign and those of the two next sovereigns. The 'New Learning' and the 'Old Learning' seem unsuitable labels, inasmuch as men of the type of More would have to be embraced under the latter name. 'Anglican' and 'Protestant' have a too exclusively religious connotation; besides, Protestant cannot include the growing Calvinistic influence.

† These came in rather irregularly: 3 in 1536-37; 24, 174 and 76 respectively in the following years.

death as felons and traitors. The business attained formal completion in May, 1539, when the properties of of all such bodies already or hereafter to be suppressed was vested in the crown for ever.

The income of the 616 religious houses existing in England at the beginning of these changes was £142,914, a sum variously estimated as one-fifth and one-twentieth of the total rental of the kingdom. From the addition of such resources to the crown much was hoped. The Commons looked for the abolition of pauperism and taxation: Henry promulgated a scheme for the establishment of eighteen new bishoprics, a yearly sum of £18,000 being set apart from the forfeited revenues for their endowment. These expectations were hardly realized. A year later a subsidy of two-tenths and two-fifteenths was extorted from Parliament. And only six new sees—Bristol, Chester, Gloucester, Peterborough, Oxford, and Westminster—were ultimately founded.

§ 15. An attempt has been made above (§ 9) to justify the dissolution of the religious houses. But the probable balance of evil over good in them does not excuse the methods by which they were dissolved, nor the manner in which their revenues were utilized. The mass of their wealth went in profuse grants to courtiers, and it is in the elevation of so many new families—a large part of the nobility dates back to this time—thus politically pledged to oppose any reconciliation with Rome that Hallam bases his approval of the measures adopted.

Some Consequences of the Dissolution.

The social consequences of the dissolution will be treated hereafter (Chapter VIII.): its bearing on the composition and balance of power of Parliament may be mentioned here. After 1539 the mitred abbots—thirty-one in number at the time—disappeared from the upper house. Thus for the first time the spiritual peers ceased to outnumber the lay peers: after this date there were but twenty-eight of the former against between thirty-six and forty-six of the latter, whereas previously the spiritual peers had frequently doubled the lay lords. It is obvious that clerical obstruction was practically made

impossible: the Church lay prostrate at the foot of the throne.

Perhaps an important addition to the Lower House may be appended here, though it had no connection with the dissolution and did not take place till three years later. In 1543 Parliamentary representation was for the first time bestowed on the towns and counties of Wales, Calais, and Chester, and thus thirty-two members were added to the Commons.* This measure completed the amalgamation of Wales with England, for which much was done in 1536, when those parts of the country which till then had been under the jurisdiction of the lords-marchers—there were 141, and the fulness of their powers made them little kings—were formed into shires, and English laws and customs substituted for native ones. Such a union came with grace from the great-grandson of Owen Tudor.

The Union with Wales, 1536-43.

§ 16. Before these changes had been brought about there had been what would now be called a ministerial crisis, culminating in the collapse of Cromwell. This was primarily due to the latter's identifying himself too far with the Lutherans. Both master and servant occasionally treated with them, *e.g.*, in 1535 (note, p. 55) and 1538, when German divines came over to England on the Kng's invitation—but only for political reasons: they differed in that Cromwell, not caring a straw for religious dogma, did it willingly, while Henry strongly disliked the followers of his old theological opponent. Still more did he hate the more extreme innovators. Fourteen German Anabaptists were burnt at the stake in 1535. In 1538 a man named Lambert, after a long trial, in which the King himself held a disputation with the offender, was condemned and burnt for denying the real presence.† Still, the reading of the Bible in

Doctrinal Changes, 1536-39.

* It is worth remarking that Henry VIII.'s 'servants and gentlemen' in the Commons were sufficiently strong to carry through his measures; the later Tudors had to create new 'pocket-boroughs' to retain their control over the House (p. 115).

† This was in November; a few months before (April-August) a quaint process of law was gone through against Thomas à Becket, who was formally condemned of rebellion, contumacy and treason, his bones burnt, and the offerings to his shrine confiscated.

English authorized in 1537 seems to have spread the new beliefs,* along with a good deal of scurrility; and the abuse of the privilege was made use of by Gardiner and his party to bring about a distinctly reactionary measure.

To abolish diversities of opinion, a committee, consisting of Cromwell, the two archbishops, and six bishops, was in 1539 appointed to draw up articles of faith. This had been done in 1536, and a sort of commentary thereupon—known as *The Institution of a Christian Man*—had been issued in the following year. On this occasion the committee could not agree, and drew up alternative schemes. The King chose one of these, and that was passed with little alteration through Convocation and both Houses of Parliament in June, 1539. The *Statute of the Six Articles* embodied the following points of doctrine, all objectionable to persons with Protestant leanings:

The *Six Articles*, 1539.

I. That in the Eucharist is really present the natural body of Christ, under the forms, and without the substance, of bread and wine.

II. That communion under both kinds is not necessary to salvation.

III. That priests may not marry by the law of God.

IV. That vows of chastity are to be observed.

V. That private masses ought to be retained.

VI. That the use of auricular confession is expedient and necessary.

Denial of the first article brought with it the penalties of heresy; nor was it possible to escape therefrom by recantation. Open preaching or speaking against the other five meant death as a felon; while the holding of a contrary opinion was to be visited with forfeiture of property for the first, death for the second, offence.

This was indeed a 'whip with six strings' for the Protestants. Latimer, of Worcester, and Shaxton, of Salisbury, at once resigned their sees. Cranmer shook in his shoes, as it was well known that, in defiance of the existing canon law, he had a wife and children. As the Act laid down the penalty of death for cohabitation of this kind, he (Cranmer) hastily packed off his family to Germany, and so escaped. He knew himself to be

* The edition thus permitted to be placed in churches and read by all who wished—an indulgence later extended to private reading—is known as Matthew's Bible. It was a slightly revised version of Miles Coverdale's Bible of the year before, as that in its turn was of William Tyndal's version—whose New Testament was published at Antwerp in 1526, and had been condemned and burnt by Warham.

completely in Henry's hands, and lay as quiet as possible.

§ 17. Cromwell, on the other hand, resolved on what proved a fatal move in order to checkmate his triumphant opponents. Herein he forgot an excellent maxim in his political handbook—Machiavelli's *Principe*—viz., the rule that 'a minister should never think of himself, but of his prince' (*Principe*, ch. xxii.). He meant to force the King willy-nilly into alliance with Lutheranism. This he hoped to bind closer by a marriage, for Henry had been over two years a widower. His wife Jane (§ 10) had died in October, 1537, shortly after giving birth to Prince Edward. Repeated negotiations for a French match having failed, Cromwell now arranged to supply her place with Anne of Kleves.* So persistent was he in this matter that he even ventured to get Holbein to paint a deliberately flattering portrait of her in order to ensnare the King's affections; and when, after seeing her early in January, 1540, Henry cried out for a 'remedy' against 'putting his neck into the noose,' Cromwell insisted on the match. Henry assented, but could not endure 'the great Flanders mare,' as he called her. She was portly enough to please him, but dull and homely, and could speak no language but her own, which he could not understand. He was collusively requested to put her away, and on the flimsy pretexts that she had been precontracted, and that the King had not given his real assent to the marriage, she was divorced in July and retired on a pension of £3,000 per annum and the title of the 'King's sister.'

Marriage with Anne of Kleves, and Fall of Cromwell, 1540.

Henry's discovery that he had been his minister's tool in this matter sealed Cromwell's fate. He was raised to the earldom of Essex in the spring of the year, and had other honours heaped on his numerous existing ones. But on June 10 he was suddenly arrested for high

* Kleves is a dukedom on both sides of the Rhine just before it enters the Netherlands. It is worthy of note that it was from a dispute as to the succession to this that the Thirty Years' War (1618-48) arose—the great struggle between the Emperor and his Catholic subjects and the Lutherans aided by France, which Cromwell wished to antedate by eighty years.

treason at the Council Board. A bill of attainder passed readily through both houses condemning him for peculation, heresy, and treason. The charges were technically true enough: he had received bribes and feathered his nest in collecting materials for the King's; he was certainly behind the back of the Dr. Barnes who a few months before had vehemently supported the doctrine of justification by faith against Gardiner; he had probably used the words 'In brief time I will bring things to such a pass that the King with all his power shall not be able to hinder me.' Yet, as Cranmer pleaded in his behalf, 'he was such a servant in wisdom, vigilance, faithfulness, as no prince in this realm ever had: he had loved the King no less than he loved God.' He might have said a good deal more. Cromwell was beheaded on July 28—the first actual victim of the practice applied to the Countess of Salisbury, condemnation without trial.

Cromwell was almost universally hated at the time, and has not been much liked since. It is easy to say he had no religion and no morals: it is more to the point to note that he had a purpose. This was simply the realization of the old imperial motto, *Quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem.* At the very close of his career he obtained a modified recognition of the principle from the Parliament of 1539, which gave to the King's proclamations in Council the force of statutes;* and his whole term of office was crowded with exemplifications of the maxim. But it is in his methods that his peculiarity chiefly lay, and these he had learnt in Italy. The *Principe* bristles with precepts which connect themselves at once with his policy. If we disapprove of his aim, we cannot but admire his resolute energy. He was not capricious. The character whom perhaps he recalls more than any other is Strafford—a man who, like Cromwell, has been called names by the infallible. Strafford's *Thorough* is simply Cromwell's *Make or mar*—'which was always his common saying.'

* Such proclamations were not, however, to be prejudicial to any person's inheritance, offices, liberties, goods and chattels, or infringe the established laws; nor was anyone by virtue of this Act (save for heresy) to suffer pains of death. The Act was repealed in 1547 (IV. § 4).

§ 18. The interest of the remainder of the reign centres round the King's domestic troubles, the renewal of hostilities with France and Scotland, and the party-struggles in the Council. The former may be briefly dismissed. A month after the divorce from Anne of Kleves, Henry married Katharine Howard, niece to the Duke of Norfolk. This was, of course, another triumph for the party rejoicing at Cromwell's fall. She was not Queen for long. On returning from a journey to York, in November, 1541, Cranmer made known to the King information he had received concerning Katharine's incontinency before and after marriage with one Dereham. The charge seems true, and in the following February she and her abettor, Lady Rochford, were executed. By the bill of attainder which condemned her, it was made high treason for a lady about to become a royal consort to conceal any such offences as Katharine's, and misprision of treason for anyone to conceal the knowledge of the same.

Katharine Howard and Katharine Parr.

Henry's next and concluding wife survived him. His choice fell on Katharine Parr,* relict of Lord Latimer, whom he married in July, 1543. This Katharine was an earnest advocate of the new doctrines: she was the patroness of Anne Kyme (*née* Askew), who was burnt in 1546 for heresy, and even ventured to maintain her views against the King. Henry, of course, could not brook the lectures of a female theologian, and promptly prepared to arrest her. Katharine learnt her danger, told the King she had only argued in order to distract his attention from the pain caused by an ulcer in his thigh, was forgiven, and kept thenceforward her notions to herself.

The fact that Henry could take to himself women of such different religious ideas as his two last wives is strongly indicative of his own position. He was, perforce, half-way between the old and the new. His last words on theology appeared in the *King's Book; or, Erudition of a Christened Man*, prepared in 1540 as a commentary on the Six Articles

Henry's Last Words on Religion.

* Her first husband was Lord Borough, who died before she was sixteen; her fourth was Lord Seymour of Sudeley (IV. § 6). She died in child-bed, 1548.

(cf. p. 62). His last words on religion—addressed to the Parliament of 1544—were a lament, part bitter, part plaintive, that like as he had disputed the Pope's authority, so others disputed his authority.

'Be not judges yourselves of your own fantastical opinions and vain expositions; and, although you be permitted to read Holy Scriptures and to have the Word of God in your mother tongue, you must understand it is licensed so to do only to inform your conscience and inform your children and families, not to make Scripture a railing and taunting-stock against priests and preachers. I am very sorry to know and hear how irreverently that precious jewel, the Word of God, is disputed, rimed, sung and jingled in every alehouse and tavern, contrary to the true meaning and doctrine of the same. For of this I am sure: that charity was never so faint among you, and virtuous and godly living was never less used, nor God himself among Christians never less served. Therefore be in charity one with another, like brother and brother, and love, dread, and serve God, to which I, as your supreme head and sovereign lord, exhort and require you.'

§ 19. Despite the discomfort of his religious attitude, Henry tried to persuade his Scotch nephew to follow his example. James V. had begun to rule in person in 1528, having then expelled Angus from power and the kingdom. He declined to support Henry in the Divorce; his proposal for Mary's hand was rejected; he contracted two French marriages—the latter, with Mary of Longueville (a Guise), over Henry's head; he would not see Henry's hint, that the plunder of the Church was far more regal than keeping sheep. Under the advice of Cardinal Beaton, James steadily declined interviews; and, soon after Henry's fruitless journey to York to meet him in September, 1541, a succession of border forays led to open war.

The War with Scotland, 1542-44.

An English defeat at *Halydon Rigg* (August, 1542) was followed by an invasion of Scotland, under Norfolk, who, however, had to give way before scarcity of provisions and James's 30,000 men. Maxwell and Sinclair pursued him across the border with 10,000 troops and twenty-four pieces of artillery, but were utterly and unaccountably routed by Sir Thomas Wharton at *Solway Moss* (November 25). James died of despair; but a week before his death a daughter was born to him. She is known in history as Mary, Queen of Scots.

Proposals were immediately made to marry the infant to the English Prince Edward, and thus bring about the union of the two realms. James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, the governor of the kingdom, at first sided with the English party under Angus, and entered into a treaty which arranged that the marriage should take place when Mary was ten years old (July, 1543). In September, persuaded by Beaton and the Queen-mother, he got Parliament to repudiate the treaty. Next May, Prince Edward's uncle, Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, with 10,000 troops, was transported to the Forth in a fleet commanded by his subsequent rival, John Dudley, Lord Lisle. He demanded the surrender of the infant Queen; on Arran's refusal, he burnt Leith and Edinburgh, but failed to take the castle, and lost many of his troops in marching south to Berwick.

The Marriage Treaty, and the Burning of Leith, 1543-44.

His forces were at once transported to France, where they took part in the capture of Boulogne by Henry. The conduct of Francis in the Divorce had been too half-hearted to please Henry; and Francis had supported the hostile party in Scotland. All difficulties in the way of a *rapprochement* towards Charles V. were swept away by Mary's restoration to her place in the succession in 1544.* The present war was the result of a compact between Henry and Charles to force France to give up her alliance with the Turks, preparatory to the meeting of a united Christendom in a General Council, and to recover their respective possessions then in the hands of Francis. The two continental powers, however, entered on the *Peace of Crespy* just before the fall of Boulogne. Henry was thus left to himself, and after Viscount Lisle had prevented a large French fleet from effecting anything either in the Channel or in the Isle of Wight, and Hertford had redeemed Surrey's mismanagement of a French campaign in 1545, made peace in June, 1546, with

The War with France, 1544-46.

* This was by the *Third Act of Succession* of the reign. It also restored Elizabeth in blood, and placed her after Mary, as Mary after Edward, in succession to the crown: failing them, the King was to order the succession by his will, in which he set the Suffolk branch before the Stuarts (Tree, p. viii.). For the previous Acts of Succession, see above §§ 7, 10 (footnote).

France and Scotland. Large money payments were made or promised by France in this *Peace of Boulogne*.

§ 20. The war had increased the old deficiency of ready-money. The last four years of the reign were marked by a remarkable series of bad financial expedients. In 1543 a grant of one-tenth was obtained from the clergy, and a heavy graduated tax on real and personal property from the Commons. The returns of this last were in the following year made the basis of a demand for forced loans. These Parliament at once cancelled by a bill of remittal even more sweeping than that of 1529 (§ 3), all debts since 1542 being thereby annulled. Next year a heavy benevolence was demanded, and refusal to pay was roughly punished; for instance, Alderman Reed, of the City of London, was sent down to Scotland with instructions that he should be 'used in all things according to the disciplyne militar of the northern wars.' In 1546 a fresh grant of one-fifteenth was extorted from the clergy, and a tax of about one-seventh on goods, and one-twentieth on lands, imposed on the laity. The property of all colleges, chantries, and hospitals was in the same year placed at the King's disposal. To crown all, the coinage was steadily debased, so that at the end of Henry's reign the shilling was worth considerably less than sixpence.

Financial Exactions and Methods, 1543-47.

These exactions caused no such resistance as had met, not without success, those of 1523 and 1525 (see II. §§ 5, 8). National discontent expressed itself only in murmurs: Parliament was become the mere mouthpiece of the royal will. It made grants on such an enormous scale that by 1536, as was estimated, Henry had drawn more money from the country than all previous Kings put together: it practically gave the King the power of legislation in the First Act of Annates, and in the Acts of Succession of 1536 and 1544, and formally did so in the *Lex Regia* of 1539 (§ 17). It attainted whom the King wished, and thus concealed

Parliamentary Opposition crushed.

lack of evidence or unpresentable facts under the appearance of parliamentary unanimity.

The Howards and the Seymours: Triumph of the latter.

The real constitutional battle-field of the reign was the Council. There the fight grew hot between the parties whose leading spirits were Gardiner and Cranmer. At the very end, the contest resolved itself into a family struggle between the Howards and the Seymours. But the two Seymours, Edward and Thomas, were Prince Edward's uncles. Surrey failed in France in 1545, and Hertford did not. Surrey seemed to aspire to the hand of the Princess Mary, and wore the royal arms. It was on this last frivolous pretext—which was called treason—that Norfolk and Surrey were arrested at the end of 1546. They pleaded guilty. Surrey was beheaded on January 19, 1547, and Norfolk was to have been executed on January 28, but was saved by the death of Henry still earlier on the same day.

Henry VIII.'s Death and Character.

Henry has been frequently described as a famous widower. But he was a good deal more than this. His relations with his six wives illustrate his self-will, but perhaps do not deserve the room they take up in English history as known to the man in the street. 'Gossip and scandal are still,' it has been well remarked, 'gossip and scandal even when they are 300 years old.' It is more to the purpose to note that his self-will was not, all things considered, capricious. There is a steady purpose exhibiting itself throughout the reign: to establish a strong monarchy whose government should be such as to carry the nation with it. That a crisis when religion—which was still in theory the main thing in human life—was being revolutionized was got through so well is Henry's best tribute. His faults were not sufficiently numerous to destroy the popularity with which he came to the throne; yet a King who was so invariably told he could not do wrong, and who was inclined to think so even before he was so told, might well have become an unbearable tyrant. Few have called him that save in passion. Perhaps of all the views which have been taken of his character

that which is so completely illustrated by Dr. Stubbs* is the most convincing. His summary runs thus:

'Henry VIII. is neither the puppet of parties, nor the victim of circumstances, nor the shifty politician, nor the capricious tyrant, but a man of light and leading, of power, force, and foresight, a man of opportunities, stratagems and surprises, but not the less of iron will and determined purpose—purpose not at once realized or systematized, but widening, deepening and strengthening as the way opens before it; a man, accordingly, who might have been very great, and could under no circumstances be accounted less than great, but who would have been infinitely greater and better and more fortunate if he would have lived for his people, and not for himself.'

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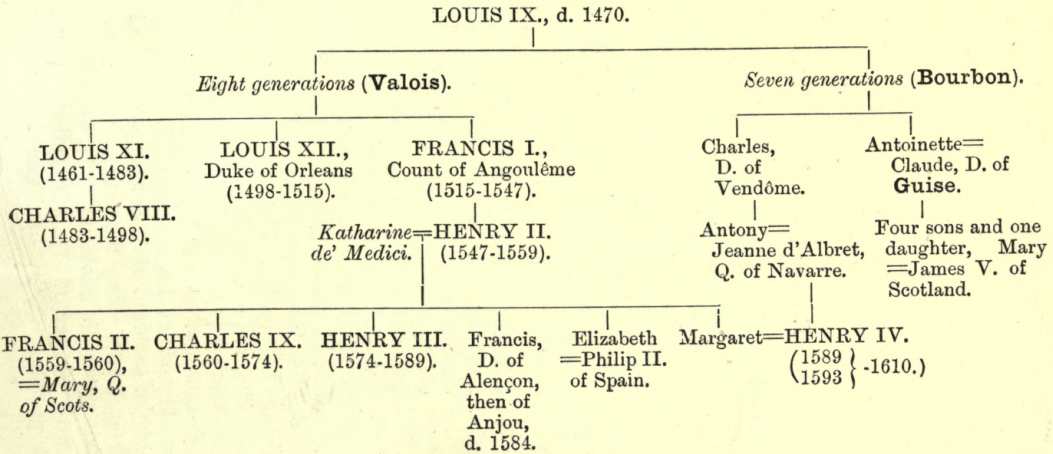
* *Lectures on Mediæval and Modern History*, xi. and xii. These are mainly devoted to internal history: of which not only are the facts clearly and copiously set out, but—what is more important—the significance of each made very prominent. Of these and of the two lectures on Henry VII. a liberal use has been made.

TABLE IV.

French Kings during the Tudor Period.



CHAPTER IV.

Edward VI. (1547-1553).

§ 1. The Characteristics of the Reign: Somerset Protector—§ 2. Somerset's Foreign Policy: Relations with Scotland, France and Germany—§ 3. Religious Innovation and Reform, 1547-1549—§ 4. Somerset's Home Government and the Social Problem—§ 5. Eastern and Western Insurrections of 1549—§ 6. The Treason of Lord Seymour of Sudeley: Fall of Somerset, 1549—§ 7. The Foreign Policy and Morals of the Council, 1549-1551—§ 8. The Council's Attack on Mary, 1550: Execution of Somerset, 1552—§ 9. The Constructive Religious Reform of the Years 1552-1553—§ 10. Northumberland's Attempt to change the Succession: Death of the King, July 6, 1553.

§ 1. 'Woe to thee, O land, when thy King is a child!' was a cry of the Preacher which was on many a lip during the reign of Edward VI. He was in his ninth year when he began to reign, and his six years of rule were characterized by the loss of most of the advantages which his father had secured for England. It was not the poor boy's fault: precocious as he was in classical and theological learning, he did not live long enough to take the first place in the governing of his realm. That task, which was by no means an easy one, fell successively to the Duke of Somerset, hitherto known as the Earl of Hertford (§§ 1-6), and to his old colleague and later rival, the Duke of Northumberland, whose old title of Lord Lisle (III. § 19) was changed for that of the earldom of Warwick at the beginning of the reign (§§ 7-10). The former of these two ruined the English party in Scotland (§ 2), engaged in a miserable war with France (§ 7), and failed to solve a difficult social problem (§§ 4, 5). The latter, by pushing on

The Character and Divisions of the Reign.

religious innovations with feverish haste and complicating his religious policy with an attempt to change the succession, came near to uprooting whatever hold the Reformation had taken on England. Neither found time to continue in Ireland that policy of firm conciliation which at Henry's decease bade fair to remove for ever the 'ticklish and unsettled state' of that island (VII. § 5), and make it less 'easy to receive distempers and mutations.'

In accordance with the powers entrusted to the late King by the *Third Act of Succession* (1544), Henry's will vested the government of the realm during the minority in a Council of sixteen executors, to be assisted on emergency by a Council of twelve. Henry's guiding motion was to prevent any abrupt change of policy after his death. By an Act of 1536 a King was authorized to repeal any Acts passed during his minority and until his twenty-fourth year. The Council's action was thus made only of a temporary worth. And Henry had endeavoured to surround his son with a neutral body in which, while all were members of that new nobility which owed both elevation and wealth to him, neither of the two parties whose struggles had been continuous for the last ten years should be supreme. But the Catholic party had been scotched by the fall of the Howards: it was absolutely disabled by the removal of Wriothesley from the office of chancellor, under pretext of an illegal use of the Great Seal. Somerset, strong in his kinship to the young King and the support of the majority of the Council, procured from his nephew a patent modifying the royal will under pretence that it was stamped, not signed, and became lord president of the Council and lord protector of the kingdom.

Somerset becomes Lord Protector, Feb., 1547.

§ 2. Somerset's first failure was in Scotland, where he was not without experience of ill-success. There was a fair chance of securing the chief object of English policy for the nonce—the marriage of the young Queen, Mary, to Edward. Beaton, the chief opponent of the match, had been recently

The Battle of Pinkie Cleugh, Sept. 10, 1547.

assassinated: only rescue his murderers, now beleaguered in the castle of St. Andrews by the French, and intrigue with the late cardinal's enemies, and the thing was done. Somerset preferred more violent methods. He pushed on to the Forth with a powerful army, and was there met by a considerable Scotch force which the Earl of Huntley and the threat of coercion had brought together. The two armies lay on either side of the river Esk: fearful lest Somerset should escape them, the Scotch left, as at Flodden, a strong position, crossed the Esk at Musselburgh and ascended Carberry Hill, on which the English troops were posted. At first the Scotch pikemen repelled the English cavalry; then, their ranks being broken by the fire of the English archers and artillery, a second cavalry charge put them to rout. But though Somerset only lost a few hundred men whilst 10,000 of his adversaries fell, nothing came of the victory. Home affairs forced the Protector to march back; the Scotch were completely alienated; and Mary was shipped off to France and plighted in the following August to the dauphin, afterwards Francis II.

Somerset's Dealings with France and Germany, 1547-49.

No better success attended Somerset's foreign policy elsewhere. Henry II. of France, whose father had followed Henry VIII. to the tomb in March, 1547, was distinctly anti-English in feeling. He supported the Catholic party in Scotland with both men and money: his troops constantly threatened Boulogne. In September, 1549, just before his fall, Somerset was compelled to declare war—a war as inglorious as the peace which shortly followed it (§ 7).

Scotch affairs and internal troubles stood in the way of any interference in Germany. Yet the Lutherans stood in great need of succour. About 1544 Charles was at length free to take up the religious question, which he hoped to solve by means of a General Council. He was a good ten years late. The Council assembled at *Trent*, on the Adige, in the winter of 1545, but the Lutherans would have none of it. Charles attacked them; the League of Schmalkalde (III. § 2) fell to pieces; and

by the battle of *Mühlberg* (April 24, 1547) Charles at last became really Emperor. To prevent things coming to such a pass—for an attack on England was obviously the next step—even Henry had meditated a *League Christian* with the Lutheran princes. Somerset, who had religious as well as political sympathy with the Protestants, attempted neither to prevent nor to undo Charles's work.

§ 3. Yet, amidst a crowd of self-seeking innovators, Somerset stood out as an earnest Protestant. He allied himself more closely than ever with Cranmer, who was now resolved to press on England the doctrines to which he had himself become sincerely attached during the days of Gardiner's ascendancy. The latter, and Bonner, Bishop of London, were early imprisoned for protesting against the work of the royal commission sent round to enforce the purification of the churches and the use of the English liturgy. The churches were purified in somewhat rough and ready fashion. Images of saints and pictures were torn down; the walls were whitewashed; the altars were removed and tables substituted—often placed in the middle of the church. The heads of the advanced party—Latimer and Hooper—were far from moderate in language: little wonder that their followers were violent in deeds.

Religious Innovations and Reforms, 1547-49.

But religious enthusiasm did not confine itself to deforming: it also reformed. In 1547 Cranmer put forth a *Book of Homilies* and Erasmus' *Paraphrase of the New Testament*: 'these were for the stay of such errors as were then by ignorant preachers spread among the people.' As soon as it could be got ready, Edward VI.'s *First Prayer-Book*, compiled mainly from old missals and breviaries by Cranmer and others, was issued (January, 1549), and its use enforced by the *First Act of Uniformity*, the penalty being forfeiture of stipend and six months' imprisonment. Men had become accustomed to changes in religion; but it seemed a revolution when Cranmer openly ate meat during Lent in Lambeth Palace, when an Act was passed authorizing, in how-

ever half-hearted a fashion, the marriage of the clergy, when auricular confession was discountenanced, and when the worship of the Virgin and the saints—'the popular deities of the masses,' as they have been called—was roundly forbidden.

It was a pity all this could not have been done with greater decency. Doubtless there were good men amongst the reformers, and doubtless they did their best: to these were due all efforts to enforce discipline amongst the clergy, which had naturally become relaxed in a time of transition. But rapacity was the characteristic feature of the prominent men of Edward's day. The property of the religious guilds and chantries,* whose suppression had been doubly authorized in Henry's last and Edward's first year, was destined 'for the erection of schools, the augmentation of the universities, and the sustenance of the indigent.' Eighteen grammar-schools were, indeed, founded during the reign, but the bulk of the forfeited property went to the 'sustenance' of the gentry, just as that of the religious houses, dissolved eight years before, had gone. Bishops were forced to alienate or lease away as much as half of their lands, in order to save the rest, and did not shrink from compensating themselves by appropriating the incomes of parishes whose spiritual wants they left to illiterate, starveling clerks. With such examples before them, the tendency to make a mock of sacred things grew apace. Yet a devout man would hardly find an inducement to conversion in hearing the sacrament of the altar spoken of as a 'Jacke of the box.'

§ 4. The civil government of the protectorate is as curious a *mélange* as its religious activity. The task of the Council was to carry on a despotic government with the despot left out: it was a task not easy in itself, and not rendered easier by the circumstance that the Council was—as Hallam labels it—a 'designing and unscrupulous oligarchy,' with a president who regarded himself as just

Civil Government: the *Statute of Treasons.*

* These were fraternities of secular priests whose business it was to sing daily masses for their founders.

the man to be a thorough-going, patriotic, beneficent despot. There was bound to be a collision sooner or later. At first, however, there was a series of constitutional measures and unconstitutional acts. If the former 'mark,' as Green says, 'the first retreat of the New Monarchy from the position of pure absolutism which it had reached under Henry,' the latter at least show that the retreat was reluctant.

The Parliament which Somerset found sitting on his return from Scotland took away some of the power it had placed in Henry's hands by repealing the *Lex Regia* of 1539 (III. § 17), and by sweeping away all treasons* created since the *First Statute of Treasons* (1351), and in particular the felonies created by the *Statute of the Six Articles* (III. § 16). The treasons defined in the Act of Edward III. were, however, supplemented by two: attacks on the King's supremacy—either thrice in words, or in writing, printing, or by overt act—and the assembling of twelve or more persons for altering the laws or established religion, or for doing violence to the privy councillors. The Act explained the theory of the charge:

'As in tempest or winter one course or garment is convenient, in calm or warm weather a more liberal case or lighter garment both may and ought to be followed and used, so we have seen divers strait and sore laws, made in one Parliament, in a more calm and quiet reign of another prince repealed and taken away.'

This was, unfortunately, hallooing before they were out of the wood. The difficulty which finally shattered Somerset's party had not been cleared away, as vainly imagined, by the Act of this same Parliament—the *Vagrancy Act*. This measure was severe. Designed to solve what to-day would be called the 'problem of the unemployed,' it ordered that any determinately idle and able-bodied vagrant might, on the sentence of two magistrates, be branded with the letter V, and handed over to anyone wanting him as a slave for two years; if he refused, he

The *Vagrancy Act*, 1547, and the Social Question.

* This first Parliament of Edward VI. was ultimately dissolved at the end of 1551, for further amending the laws of treason—the amendment being taken as an implicit criticism of Somerset's condemnation (§ 8). In trials for treason *two witnesses* were in future to be produced to secure a verdict of 'Guilty.'

might be treated as a felon. But owing to various economical causes, the chief of which was the transition from tillage to pasturage* (Chapter VIII.), work was not to be found, and the Act had to be repealed two years later.

The sufferings attendant on such an economical change fell mainly on the poor. On them, too, at this time fell most heavily the decline in the purchasing value of money, consequent on Henry's repeated debasement of the coinage and on the increased circulation of the precious metals. Further, the rural poor were being shut out of their use of the commons and waste lands by the new men who now occupied the old abbey and convent lands. Somerset felt something was wrong, and in 1548 sent round a commission to inquire into their grievances. The spirit in which the commission was ordered to work tells powerfully to Somerset's credit: unfortunately, it did not result in any practical benefit to the sufferers. Expectation of relief was raised only to be disappointed; and the laxity of the commission proved as dangerous as the severity of the Act was useless.

§ 5. Religious and agrarian discontent was a natural outcome of so much activity in matters so intimately concerned with the comfort and happiness of every-day life. It had smouldered long under Henry's firm rule: it blazed forth when Somerset's impotence displayed itself. It is not easy for a contemporary to make allowances for good intentions. In the summer of 1549 the peasantry rose both in East and West. In the West religious, in the East social, causes predominated.

Insurrection in the West, June-July, 1549.

The new liturgy recently prescribed (§ 3) was read for the first time on Whit-Sunday (June 1, 1549). Next day the villagers of Sampford Courtnay, on the northern part of Dartmoor, insisted on the priest resuming his old vestments and reading mass in Latin: the new service was 'like a Christmas game.' Throughout Devon and

* 'Sheep,' notes Sir Thomas More, alluding to this, 'which are naturally mild and easily kept in order, may be said to devour men and unpeople not only villages, but towns.'

Cornwall 'the common people clapped their hands for joy.' An appeal was soon made to arms by Humphrey Arundel, and the restoration of the Six Articles and the Mass was demanded. The insurgents were pressing Exeter hard, when they were defeated by Lords Russell and Grey, first at St. Mary's Clyst (August 6), and finally at Sampford Courtnay. They then dispersed, and martial law was severely enforced against them.

Insurrection in the East crushed by Warwick, Aug., 1549.

The rebellion in the East was a much more serious affair, for, thanks to Somerset's sympathy with its motives, it was allowed to make headway. While he was issuing proclamations, the insurgents were thronging round a tanner of Wymondham, named Robert Ket, who assumed the style of King of Norfolk and Suffolk, and sat daily in judgment on captured gentlemen beneath the *Oak of Reformation*, on Mousehold Hill, near Norwich. On August 1 Ket seized the town, and was later able to expel from it Lord Northampton, who had occupied it for the King. The Council took matters in their own hands, and ordered Warwick to turn aside with the German mercenaries he was leading towards Scotland, and crush the rebellion. Ket refused a pardon; but his forces, though they mustered some 16,000 and were well disciplined, were scattered at *Dussindale* (August 27), with the loss of 4,000, by Warwick's regular troops. A few were hanged on the Oak of Reformation: Ket was suspended in chains at Norwich Castle.

Treason of Lord Seymour of Sudeley; his Execution, March, 1549.

§ 6. Somerset's vacillation was soon followed by his fall. He had had, as his friend Paget told him, 'too many irons in the fire.' He had really failed all along the line. His personal popularity had faded away before his increasing haughtiness, which displayed itself conspicuously in his assertion of independence of the Council, and in the building of a superb palace—now Somerset House—to provide room and materials for which churches were pulled down. But what shocked public feeling most, perhaps, was his treatment of his brother Thomas, Lord Seymour of Sudeley. He was undoubtedly jealous

of the Protector, and plotted against him. He had many things in his favour: he had, in June, 1547, married the Queen-dowager—whom he had wished to marry before she was snapped up by Henry VIII.—and he had the guardianship of the Princess Elizabeth and Lady Jane Grey. On the death of his wife he schemed to marry the princess. He obtained money from Sir William Sharington, master of the mint at Bristol; and he abused his position as lord high admiral to intrigue with the Channel pirates. He confided in Southampton (Wriothesley), now no longer Somerset's enemy, and was denounced to the Protector. He was hurriedly condemned by bill of attainder—the Commons' petition, that at least he might be heard in his defence, fell on deaf ears—and executed, March, 1549.*

Fall of Somerset, Oct., 1549.

Formidable rival as his brother was, Somerset raised up a still more dangerous one by letting his old colleague Warwick (III. § 19) bear away the laurels for suppressing the disorders in the eastern counties. Warwick's influence with the Council was great and growing. Somerset declared the body which to please him had voluntarily transformed itself from an executive to an advising body to be treasonable, and on that pretence withdrew the young King, though ill, to Windsor. But only Paget and Sir Thomas Smith† clung to him; and by the advice of the former and of Cranmer he submitted, and was committed to the Tower for some months (October, 1549, to February, 1550).

Warwick's Foreign and Religious Policy.

§ 7. Warwick took not only his place, but his policy. As lord president he at once laid aside the religious ideas with which he was credited by the Moderates and Catholics, and, though he lacked the sincerity of his predecessor, acted as a still more thorough-paced reformer. But he was contented with doing less: he took the advice which Paget

* He was not given a very good character by his contemporaries. He was suspected of poisoning Katharine in order to be free to marry Elizabeth. According to Latimer, 'he was farthest removed from the fear of God of any man he saw or heard of in England.'

† A scholar, lawyer, dean, ambassador, secretary of state, and author of a treatise on the *Commonwealth of England*, describing the constitutional theory and practice of the day.

could never persuade Somerset to take. Paget thus described 'the evil condition of our estate at home':

'Ill money, whereby outward things be dearer, idleness among the people, the great courages, dispositions to imagine and invent novelties, devices to amend this and that, and a hundred mischiefs—these be the fruits of war.'

Accordingly, negotiations with France were begun almost as soon as the war itself (September, 1549), and in March following peace was signed. By this treaty, in which Scotland, too, was included, England remitted the sums due to her by the treaty of 1546, and Boulogne was surrendered in return for 400,000 crowns.

Henry II. thus was left free to turn his arms against Charles V., whilst the Council, freed from the worry and expense of foreign war, and indifferent to the great social question at home, gaily followed their leader in filling their pockets at the expense of the Church or anyone else. Members of the Council were allotted large grants of crown-lands, and made large sums by tampering still further with the coinage. Henry VIII. is said to have made £50,000 by this means; Sharington, Sudeley's friend (§ 6), made £4,000; and now gold and silver plate, plundered from the churches, was turned into *white money*, containing, perhaps, seventy-five per cent. of alloy. This could not go on for ever: internal and external trade alike were dislocated when a total currency, having a false value of £1,200,000, was really worth only £800,000. Accordingly, the Council, having sent forth a last issue of a nominal value of £120,000, 'called down' the money fifty per cent. The old shilling was called a sixpence; it was intrinsically worth even less, and Elizabeth had to reduce it a further twenty-five per cent.

The Council and the Currency.

§ 8. The Act would have been laudable but for its antecedents and its manner of doing. The Council was, however, not only self-seeking, but vindictive. Bonner was deprived of his see in 1549, Gardiner in 1551, and both detained in prison. So, too, was Heath, Bishop of Worcester, the

The Council and the Clergy, 1549-51.

author of a concise formula which well expresses the position of his party:—

'Whatever is contrary to the Catholic faith is heresy: whatever is contrary to unity is schism.'

The appropriate retort to the charge of *heresy* was that of *idolatry*. Statues, pictures, vestments, stained glass, tapers, all were idolatrous. Hooper had in 1550 to be imprisoned till he consented to put on 'the livery of the harlot of Babylon'—meaning the episcopal robes he had to wear as Bishop of Gloucester. A bishop's lot was not a happy one under Henry: it was almost less so under his son. They were now, by an amendment of the Act of 1534, carried in the first year of the reign, appointed directly by the King without the intervention of the chapter, and held their offices simply *durante placito*.

The Council did nothing very foolish for more than a year after Somerset's fall. Towards the end of 1551, however, it suddenly resolved to require the Princess Mary to conform to the new religious system and use the English Prayer-Book. She refused, and appealed to her cousin, Charles V., who seemed inclined to regard the attack on Mary as a good pretext for interference in English affairs. The Council allied itself with France, and arranged a French marriage for Edward; but the danger passed away when the Emperor, seemingly all-powerful (§ 2), was suddenly chased out of his own dominions by Maurice of Saxony, a Protestant whose desertion of his own side had been the prime cause of Charles's success four years before (1551).

The Council and the Princess Mary, 1551.

The peril into which the precipitancy of the Council thus brought the country, and the wide-spread peculation amongst its members, produced an unpopularity of which Somerset was not slow to take advantage. He raised his voice for Gardiner, and drew towards the Arundels, moderate reformers. His designs were betrayed, and he was accused of treason and felony. He confessed to having plotted the overthrow (§ 4) of Northumberland (to the dukedom of which Warwick had just been raised), and the former charge

Execution of Somerset, Jan., 1552.

was withdrawn. Of the latter he was found guilty; the King, persuaded by Northumberland's show of religion, would not save his uncle; and on January 22, 1552, Somerset was beheaded on Tower Hill amidst the groans of a people who forgave him his faults for his misfortunes.

§ 9. The remaining eighteen months of the reign were occupied with a careful formulation of Anglican doctrine, which has stood with little modification till to-day, and with an arbitrary attempt to secure its maintenance in the immediate future, which failed miserably. In the later part of 1552 a *Second Act of Uniformity* was passed, which closely followed the lines of the earlier one (§ 3), but added a fine of one shilling for absence from church on Sundays or holy-days, prescribed penalties for mocking at public worship, and enforced the use of Edward VI.'s *Second Prayer-Book*. This showed advance in several points: the practice of prayers for the dead, which did not fit well in with the doctrine of justification, was discountenanced, and the theory of the sacrament of the altar, the crucial test, still further differentiated from Roman belief by the adoption of Martin Bucer's views.*

The *Second Act of Uniformity*, 1552, and the *XLII. Articles*, 1553.

About a year after this, in May, 1553, a sort of code of Anglican belief was published by order of Council. It was contained in *Forty-two Articles* (cf. VI. § 12) drawn up, at the bidding of Council two years before, by Cranmer and Ridley, and revised by eminent hands, such as Peter Martyr and John Knox. It is doubtful whether they were duly accepted by Convocation: the King's death certainly prevented their practical acceptance by the clergy. A like fate awaited the revision of the Canon Law, promised by Henry VIII. in 1532, and entrusted to a committee of thirty-two members, containing an equal number of bishops, divines, civilians, and common lawyers. The real work was done by Peter

* These were meant to be a *via media* between the three main views: (1) The Roman (*transubstantiation*), that the substance of bread and wine is changed by the act of consecration into that of flesh and blood; (2) Luther's (*consubstantiation*), that both substances exist together after consecration; (3) Zwingli's, that the elements were mere symbols commemorative of Christ's death.

Martyr, assisted by Cranmer; but their product, the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, was not saved by its literary merit from the fate to which its unsuitability for the new *régime* and its time of publication condemned it.

§ 10. The Protestantism thus established was enforced by persecution;* but persecution could not secure its continuance after the King's death. Such an event was highly probable: his health, never very strong, had broken down completely in consequence, it is said, of his removal to Windsor to bolster up Somerset's tottering power (§ 6). By the Act of 1544 and Henry's will, his half-sister Mary inherited the throne. She was a firm, even bigoted, Catholic. Her first measure would be to reverse all that Edward and much that his father had done, and to throw the majority of the Council into prison. To save himself and them, Northumberland played on the young King's horror of 'papistry' till he induced him to change the succession. Edward—who lived long enough to show clearly that he had the Tudor love of power, and dimly that he would use it with Tudor vigour, if not with Tudor wisdom—was readily persuaded that he was entitled to do so, though, unlike his father, he had not been specially authorized by Parliament to regulate the succession.

Attempt to change the Succession. The King dies, July 6, 1553.

Northumberland not only secured the rejection of Mary, but the selection of the person whose elevation would be most likely to ensure the permanence of his own influence. On the pretext that her legitimacy was uncertain, Elizabeth was passed over in the *Device for the Succession* which Edward himself drew up, and the crown settled on Lady Jane Grey and her heirs male.† This was partly in accordance with Henry's views (III. § 19), but the only reason why Lady Jane was preferred to her mother, who was still living, was that she had lately become the bride of Northumberland's fourth son, Lord Guildford Dudley. To a scheme whose

* The most notorious case was that of Joan Boucher, who was burnt at the stake against Edward's wish for denying the Incarnation.

† See Genealogical Tree, p. viii.

main intent was the aggrandizement of the Dudleys there was a strong objection, the futility of which only shows the greater strength of the New Monarchy. Cranmer gave in his adhesion at the personal request of the King; many peers, judges, and merchants followed his example; and in June letters-patent under the Great Seal formally announced the projected change. Mary appealed to the Emperor. Edward died on the 6th of the following month.

One of his tutors called him 'the beautifullest creature that liveth under the sun, the liveliest, the most amiable, and the gentlest thing of all the world.' He learnt seven, and knew three, languages; and he was not ignorant of logic, of natural philosophy, or of music. And he was only in his fifteenth year when he died. Perhaps it was well he died young.

CHAPTER V.

Mary (1553-1558).

§ 1. Northumberland fails to set up Lady Jane Grey as Queen against Lady Mary—§ 2. Mary's Early Religious Measures: the Rivalry between France and Spain—§ 3. Wyatt's Insurrection against the Spanish Marriage, February, 1554—§ 4. Marriage of Philip and Mary, and Reconciliation with Rome, July-November, 1554—§ 5. The Marian Persecution, 1555-1558—§ 6. Mary's Misfortunes, 1555-1558—§ 7. Domestic Conspiracies; War with France; Loss of Calais; Death of the Queen, November 17, 1558.

§ 1. Four days after Edward's death Northumberland proclaimed Queen Jane amid the dead silence of a crowd which thought what one apprentice said: 'Lady Mary hath the better title.' The interval between Edward's death and the proclamation of Jane had been used by Northumberland to secure the loyalty of the Council and the person of Mary. She was, however, given timely notice by friends in the Council, and escaped first to Kenninghall on the Waverney, then to Framlingham, where she was under the protection of the Howards, and whence she could, if need be, easily cross to her imperial cousin.

Queen Jane? or Queen Mary?

There was no necessity to run farther. The national sympathy and sense of justice declared itself unmistakably for the princess who was the rightful heir, and who had been so harshly used. All who resented the muddling meddlesomeness of the Government during the late reign turned their backs on Northumberland. It was only natural to fear that he would be the real ruler, and that Lady Jane—a bright, earnest, cultivated, and amiable girl of sixteen years—would be a puppet in his hands. None the less the idea was probably a mistake:

during her ten days' reign she showed clearly her intention not to be bullied by her husband, as she had been through life by her parents. She would not, for instance, hear of his being crowned with her.

Failure and Execution of Northumberland, July-Aug., 1553.

The members of the Council who had warned Mary of her danger managed to provide Northumberland, who was marching into the eastern counties in quest of the fugitive, with troops likely to desert him. The fleet, too, declared for Mary. On July 19 the majority of the Council proclaimed Queen Mary in London; and at Cambridge next day Northumberland flung his cap into the air for Queen Mary. He was arrested by Arundel and brought to London, which Mary entered on August 3. Before the end of the month he, with six others, was executed for high treason. His daughter-in-law had not, notes Hallam, 'obtained that degree of possession which might have sheltered her adherents under the statute of 10 Henry VII.' (I. § 9); and Northumberland's plea that he had acted under the authority of the Great Seal was set aside. In hopes of saving his life, he declared himself a Catholic, and died with this on his lips. Whether hypocrisy or cowardice, this recantation was a great triumph for the cause Mary had at heart, and, conjoined with his selfish policy and irreligious life, stamps Northumberland as 'a most fatal friend to the Reformation.'

Despite the solicitations of the Emperor, Northumberland's tools, both his son and his daughter-in-law, were for the present spared, though confined in the Tower.

§ 2. Mary's single idea was the restoration of her country to the Roman obedience, and the extirpation of all non-papal doctrines and tendencies. Her intense devotion to the Holy See, notwithstanding the half-hearted way in which the Papacy had supported her mother, was early shown by her refusal to be crowned until sacred oil and a chair, consecrated by the Pontiff, could be obtained from Rome. But long before her coronation by Gardiner in October, much had been done to reverse the religious policy of the last reign. On the ground

Mary's Objects and Early Religious Measures, 1553.

that the Acts passed during a minority were illegal, Mary at once, on her own authority, restored the Mass, forbade unlicensed preaching, replaced in their sees all the ejected Catholic bishops, removed the Protestant bishops either for marriage or for treason, and turned out all married clergy—probably over 2,000 in number. And she made it clear that Protestant preachers had better become refugees unless they particularly desired to be martyrs. The Rhinelands and Switzerland sheltered the majority.

Mary's *first* Parliament accepted her policy, and helped her by again abolishing all treasons since 1351, and by formally repealing the religious statutes of the late reign. But Parliament was evidently not so thorough-going as the Queen. After a week's debate it simply restored the *status quo* of 1547, and left to Mary the supremacy of the Church. She had to accept this, and also to acknowledge in a very conspicuous way the authority of Parliament, by allowing it to formally annul the statute of 1534 bastardizing her. And Parliament showed a rising spirit of opposition by very plainly setting its face against the Queen's proposed Spanish marriage.

This match is the real point around which the history of the reign turns. It was undertaken only after a sharp struggle between the French and the Spanish influences: it was carried through only after a strong opposition in Parliament and in arms. Its completion estranged the heart of the nation from the Queen, and turned against Spain, for more than a century, the national feeling hitherto directed against France. It was quite natural that Mary should lean on the Emperor, who was both her cousin and the political champion of Catholicism against the Reformation.* Hence his ambassador, Renard, became one of Mary's leading advisers; whilst the French ambassador, Noailles, was soon looked upon as the centre of all opposition, open and secret, to the Queen's policy.

French and Spanish Rivalry, 1553-54.

* Henry II. was at this time working hand in hand with the Lutherans. It was largely due to him that Metz was able to hold out for nearly four months against Charles, 1553-1554, and it was really this siege that proved Charles's failure.

The Spanish Marriage Treaty, Jan., 1554.

The Emperor's advice was, for the present at least, moderation. He knew the temper of England, and prevailed on Mary to be content at first with harmony of doctrine with Rome. He forbade Cardinal Pole, whose headstrong assertion of the papal rights had cost his mother's and his brother's lives (III. § 13), to enter England, legate though he was. The reason of this was not purely political. Pole was, in the eyes of the Anglican Catholics, the most suitable man for Mary to wed, and he certainly was more suitable than the Protestant candidate, the feather-headed Edward Courtnay, Earl of Devon. Charles, however, urged the claims of his son Philip; and Renard's representations and Philip's portrait carried the day. Mary's chief English adviser, Gardiner, lord chancellor, led the English opposition to the match, but his arguments could not conquer the Queen's love. He accordingly illustrated his character as a 'thorough Englishman' by inserting in the marriage-treaty provisions that Philip should have no royal title over England, no rights of succession, and no legal influence over English affairs, more particularly her foreign policy.

National Feeling against the Spanish Match, 1554.

§ 3. The treaty was signed in January, 1554. At once the air was thick with plots whose negative object was to prevent the Spanish marriage, and whose positive programme was the wedding of the Princess Elizabeth, already a popular idol, to Courtnay. Of the several risings with this object, but one was at all dangerous. Sir Peter Carew,* who had been one of the earliest to declare for Queen Mary, rose in the West, the Courtnay stronghold; but partly because he was but ill-prepared, partly because he had made himself unpopular in the West in 1549 (IV. § 5), he made no headway, and had to flee to France. Similar ill-success attended the premature movements of Suffolk, Lady Jane's father, in the Midlands, and of Sir James Crofts, in the western marches.

* Sir Peter Carew later renewed his reputation for cruelty as a colonist in Munster, and died while with Essex in Ulster, 1575.

Only in Kent did the insurrection become formidable. 'The men of Kent had a greater genius for revolting than the rest of the country.' Besides, they were nearer London. Sir Thomas Wyatt, a poet and the son of a poet, and 'the bravest and most accomplished Englishman of his day,'* led them towards London, which seemed well disposed to fraternize with them. The fleet in the Thames supplied cannon; the 500 Londoners whom Norfolk led against them deserted; the Council displayed no eagerness to put the insurgents down; and even Renard was prepared in desperation to give up the marriage, when Mary, with Tudor courage, threw herself on the loyalty of the citizens assembled at the Guildhall. She promised not to marry unless with the consent of Parliament, and by next morning (February 3) 25,000 men were enrolled in her defence. Under Admiral Lord William Howard, these kept London Bridge against Wyatt's 10,000, and then forced him to go up stream as far as Kingston in order to cross the river. The delay ruined him. When he at length neared London from the west, his line was broken near what is now Hyde Park Corner, and he had but a handful of men when he reached Temple Bar, only to surrender himself to Sir Maurice Berkeley (February 7).

Kentish Rising under Sir Thomas Wyatt, Feb., 1554.

About 100 persons† suffered death for their share in these movements. Renard and Gardiner successfully urged it on Mary as a sufficient reason for the execution of the Lady Jane and her husband, who were accordingly beheaded on February 12. Suffolk was brought to the block later. Wyatt himself was respited in the hope that he might implicate Elizabeth, but was at length executed after steadily retracting whatever he had under torture confessed. Elizabeth was arrested, but the Moderates in the Council prevailed against Gardiner and

* J. R. Green.—For the elder Wyatt see *U. C. C. Hist. of Engl. Lit.*, 1485-1580, chap. ii.

† More would have suffered had not it been made clear that national feeling was with the moderate party in the Council (Paget, Sussex, etc.). A jury acquitted Sir Nicholas Throckmorton; its members were accordingly summoned before the Star Chamber, and eight of them who refused to apologize heavily fined. This is a typical instance of the methods of that court (I. § 9).

the Emperor, and after three months' detention she was allowed to retire to Woodstock. In all probability she hardly deserved her escape.

§ 4. Active opposition to the Spanish marriage thus fell through, and Mary's *second* Parliament, which met in April, 1554, gave its approval. But it soon earned its dismissal by rejecting three Bills for the suppression of heresy which Gardiner had drawn up, and which Paget had forced through the Lords.

Mary marries Philip, July 20, 1554.

On July 20 the marriage was celebrated, and Mary was satisfied. Philip, however, did not return the demonstrative affection of a wife nine years older than himself, nor did he get on well with the English. These soon forgot, in disgust at his Castilian hauteur, his amiableness in drinking a tankard of English ale on landing, and it soon became obvious that, despite the marriage treaty, Philip intended to make England a henchman to Spanish policy.

Mary had thus obtained her heart's desire: it only remained to attain her soul's. For this purpose she summoned her *third* Parliament in November. Every effort had been made to secure its subservience. Royal letters had been sent to influential persons in county and corporation alike, bidding them secure the election of

The Reconciliation with Rome, Nov. 30, 1554.

'such as were of wise, grave, and Catholic sort, such as indeed meant the true honour of God, and such as the old laws require.'

Almost its first act was to reverse the attainder of Cardinal Pole, who, now that his presence was no longer dangerous to the Emperor's designs, returned to his country. On St. Andrew's Day, six days after his barge, 'with the silver cross of a legate gleaming from its bow,' had swept up the Thames to London, Pole formally received the national submission tendered him by the Houses as they knelt to him at Whitehall, and, giving them absolution, readmitted them to communion with the Catholic Church.

By the repeal of all ecclesiastical legislation since 1529

the papal supremacy was restored. But it was restored only upon conditions: Julius III. and the clergy resigned all claims on Church lands which had been seized and granted away during the late mutations. The Queen was averse to this concession—in fact, she restored to the Church all Church-lands still in possession of the crown, thus losing £60,000 a year; but it was not to be avoided. In their personal interests the gentry would not display the accommodating spirit they exhibited in their religious principles. 'The English in general,' noted a contemporary Venetian, 'would turn Jews or Turks if their sovereign pleased,' but not at the price of the abbey lands.

§ 5. In the same session of Parliament the laws against Lollardy were restored, and early in 1555 the persecution which won for Mary the surname *Bloody* was set on foot. The burden of responsibility for this persecution has been shifted on to different shoulders by various writers: Mary, Pole, Gardiner, and Bonner, have been made to bear individually the blame which ought, perhaps, to be distributed about equally between them. The utmost that can be said to be generally accepted is this: that, unless Mary had been willing, the persecution would not have gone so far; and that the bitter cup she had been forced to drink in her girlhood naturally enough disposed her to be not merely willing, but wishful, for vengeance.

The Marian Persecution, 1555-58.

Child's play as the Marian persecution was, compared with the work of the Inquisition in Spain and the Netherlands, it was still terribly severe. The estimates of the number of 'martyrs' fluctuate between 200 and 300, and it was the outcome of a purely governmental policy, not a national outburst of feeling against heretics; in fact, it rather excited general disgust in a people which saw the suffering inflicted, and was not able to 'sit with its feet on the fender' and compare it favourably with other butcheries that we condemn to-day.*

* 'I believe that I could show that all the executions for religious causes in England—by all sides and during all time—are not so many as were the sentences of death passed in one year in the reign of George III. for one single sort of crime—the forgery of bank-notes.'—*Stubbs.*

The greatest activity was displayed in the dioceses of Canterbury, London, and Rochester under Bonner's direction. Amongst the earliest victims were Rogers, Prebendary of St. Paul's, and Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, the former at Smithfield, the latter in his own city. The evident unpopularity of the persecution drew an official disclaimer of all part or lot in it from Philip's chaplain, Alfonso a Castro. After a lull, however, it was resumed, and even intensified by 'rattling letters' from the Queen, who put down her disappointment of an heir to the wrath of God for her lack of zeal. In September, 1555, Bishops Ridley and Latimer were burnt at Oxford. Latimer's last words went characteristically to the root of the matter:

The 'Protestant Martyrs'—Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley.

'Be of good cheer, Master Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England as I trust shall never be put out.'

Cranmer's death-scene was, like his life, curiously indeterminate. It has been held by some to justify, by some finally to disprove, his claim to be regarded as a martyr. When he had been formally condemned at Rome—where alone such a high dignitary of the Church could be judged—he was persuaded to recant no less than six times in the hope of saving his life. Macaulay brusquely says, 'He died solely because he could not help it.' Yet it required no little moral courage to make the confession he made to the crowded audience in St. Mary's, Oxford, on his way to the stake:

'Now I come to the great thing that troubleth my conscience more than any other thing that I ever said or did in my life, and that is the setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth; which here I now renounce and refuse as things written by my hand contrary to the truth which I have thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, to save my life, if it might be. And forasmuch as my hand offended in writing contrary to my heart, my hand therefore shall be the first punished; for if I come to the fire it shall be first burnt. . . . As for the Pope, I utterly refuse him, as Christ's enemy and Antichrist, with all his false doctrine.'

It was on March 21, 1556, that these words were uttered and Cranmer was burnt. His death was, in Green's

words, 'the death-blow to Catholicism in England. The triumphant cry of Latimer could reach hearts only as bold as his own, but the sad pathos of the primate's humiliation and repentance struck chords of pity and sympathy in the hearts of all.'

§ 6. In the midst of her religious zeal, Mary was unhappy. She passionately wished for an heir to continue her work when she was gone: every preparation was made for the event, but the child never came. Philip, on whom she doted, deserted her soon after (August, 1555). He was weary of trying to make himself agreeable to a nation that would not try to make itself useful to him in return; and his father wanted him in the Netherlands. There, early in the following year, Charles formally resigned the crown of Spain to him, as he had already resigned Sicily and Naples, and retired to St. Yuste a disappointed man, grumbling that 'Fortune was a woman who did not favour the old.'*

Mary's Misfortunes, 1555-56.

It was almost a heavier blow still to Mary to find herself looked upon with distrust by the Papacy itself. Paul IV. (1555) did not approve of his predecessor Julius III.'s concessions with regard to the Church lands, and he hated Mary's confidential adviser, Pole. It was in vain that she strove to rebuild the abbeys and restore the first-fruits to the Church—Parliament would not let them be restored to the Pope. Paul was inexorable: England must show the sincerity of her repentance by restitution. Mary obtained, however, the primacy for Pole, who by the death of Gardiner, at the end of 1555, was left without a rival in the Queen's confidence; but she was only able to prevent his authority from being overshadowed by an agent of the Pope's by forbidding the new *legatus a latere*, her confessor, Cardinal Peto, to exercise his powers (July, 1557). The reason why Pole was thus superseded was his alleged connivance at heresy: he had persistently urged a compromise, in-

* He handed over the Netherlands—recently detached from the Empire—on October 25, 1555; Spain, etc., in January, 1556. The Empire, which became vacant on his death in 1558, passed by election to his brother Ferdinand, King of the Romans since 1531. Charles had endeavoured to secure that also for his son.

cluding the acceptance of justification by faith, with the Lutherans. To ward off the charge, a fresh commission was issued to the bishops early in 1557, exhorting them to greater efforts. The episcopal body thus erected has been suspected to be the beginning—it certainly was a precedent—for the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission, permanently established in 1583, and abolished in 1641 and 1688.

§ 7. If Mary was dissatisfied, so, too, were her people. Her early popularity was gone, and plots and rumours of plots were rife. They were not very serious, but they were numerous; and the very readiness with which they were undertaken proves the prevalence of a belief that a very slight success would induce the people to turn against the Queen. The most notable were the Dudley and the Stafford conspiracies. The former took its name from Sir Harry Dudley, a cousin to Northumberland, and won the adherence of many young worshippers of Elizabeth. The design was, by means of French ships and money, to make a descent on the Isle of Wight, whose governor, Uvedale, was in the plot; thence to cross and seize Portsmouth; whilst the robbery of the treasury was to supply the sinews of war. Inklings of the plot reached England from Paris, where it was organized, and information was given by an accomplice, Thomas White, which led to the arrest of several of the conspirators. Dudley escaped, but many suffered death. A large number owed their preservation to the constancy, under torture, of John Throckmorton. This was in April, 1556. A year later Sir Thomas Stafford made a futile descent, with some thirty followers, near Scarborough, which was easily suppressed, and all its participants but one executed. It had, however, considerable political importance. Henry of France was proved to have abetted this attempt, and this was used as an excuse for the declaration of war against France, which Philip had just come over to urge on the Queen.

The Dudley and Stafford Conspiracies, 1556-57.

War with France: Loss of Calais, Jan., 1558.

The war was the crowning disaster of the reign. The real struggle was in Italy, where during 1557 the Duke of

Guise was worsted and Paul IV. had to submit to Alva, Philip's lieutenant. There was, however, an important battle fought near *St. Quentin*, August 10, 1557, in which the Constable Montmorency's attempt to relieve that city was utterly defeated; but English troops only arrived in time to share the spoils, not the honours of the victory. In the ensuing winter Calais, which, with the neighbouring Guisnes, was England's last foothold on the Continent, was suddenly beset by Guise. Its fortifications had long been neglected through the penury or wastefulness of the crown. The garrison of Calais and its outworks, under Wentworth and Grey, only mustered some 1,500 men, against the 20,000 men who, in January, 1558, closed round it by land and sea and forced its capitulation before the month was out. The Queen's ships, which were too unseaworthy to rescue Calais, were refitted in time to take part, under Clinton, in Count Egmont's victory off Gravelines, in July. But that was felt to be a poor compensation for the loss of 'the brightest jewel in the English crown—a jewel useless and costly, but dearly prized' (Froude).

To Mary it was a final blow; unloved by her husband, unloved by the Papacy to which she had sacrificed the love of her people, she easily succumbed to the dropsy, and was closely followed to the grave by her best friend, Pole. She was 'a well-abused woman, but not a bad woman—rather, I should say, a good woman, according to her lights' (Carlyle). Few sovereigns have deserved more and received less commiseration. After a forlorn youth, she found the love she lavished on her husband and her Church unreturned. She set herself the sad task of promoting a lost cause by obsolete methods. She was the least amiable and least intelligent, but also the most honest, of the Tudors. What she did for England was precisely what she tried to prevent. In two vivid sentences Green pictures for us her achievements as the beneficent enemy of the Reformation:

Death of Mary, Nov. 17, 1558.

'The cause which prosperity had ruined revived in the dark hour of persecution. If the Protestants had not known how to govern, they knew how to die.'

CHAPTER VI.

Elizabeth.

DOWN TO THE CATHOLIC REACTION OF 1580.

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§ 1. 'THE Queen poor; the realm exhausted; the nobility poor and decayed; good captains and soldiers wanting; the people out of order; justice not executed; all things dear; division among ourselves; war with France; the French King bestriding the realm, one foot in Calais, and the other in Scotland; steadfast enemies, but no steadfast friends.'

Elizabeth's Difficulties and Character.

In such words was the evil plight of England depicted to Elizabeth in Council; nor was it exaggerated. Elizabeth was not regarded by all as the legitimate Queen; she was engaged in a ruinous war; she had to restore something like civil and religious order.

She soon showed her capacity for rule by finding a way out of all her present difficulties—a way which was also to lead her out of future difficulties. It was emphatically a middle way: Elizabeth's watchword was 'compromise.' Such a policy matched her character eminently well. In eluding the dangers which surrounded her during her sister's reign she had mastered

the art of shuffling. 'Her entire nature,' notes Froude, 'was saturated with artifice: except when speaking some round untruth, Elizabeth could never be simple.' But if she lied—the practice is not unknown in diplomacy—she lied well and in a good cause. She lived and lied for her country. There is no false ring in the words with which she met her first Parliament: 'Nothing—no worldly thing under the sun—is so dear to me as the love and goodwill of my subjects.'

This love and goodwill she earned by her excellences as a Queen, and did not lose through her deficiencies as a woman. She had a woman's vanity and her mother's coquettishness, but not an atom of womanly reserve: she was accordingly denounced as a wanton, or worse, in her own day. The charge was most likely untrue: not because she was moral—she was rather non-moral—but because she was too cold and passionless. But her enemies' talk against her was utterly disbelieved by the mass of her people, who saw in her, above all, a brave, thrifty, shrewd and industrious Queen. She was all this and more. At home, 'her finger was always on the national pulse,' and she prescribed accordingly. Abroad, she trod the mazes of diplomacy with marvellous skill. Her policy was not, perhaps, a policy of genius, but rather of good sense: 'by by-ways and crooked ways' she sought, and sought successfully, the welfare and greatness of England.

§ 2. At first, however, it was not a question of greatness, but of existence itself. When Elizabeth came to the throne, it seemed much more likely, on the whole, that England would be absorbed by either France or Spain than remain independent. On the one hand stood Philip II., whom Mary would have made her heir, had not Parliament successfully resisted what Hallam calls 'the accursed design of a besotted woman.' Philip had long befriended Elizabeth: he now offered to marry her. Perhaps Elizabeth was not indisposed to take a step which would have linked England with the chief Power of Europe. But Spain was not liked by her people; and a

Relations with France and Spain, 1558-59.

papal dispensation would be necessary to such a marriage —to get which from Paul IV. would be no agreeable matter for the daughter of Anne Boleyn. So Elizabeth declined the proffered honour, and was consequently thought by the Spanish envoy to be 'possessed of a hundred thousand devils.' The truth was, Elizabeth saw Philip could not abandon her and thus let her fall under the influence of France. At the same time, Philip was necessary to the Queen as a helper against her rival for the crown, whose sympathies were wholly French. If Elizabeth were illegitimate, as many thought her to be, Mary, Queen of Scots, great-granddaughter of Henry VII., was the rightful Queen. She was already Queen of Scotland, and by her marriage in 1558 with the Dauphin Francis she became the prospective Queen of France. Hence there seemed some chance of uniting the three realms under one control, thus effectually separating Spain and her dominions in the Netherlands, and creating a Power admirably fitted to be the arbiter of Europe. Elizabeth and Philip, thus threatened by a common danger, held together. Henry of France in vain tried to induce Philip to leave England in the lurch: Philip steadily declined until after Elizabeth had secured peace for herself (April, 1559) by the cession of Calais.* Then he signed the *Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis*, by which the two Catholic Powers practically agreed on a crusade against the Reformation.

§ 3. Elizabeth now proved her independence of Philip in a much more perilous point—in religion. True, she did not effect many changes, but her changes were significant. She allowed part of the liturgy to be read in English, and forbade the elevation of the Host. On the other hand, she would have none of the unlicensed preaching so much in vogue amongst the Protestants who poured back from the Continent on her accession. And if she gave her chief confidence to two Protestants, Sir William Cecil and

Elizabeth's Religious Attitude, 1558-59.

* It was, however, to be restored after eight years if the remaining articles of peace were kept; otherwise 500,000 crowns were to be given as compensation. England was not to attack France or Scotland.

Francis Walsingham,* she retained most of Mary's Council—which was purely Catholic. And she showed an inclination to be friendly to the Papacy by formally notifying her accession to the Pope.

But Paul IV. was an 'injudicious old man,' and roughly shook her off: Elizabeth, being illegitimate, should have submitted her claims to him. When, less than a year later, his successor, Pius IV., made overtures in his turn, it was too late. Pope Pius sent a nuncio to ask Elizabeth to send representatives to the Council of Trent, guaranteeing to her the use of the English liturgy and communion in both kinds. The nuncio was forbidden to proceed beyond Brussels. Elizabeth had already taken up her stand: 'I will do as my father did.'

In point of fact she did somewhat less: she exacted conformity to the mixed system she established, but carefully left opinion free. She was quite incapable of understanding why anyone should object to professing one thing and thinking another. She did her best, however, to make the Church comprehensive to find room not only for Catholic and Protestant, but for Calvinist as well. In the revised Book of Common Prayer issued in 1559 the communion was so treated that any of the three leading sects could honestly take part in it; and Edward VI.'s prayer for deliverance 'from the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities' was significantly omitted. The use of this book was ordered—under penalty of forfeiture for the first offence, a year's imprisonment for the second, and life imprisonment for the third—by the *Third Act of Uniformity*. The Act also restored the fine of one shilling for absence from church (*recusancy*), and thus absolutely forbade worship, whether public or private, save on Anglican lines.

The *Acts of Supremacy* and *Uniformity*, 1559.

The same Parliament which met to pass this measure in January, 1559, also re-annexed the first-fruits to the

* To Cecil she spoke high words of praise: 'This judgment I have of you—that you will not be corrupted with any manner of gifts, and that you will be faithful to the State, and that, without respect to my private will, you will give me that counsel which you think best.'

crown (V. § 6), and passed the *Act of Supremacy*. This Act made the denial of the royal supremacy penal, or, if thrice repeated in writing or advisedly speaking, treasonable, and exacted from all beneficed ecclesiastics and all laymen holding office under the crown the oath of supremacy:

'I, A. B., do utterly testify and declare that the Queen's highness is the only *supreme governor** *of this realm*, and all other her highness's dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual and ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal; and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, State or potentate, hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm,' etc.

Elizabeth and the Bishops: Matthew Parker.

To enforce these Acts a general ecclesiastical visitation was held during 1559, and it was found necessary to remove no more than 180 of the clergy as refractory. With the bishops Elizabeth had more trouble. In consequence of the order not to elevate the Host, bishop after bishop had refused to take part in her coronation, which was ultimately performed on January 15, 1559, with full pontifical Mass, by Oglethorpe, of Carlisle. And of the whole bench of bishops—numbering at the moment only sixteen—only one, Kitchen, of Llandaff, would take the oath of supremacy. They were consequently removed by the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission (cf. V. § 6), set up to exercise the supremacy, and replaced by Protestant divines. The deprived bishops were detained in free custody—'in a very civil and courteous manner,' says Cecil, 'without charge to themselves or their friends,' by their successors. Matthew Parker was chosen primate, and worked hard for many years in organizing the Church on the lines laid down by the Queen, with whose religious views he was well in harmony. The only points on which they came into conflict were that Parker did not like crucifixes, and Elizabeth did not like the marriage of the clergy.†

* The title Supreme Head was laid aside as unsuitable for a woman, and as implying in the sovereign a capacity to perform priestly offices.

† Till the next reign this was of doubtful legality. Hence Elizabeth's unpleasant observation to Parker's wife, her hostess at Lambeth Palace: '*Madam* I may not call you, *mistress* I am loth to call you; however, I thank you for your good

§ 4. Elizabeth had hardly escaped from the expenses and perils of the French war and put her foot down in religion, when she found herself threatened from the side of Scotland. With the affairs of that country England was beginning to be so closely connected that union became inevitable. The first ten years of the reign of Elizabeth are little but Scotch history. Somerset's political action in 1547 had ruined the English party there. At Elizabeth's accession it was being revived by a conjunction of religious and political causes. In 1554 Arran had been bribed with the Duchy of Chatelherault to resign the regency to Mary of Lorraine, the Queen-mother, who had ruled by French methods, supported by French troops and garrisons. In alarm at this foreign influence, many of the Scotch nobility took the people into partnership: the terms were aid against the regent in return for promotion of the Reformation. The alliance was expressed in a bond, sometimes known as the *First Covenant*,* December 3, 1557. The leaders took the name of *Lords of the Congregation*, the ostensible object of the association being the adoption of the English liturgy. The burning of an aged preacher named Walter Mill next year drew a larger popular sympathy to the movement: the return of John Knox in April, 1559,† gave it a master-mind to direct it. Next month the regent took measures against the preachers, which resulted in an appeal to arms. Lord James Stuart, an illegitimate son of James V., later known as the Earl of Murray, interposed his mediation, but the regent broke her engagements, hiring soldiers with French money to punish the people of Perth, who had broken out into riots against images and pictures. The Lords of the

Relations with Scotland, 1559-60.

cheer.' (The former was the then title of married, the latter of unmarried, ladies.)

* The name is more properly given to the bond largely subscribed in 1581 against the papal reaction of 1580 (§ 15).

† He had been captured at St. Andrews in 1547 (III. § 2); had served in French galleys for nineteen months; had escaped first to England, then to Geneva, where he violently attacked Mary in the *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (1556). He was one of those people who 'dare to have a purpose firm and dare to make it known.' He hated 'popery and idolatry.' In the words of his friend Morton: 'He nather fearit nor flatterid any fleche.'

Congregation again rose, summoned the Estates, and deposed the regent (October, 1559).

They appealed to Elizabeth, but Elizabeth was by no means disposed to succour rebels against authority. Yet it was of the greatest importance to her not to let any possible friends be crushed, as without her help the Scotch lords must be by French troops. Already Francis II. (who had succeeded his father Henry in July) and his wife Mary were quartering the arms of England with those of France and Scotland, and entitling themselves sovereigns of England. And there was every probability of an attempt to make good their claim. The Catholics regarded Mary's title as better than Elizabeth's, and looked with dismay on her religious changes, moderate though they were. The professed object of the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis was to leave the two chief Catholic Powers free to repress heresy. The nearness of the danger* was at length recognised by Elizabeth as a cogent argument for intervention, and in February, 1560, she promised help by the *Treaty of Berwick*, Chatelherault representing the lords as 'the second person in the kingdom.'

The *Treaties of Berwick* and *Edinburgh*, Feb. and July, 1560.

The Lords of the Congregation were at their last gasp when Admiral Winter's fleet forced the French commander D'Oyssel to take refuge in Leith. He was there blockaded both by sea and land, Lord Grey leading 8,000 men from England to aid the Scottish lords. The siege did not make very much progress; but the French troops were wanted at home, and the ex-regent died in June. A little later (July 6) the royal commissioners of France agreed to the *Treaty of Edinburgh*.

1. The French army to evacuate Scotland. 2. No foreigners to be employed in Scotland, save by the leave of the Estates. 3. The government to be carried on by a Council of twelve, nominated partly by the Queen, partly by the Estates. 4. The Estates to make a religious settlement. 5. Mary to drop her claims on England, and to pay a fine for blazoning the English arms.

* It was felt in France, too, where, in March, 1560, the French Reformers (thenceforward called *Huguenots*) attempted unsuccessfully, by the *Conspiracy of Amboise*, to take the King from the control of the Guises and transfer him to Anthony of Navarre and his brother, the Prince de Condé. (Tree, p. 71.)

Mary did not, however, cease to quarter the English royal arms. The fourth article was at once acted on. Seven weeks later the Estates adopted the *Geneva Confession of Faith*, abjured the authority of the Pope, and made the celebration of the Mass, thrice repeated, a capital offence.

§ 5. Elizabeth's triumph seemed complete. In eighteen months she had restored religious and financial order at home: she had proved that England had already some power abroad. Before the year was out, however, an event occurred which looked favourable at first, but was to bring years of discomfort on Elizabeth and her kingdom. Francis II. suddenly died (December, 1560), and Mary was begged to return to Scotland by all parties. She was a stranger in France, and slightingly used by the regent, Katharine de' Medici, so she accepted the invitation. As she had declined to ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh, Elizabeth refused her a passage through England, and even tried to seize her on her voyage across. Mary eluded the English cruisers, and landed safely at Leith, August 19, 1561. Henceforth the real rivalry between the two Queens begins, which forms the most picturesque group of events in the reign of Elizabeth. Much turns on their personal characters, each of which has been variously estimated. It requires a powerful imagination to see in either of them a saint or a devil. It is difficult to find any real morality or religion in either, though Mary had an intermittent turn for devotion and Elizabeth for theology. As regards ability, Elizabeth was perhaps the more intellectual, Mary the more intelligent: in Elizabeth caution and foresight, in Mary dash and subtlety, prevailed. To Elizabeth the head, to Mary the heart, was the ultimate arbiter: Mary was the sweeter woman, Elizabeth the better Queen.

Mary, Queen of Scots, 1560-61.

Mary's first measures were conciliatory. She completely supplanted Elizabeth as the protectress of the National party, and took its leader, Murray, as her chief adviser. She acquiesced in the recent religious settlement, but obtained toleration for her own religion. Yet,

to win the goodwill of her people, she took active part in an expedition against the chief of the Catholic clans, the Gordons, in which the head of the clan, the Earl of Huntley, was slain (1562). And she remained on good terms with Elizabeth. She was willing to give up her present claims to the English crown if her reversionary claims were acknowledged. This seemed reasonable enough, but Elizabeth shrank from naming a Catholic successor, and thus both displeasing her Protestant subjects and making her removal by assassination more probable than ever. 'I am not so foolish,' she said, 'as to hang a winding-sheet before my eyes.'

§ 6. While Mary was thus posing as the mediator in religion and the friend of England, Elizabeth was occupied with the ecclesiastical settlement and the question of the succession. The year 1562 was marked by two acts which testified to the Queen's sense that it was from Catholicism that danger was to be feared. She sent help to the *Huguenots*, as the French Reformers were called, who were rising under Condé and Coligny against the Guises. The defeat of the Huguenots and the assassination of the Duke of Guise, however, led up to the *Peace of Amboise* in March, 1563, and both parties united in expelling Elizabeth's garrison from Havre-de-Grâce, which Condé had placed in her hands as the price of her aid, meagre as it was.

The Question of the Succession.

At home a severe blow was directed against the Catholics by the passing, despite Lord Montague's earnest advocacy of toleration, of 'an Act for the assurance of the Queen's royal power over all estates and subjects within her dominions.'

All persons who had ever taken holy orders, or any degree in the universities, or had been admitted to the practice of the laws, or held any office in their execution, and all members of the Commons, were bound to take the oath of supremacy, when tendered by a bishop or the ecclesiastical commissioners. The penalty for the first refusal was that of præmunire; for the second that of high treason.

The 'fond and fantastical prophecies' attributed to the Catholics against the Queen hardly justified such a measure; nor was there any serious plotting against

Elizabeth, that of Arthur and Edmund Pole, nephews of the cardinal, being subsequent to the Act (early in 1563), and unimportant.

The real question of the day was to settle the succession: on this both religious parties built high hopes. The nation at large was eager that Elizabeth should do her best to solve the difficulty by marriage. Her suitors were as many as Portia's. Before her accession Philibert, Duke of Savoy, and Eric, son of the Swedish King, Gustavus Vasa, had been spoken of. In 1559 the Lords of the Congregation urged her to unite the two kingdoms—the very name of *Great Britain* was chosen as the style of the unified realm—by marrying the young Earl of Arran. But she rejected this plan, as also that of ratifying her father's choice of the house of Suffolk.* By either arrangement she would have estranged the Catholics; and in like fashion a marriage, much urged on his mistress by Cecil (1562-67) with the Archduke Charles, son of the Emperor Ferdinand, was set aside by her as likely to alienate the Protestants. Over and above any such political reasons, however, for not marrying any of those who on political grounds became her suitors, there stood her personal preference for Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, a good-looking but good-for-nothing courtier whom she called her *Sweet Robin*. Anyhow, she flirted with him to an extent sufficient to cause scandal, but she was steadily dissuaded from marrying him by her most intimate advisers. By 1567 his chances were gone; and by that time, despite repeated requests from Parliament that she should marry, Elizabeth had finally decided to adhere to her resolve to remain a *Virgin Queen*.

§ 7. Before that time her rival, Mary, had married, become a widow, and again remarried. After some talk of a match with Don Carlos, son of Philip II., and, at Elizabeth's suggestion, with Leicester, Mary suddenly married her cousin (Tree, p. viii.), Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley and Duke of

The Darnley Marriage, 1565.

* See Genealogical Tree, p. viii. Lady Jane Grey's sister was presumptive heiress to the crown, but she fell into disgrace and was imprisoned for secretly marrying the Earl of Hertford.

Albany. He and his father Lennox were exiles in England, but they were recalled, probably with the idea that the match would be made. A rapid courtship was followed by the marriage on July 29, 1565.

The marriage was, and was felt to be, highly significant. Darnley was a Catholic, and in an English Catholic's eyes the next after Mary in succession to the English crown. By marrying him Mary hinted pretty plainly that she intended to restore Catholicism at home, to push the joint claims of herself and her husband to the English crown, and to throw her strength on the side of the long-meditated Catholic League,* or, that failing, on the side not of France, where the Regent Katharine was for temporizing (*politique*), but of Spain, the more energetic champion of the Holy See. Nor did the hint pass unnoticed. Elizabeth at once threatened war should the marriage take place. Philip drew towards her, saying, 'She is the one gate through which religion can be restored in England—all the rest are closed.' Murray and the Lords of the Congregation made an appeal to the sword, but were easily driven across the borders, only to be disowned by Elizabeth as rebels.

Mary seemed triumphant. But within a few months the quarrels between her and her husband were common talk. Darnley was a pretty little fool, too childish to aid, too jealous to trust, his wife in her great schemes. He wanted the crown matrimonial, and cried because he was not allowed to have it. He was jealous of an Italian musician named David Rizzio, who was Mary's confidential agent in her foreign negotiations. With a view to becoming king, and to get rid of the Italian, he entered into an alliance with the heads of the Protestant party, promising in return for their help to do his best for the recall of the banished lords, and for the maintenance of Protestantism. On March 9, 1566, Rizzio was brutally murdered in the Queen's chamber at Holyrood by Lords Ruthven, Morton, and others. Mary at once determined to punish

The Rizzio Murder, 1566.

* A union of France to Spain to put down heresy had been one of the objects of the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis (§ 2), and was said to have been talked over at Bayonne in the spring of 1565 by Katharine de' Medici and Alva.

the *Judas* who had held her in his arms while the murder was being done. A few caresses won the weak conspirator to her side. Mary induced him to disavow the plot, and carried him off to Dunbar, where they were joined by troops collected by the Earl of Huntley and James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell. With these at her back Mary returned to Edinburgh, outlawed the lords who had taken part in the murder, and patched up terms with the returned lords Murray and Maitland. On June 19, 1566, she gave birth to the infant who was destined to unite the two kingdoms. 'The Queen of Scots,' cried Elizabeth in her loneliness, 'is the mother of a fair son, and I am a barren stock!' Mary again seemed triumphant.

§ 8. If Mary owed her former check to the folly of her husband, she had herself to thank for what now took place. Whether she took an active part in Darnley's murder, or was cognizant of it, or simply took advantage of the freedom it gave her, is and always will be disputed: if she committed no crime, she at least committed many blunders. Darnley's murder was deliberately arranged in the *Bond of Craigmillar* by Bothwell and Huntley on the one side, and Argyle and Maitland on the other: it was completed in a very bungling manner by Bothwell on February 10, 1567. Darnley had been taken ill with small-pox and brought to Edinburgh by his wife, who nursed him assiduously in a lonely house named Kirk o' Field. One night when she left him to attend some festivities, the house was blown up, and Darnley found strangled in the garden.

The Darnley Murder and the Bothwell Marriage: Feb.-May, 1567.

Bothwell was at once suspected. He was, indeed, formally accused of the murder by Darnley's father, Lennox; but owing to the presence of Bothwell's rough border-riders the trial was a mere mockery, and ended in his acquittal. Shortly afterwards Bothwell induced some twenty lords assembled in Ainslie's Tavern to sign a bond recommending the Queen to marry him. She was ready enough. There may be some doubt as to whether she ever loved Darnley: there can be none that she loved

Bothwell. One obstacle had been removed by Darnley's death: another was removed by the divorce of Bothwell's wife, Huntley's sister, in both Catholic and Protestant courts. Before this, however, on April 31, Bothwell had intercepted Mary while visiting her son, who was under Mar's custody at Stirling, and carried her off to Dunbar. Thence she returned to Edinburgh with her lover, now Duke of Orkney and Shetland, and married him on May 15, 1567.

Mary had been forewarned that 'if she married that man she would lose the favour of God, her own reputation, and the hearts of all England, Ireland, and Scotland.' Bothwell's religion estranged her from her best and warmest adherents, the Catholics; his character aroused the disgust of all parties; whilst his elevation excited the jealousy and dread of the nobility. Though the Queen declared for the Confession of 1560, the lords were soon leading an outcry against 'the unhonest marriage.' Headed by Mar, Morton, Athole, and Argyle, the lords drove Mary and her husband from Borthwick Castle to Dunbar; and a few days later the two armies met near Musselburgh. But Bothwell's undisciplined forces melted away; and Mary was forced to surrender herself on *Carberry Hill* (June 15, 1567) to the lords, on condition that Bothwell should be allowed to escape.* She was taken to Edinburgh, where she was hooted and almost torn to pieces by the populace. There was some talk of bringing her to trial and execution, but she was ultimately imprisoned in Lochleven Castle in Fife. There, on July 23, she consented to abdicate, and her son became King as James VI. Murray—whom Mr. Froude calls 'the one supremely noble man then living in the country'—was recalled from France to act as regent, and did his best to ward off all foreign intervention in the country. He firmly established his power on May 13, 1568, by defeating Mary, who had escaped from her prison and fled to the Hamiltons, at *Langside*, near

Battle of Carberry Hill, June 15, 1567, and Langside, May 13, 1568.

* He fled to the Orkneys, thence, after some years of piracy, to Denmark, where he died in 1577.

Glasgow. Mary hurriedly rode south, crossed the Solway, and, landing near Workington, threw herself on the protection of Elizabeth.

§ 9. This act greatly embarrassed Elizabeth, who already had her hands full with the task of meeting a rising opposition to her religious settlement at home and of securing herself against dangers abroad. The period of Mary's rule was also that of the rise of the party which from their demand for *purer* forms of worship began about 1564 to be called *Puritans* (§ 12). It was further a critical time in Elizabeth's foreign relations. There was a powerful party in the Council, headed by Norfolk, which urged an *entente cordiale* with Spain, and the acceptance of Mary as successor: this party insisted strongly on the power of Spain, and the necessity of keeping the trade with the Low Countries open. On the other hand stood the Protestant party, headed by Cecil and Walsingham, which urged that England was now strong enough to defy Spain, and must do so if England was to retain the Reformation. The cry of this party was to be found in the words of the Puritan, Sir Francis Knollys: 'There has been enough of words—it were time to draw swords.' This party was for active intervention on behalf of the Huguenots of France and the religious insurgents (known as *Gueux*, or Beggars) in the Netherlands, both of whom were being hard pressed by their adversaries. The former seemed threatened by the *rapprochement* of the Regent Katharine to her old enemies, the Guises: the latter, who had at last taken up arms against the Inquisition in 1566, were so repeatedly beaten that in 1568 Alva claimed to have 'extinguished sedition, chastised rebellion, restored religion, secured justice, and established peace.' He had also forced into antagonism to Spanish methods the future liberator of the Netherlands, William of Orange. The position of her neighbouring co-religionists affected England pretty closely.* The Reformers

Friendship or Hostility with Spain?

* The inter-relation between the Western Powers in regard to religion is clearly worked out in Professor Creighton's *Age of Elizabeth* (*Epochs of Modern History*, Longmans).

in the Netherlands and France worked to some extent together: this tended, despite political jealousies, to bring Philip II. and the Catholic party in France together. If they once united, as they did later on, for the repression of heresy at home, they might continue united long enough to crush heretics abroad, Elizabeth among the first.

Between the two parties in the Council Elizabeth attempted, as usual, to steer a middle course. But though she would not go as far as Cecil wished, she certainly leaned towards his policy. With her revenue of £500,000 she could not afford to fight: 'No war, my lords! no war!' she would cry in Council, thumping the table the while. Yet she encouraged acts of hostility against Spain. Huguenot privateers and Dutch sea-beggars openly sold in Plymouth the goods they had seized from Spanish ships. Sir John Hawkins had started a piratical slave trade with the Spanish West Indies in 1562, and in later ventures of his the Queen herself took shares. And in December, 1568, Elizabeth arbitrarily seized treasure on its way from Italy to the Netherlands for the payment of Alva's troops there, though she gave it up when she found that the money was Genoese property till actually delivered. It was only natural to expect that such conduct would lead to open war with Spain, which should have a decisive influence on the religion of England.

§ 10. While Elizabeth was thus cautiously feeling her way amongst the dangers that threatened her from abroad, Mary took refuge in England. The question was, what to do with her. Restore her by force of arms or diplomatic pressure? Mary's character made her no agreeable *protégée;* and to champion her rights would alienate the Scotch lords. Permit her to retire to France, as she herself wished? She would there become a tool of the Guises. Detain her in custody? She would then be unable to do any further mischief. At least that was the notion of the advisers whom Elizabeth chose to follow. It soon turned out, however, that Mary captive was more dangerous than Mary regnant, and that her sufferings

Elizabeth's Indecisive Conduct towards Mary, 1568-69.

touched men more than her follies had estranged them. Till her death in 1587 she was the centre of disaffection, political or religious, in England. 'Every tear she dropped put a sword into the hands of the Pope and the Spaniard.'

Elizabeth did not like to help her rival, and yet could not bring herself to sanction rebellion by helping Murray. She wanted to restore Mary in such a way as to make her a puppet in her own hands. As a step towards this, a Conference began, in October, 1568, to sit at York under the presidency of the Duke of Norfolk, nominally to review the recent acts of the rebel lords, really to investigate Mary's character. Nothing came of it. Murray produced the 'Casket Letters' (between Mary and Bothwell) in proof of Mary's guilt: unfortunately for his purpose, they could not then, any more than now, be proved genuine. Mary wished for a personal interview with Elizabeth. Elizabeth suggested that Mary might remain in England to educate her son, for whom Murray might continue to act as regent. Ultimately Mary was sent to Bolton Castle, and Murray returned to Scotland with the loan of £5,000 'for the maintenance of peace between England and Scotland.'

If Elizabeth fancied that was the end of the matter, she miscalculated greatly. The idea was that Mary should be regarded as the successor, and marry someone—the extreme Catholics thought Don John of Austria, the moderate ones, the Duke of Norfolk. Even the latter scheme, though favoured by Leicester, displeased the Queen—never kindly disposed to other folk's hope of connubial bliss—and Norfolk spent some time in the Tower towards the end of 1569. His imprisonment put an end to the hope of carrying out the Catholic designs by peaceful means, and in November the Catholic North broke into revolt. Its leaders were the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, the heads of the great houses of Percy and Neville; its cry was for the 'old usage and custom in religion'; its immediate object the rescue of Mary from her new prison at Tutbury. 'There were not ten gentle-

The Rising of the Northern Earls, 1569.

men in Yorkshire that did allow her proceedings in the cause of religion,' the Earl of Sussex, president of the north, wrote to the Queen. But Sussex was equal to the occasion. He hastily removed Mary south to Coventry, executed over 600 rebels, and drove the earls across the borders. Elizabeth's demand that they should be given up caused a split among the Scotch lords, in which Maitland and Murray headed the rival factions. Maitland believed that Mary's chances were reviving, and headed the *Queen's party:* Murray stood by his trust as regent, and headed the *King's party*. Before, however, he could comply with Elizabeth's request, Murray was shot down by the Hamiltons in Linlithgow (January 23, 1570).

§ 11. The assassination of Murray not only destroyed the internal peace of Scotland, but alarmed the English people as a possible example for fanatics here. The danger was made a real one when, a little later in the same year, Pope Pius V., who had been behind the Northern Rebellion, who had urged Philip to active repression in the Netherlands, and who was for giving the Huguenots no quarter, issued a Bull of Deposition against Elizabeth as a bastard and a heretic. Henceforth the Catholic felt that he had to choose between allegiance to the Pope and to his Queen: henceforth measures against Catholics were more strictly enforced, and even supplemented. It is true that in this same year Elizabeth issued a declaration that she did not intend 'to sift men's consciences,' provided that they conformed to her laws by coming to church; but the following year was marked by legislation which could hardly be made effective without violating the spirit of this declaration.

The Anti-Catholic Legislation of 1571.

Act against the Roman Priesthood.—All persons publishing any Bull from Rome, or absolving or reconciling anyone to the Romish Church, or being so reconciled, to incur the penalties of high treason: any person importing crosses, pictures, or superstitious things to incur those of præmunire: connivance hereat to be accounted misprision of treason.

Act regarding the Queen's title makes it high treason: (1) to affirm that some other person than the Queen ought to enjoy the crown; (2)

to publish that she is a heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel or usurper of the crown; (3) to claim or usurp the crown during the Queen's life; (4) 'to affirm that the laws and statutes do not bind the right of the crown, and the descent, limitation, inheritance or governance thereof.' The penalties of forfeiture or præmunire are assigned for the affirmation, in writing or printing, that any particular person, save the natural issue of her body, is or ought to be heir and successor to the Queen, unless so declared by Parliament.*

Parliamentary Opposition under Elizabeth, 1566-80.

The Parliament which passed these two measures was the first in which the strength of the Puritans became prominent in political and religious opposition to the crown—an opposition which was to overtop the crown in the following century. At the last preceding session of Parliament, in 1566, the advisability of marrying had been thrust on the Queen somewhat discourteously: she would be a step-mother to her realm did she not marry, was the cry of the Commons; she ought to be made to marry, said the Lords. And when the Queen, in her annoyance, ordered the houses 'to proceed no further in that matter,' Paul Wentworth moved to know whether such an inhibition were not against the liberties of the house. To the great joy of the Commons Elizabeth, though grudgingly, recalled her injunction; but at the opening of the session of 1571 she told them 'they would do well to meddle with no matters of State but such as should be propounded unto them.'

None the less, they prepared Bills for the reform of the abuses (pluralities, patronage, etc.) and liturgy of the Church. This seemed to the Queen an infringement on her cherished ecclesiastical supremacy. The mover, Strickland, was ordered not to attend the house; but as an agitation on his behalf was begun by Yelverton, the Queen allowed him to return.

In the same session Bell complained about the Queen's grants and licenses† and moved that subsidies be withheld until redress were given; he was accordingly sum-

* These enactments are highly important in their bearing on the legal succession to the crown. They are absolutely inconsistent with the doctrine of indefeasible hereditary right which came into vogue during the next century.

† These, as well as the patents for monopolies which the Queen withdrew under compulsion in 1601, were issued on the assumption that the regulation of commerce appertained to the prerogative.

moned before the Council and returned 'with such an amazed countenance that it daunted all the rest.'

In the Parliament of 1572, in which Bell was speaker, Elizabeth had her own way, but in the next Parliament (1576) Peter Wentworth made a very vigorous protest against the Queen's interference with the Commons' freedom of speech. For this he was sent to the Tower by a committee of the Commons itself; but after a month's imprisonment he repented, and was restored.

Numerous examples of the spirit of the Commons occur during the last twenty years of the reign, but Elizabeth was always able to meet them by scolding individual members, or, if necessary, giving way. She, however, carried to a greater extent than her predecessors the practice of creating new boroughs out of small towns where royal influence could easily be exerted. She added thirty such boroughs against Edward VI.'s twenty-two and Mary's fourteen. But these placemen were not a match for the landed gentry in which the real strength of the House lay. These last—Puritans for the most part—were asserting their privilege with ever-increasing intelligence and success.*

§ 12. This political opposition to the crown found its religious counterpart in Puritanism. The religious movement known by this name began amongst the Protestant exiles during Mary's reign. At Frankfurt there was a sharp contention between Knox and Cox (afterwards Bishop of Ely), when the former was expelled from the city by the latter for not accepting the English liturgy. Knox and his friends took refuge in Geneva,† where they acquired much more

The Rise of Puritanism, 1553-1580.

* Amongst the privileges mentioned by Hallam (*Const. Hist.*, end of chap. v.) as acquired or confirmed during this period are: (1) *freedom of speech* (see above); (2) *exemption from arrest on civil process* (cases of George Ferrers, 1543, and of Smalley, 1575); (3) *commitment for contempt* (cases of John Storie, 1548, and of Arthur Hall, 1581); (4) *determination of election questions* (Nowell's case, 1553; Norfolk election case, 1586).

† Geneva, at this time an independent town, protected by the Swiss, was the headquarters of John Calvin (Jean Chauvin), a Frenchman, driven out by Francis I.'s persecution. In his *Institutio Christianæ Religionis* (1536) he constructed an entirely new and original religious system, based on the doctrine of predestination. A corollary of this was the supremacy of the congregation of the elect—a system he applied in Geneva, 1541-1561. He sought to strike the just mean 'between the paganism of Zwinglius (a reformer who worked quietly

thoroughgoing ideas of Church reform than were found amongst the German Reformers. Soon after the accession of Elizabeth, these began to demand a simpler and purer form of worship (§ 9). They were highly dissatisfied with the concessions to Catholics contained in the *Thirty-nine Articles of Religion*,* drawn up by Parker, accepted by Convocation and issued by royal authority in 1563; they found in the crucifix and altar-candles used in the Queen's chapel 'the pattern and precedent of all superstition;' they shirked compliance with the ceremonial regulations of the Act of Uniformity. How strongly the feeling of the clergy ran in favour of further reform is shown by the fact that in the Convocation of 1562 a motion to abolish many of the 'popish' usages was lost by only one vote (58 to 59). The chief of these usages were the surplice, the sign of the cross in baptism, the ring in matrimony, kneeling at the Communion. And when three years later all these were enforced in Parker's *Advertisements*, thirty-seven out of the ninety-eight London clergy refused to obey and were suspended, though they were for the most part allowed to resume their offices on the understanding that they did not countenance irregularities.

'These early Puritans were not Nonconformists,' remarks Professor Tout, 'but discontented Conformists.'

The Beginnings of Presbyterianism.

It was not, however, long before a separatist tendency arose. In June, 1567, some hundred Puritans were seized while holding services after their kind in Plummer's Hall, and fourteen or fifteen of them were sent to prison. This was the 'first instance of actual punishment inflicted on Protestant dissenters' (Hallam); but many more instances were found when independent sects, such as the *Brownists* (1580) and *Barrowists* (1591), began to spring up. The year 1570 is

at Zürich, 1516-1531) and the papistry of Luther.' Michelet differentiates them thus: 'Pontifical monarchy having been overthrown by the aristocratic system of Luther, the latter was attacked by the democratic system of Calvin—it was a reform within a reform.'

* They were again revised by Bishop Jewel (the twenty-ninth article, struck out in 1563, being again restored, and the full tale of thirty-nine completed), and their subscription by all candidates for Holy Orders required by Act of Parliament in 1571.

the date usually given as the time when Puritan feeling ceased to satisfy itself with criticising the ceremonial observances of the Church, and turned to attack its form of government. In this movement the most prominent name is that of Thomas Cartwright, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge.* His *Admonition to Parliament* (1572) contained a vigorous assertion of the independence of the Church in spiritual matters from the control of the civil government, and an earnest advocacy of the Presbyterian form of government. Thanks to the protection of the Earl of Leicester, he escaped punishment for the time; but none the less, Elizabeth set her face very distinctly against such teaching, though it certainly had the effect of driving all who retained the old horror of schism into more hearty conformity. She was loyally supported by Parker, but his successor, Grindal (1576), stood out for indulgence towards the less extreme Puritan demands. He was, in fact, sequestered in 1577 for refusing to confine the parish priests to the use of the authorized Homilies, and to put a stop to the custom of *prophesying*. This last was a species of diocesan debate on Scriptural texts, which was considered a 'very profitable exercise' for the clerkly novice. But Elizabeth desired the grounds of faith to be accepted, not discussed.

§ 13. Elizabeth's attitude towards Puritans, like that towards the Catholics, was adopted for reasons of political expediency. She was without any deep religious conviction herself—though she probably preferred the submissive tone of the Catholics to the self-assertive spirit of Puritanism—but saw clearly the necessity of presenting an undivided front to her foes. Her religious attitude at home was quite in harmony with her politico-religious position abroad: she would identify herself with neither of the parties into which the Western States were divided. Down to about 1580 she was constantly shifting her position, with the notion of keeping the various States and parties so balanced

Wavering Foreign Policy, 1570-73.

* Puritanism prevailed here, and in the eastern counties generally; popery at Oxford and in the West and North. Elizabeth's system, being a compromise, was perhaps too indistinctly defined to win an equal number of adherents.

that she at least would be safe. It was very clever; but unfortunately she neglected in her calculations to take any account of the one really important thing—religious enthusiasm.

1. Scotland. In Scotland, for instance, which she might have made her lasting friend by siding definitely with the King's party after the death of Murray, she intrigued on behalf of Mary until the forays into England of members of the Queen's party, under Westmoreland (§ 10), forced her to help Lennox, Murray's successor. In her alarm at the Ridolfi plot (§ 14) she talked of handing over Mary for trial to the Earl of Mar, who had been raised to the regency in consequence of Lennox's death in a skirmish with the Queen's party. But she could not bring herself to promise to countenance Mary's execution, and the project fell through. It was only after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew (§ 14) that she finally helped the Earl of Morton, who had succeeded Mar in October, 1572, to crush the Queen's party by sending English troops, under Drury, to join in the siege of Edinburgh Castle. Soon after its fall, in May, 1573, the chiefs of that party, Maitland of Lethington and Kirkaldy of Grange, closed their career, the one of grief, the other by the axe.

2. France. A like want of fixity pervaded Elizabeth's dealings with France. Soon after the restoration of something like internal peace there in 1570, active negotiations were set on foot for the marriage of Elizabeth to Henry, Duke of Anjou, Charles IX.'s brother. Though the match would have implied an alliance of England, France and the revolted Netherlands against Spain, it was far from popular in this country, and the Queen herself made the difference of religion an insuperable objection. When the complicity of Spain in the Ridolfi plot was found out, there was some talk of a close alliance between France and England against Spain, to be cemented by a marriage with Anjou's younger brother Francis, Duke of Alençon—a project with which Elizabeth toyed so seriously and so long that she has been thought to have really loved the man. At the time when this match was first proposed

there seemed some likelihood of a genuine co-operation between the two countries. Charles IX. was eager for war with Spain: he was falling more and more under the influence of the noblest Frenchman of the day—Admiral Coligny, the head of the Huguenot party. But Elizabeth had, if anything, rather less desire to see the Netherlands under French control than to see them either conquered by Spain or in possession of their independence. Accordingly she was growing cool and edging towards Spain even before the Massacre of St. Bartholomew produced a complete breach for the time between the French and English courts.*

§ 14. The real pivot, however, on which the Queen's policy turned, was the attitude of Spain and that country's support of Mary. Philip had shown his disinclination to quarrel outright with Elizabeth by refusing to permit the papal Bull against her to be published within his dominions. France had done the same. The Pope was annoyed and turned to the English Catholics. During 1571 a fresh plot was organized to promote the marriage of Mary with Norfolk and set them on the throne. Leslie, Bishop of Ross, was the chief conspirator in England, but the plot takes its name from a Florentine banker, named Robert Ridolfi, who used his position as a financial agent of the English Queen's to compass her destruction. Having obtained Norfolk's assent and promise to declare himself a Catholic, Ridolfi crossed to Brussels to secure Alva's assistance. Alva promised 10,000 men, provided Elizabeth should first be removed. Pope Pius was ready to sell the very chalices from his churches for so worthy an object. Philip gave his cordial adhesion to the design.

The Ridolfi Plot, 1571-72.

* This horror was the work of Katharine de' Medici (who was jealous of the influence of Coligny over her son) and the widow of the murdered Guise. A vast number of Huguenots had gathered in Paris to attend the marriage of their titular head, Henry of Navarre, with the king's sister Margaret—a marriage which was meant to be the pledge of the reconciliation Coligny had earnestly striven to bring about. Charles, partly frightened, partly cajoled by his mother, was persuaded to give the signal for a general massacre early in the morning of Sunday, August 24, 1572—hence the name, *Paris Matins*: Coligny and somewhere between 25,000 and 100,000 Huguenots were slaughtered in the capital and the other towns which followed its example. Gregory XIII. celebrated the occasion with a *Te Deum*, and Philip II. with a joyous laugh.

But a bundle of Ridolfi's letters from Brussels, though in cipher, had revealed to Cecil that something was astir; and the full details were found out in September, 1571, through the seizure of a letter from Norfolk and the torture of his secretaries. Several leaders were arrested, and Norfolk was, after some delay, executed in June, 1572.

The immediate effect of this discovery was a rupture between England and Spain. The Spanish ambassador was dismissed: the Earl of Mar received comforting messages (§ 13): France and England became bosom friends. This did not last long. Elizabeth would not listen to the Commons' prayer in 1572—

Elizabeth and the Netherlands, 1574-80.

'It standeth not only with justice, but also with the Queen's majesty's honour and safety to proceed criminally against the pretended Scottish Queen.'

When a Bill of attainder was brought in against Mary she prorogued Parliament. Again, early in 1572, she did Spain a service by refusing the shelter of her harbours to William de la Marck, a Dutch *Sea-Beggar*. This act proved, unintentionally, the beginning of better things for the Netherlands. De la Marck's little fleet of twenty-four vessels was strong enough to seize and occupy the town of Brille, at the mouth of the Maas; and this soon formed a centre for the disaffected of the southern provinces to rally around. There Alva* had stamped out heresy, but had ruined trade by a heavy taxation. Resentment at this and at the license of the Spanish soldiery drove the southern provinces into the arms of the religious malcontents of the North. Don John of Austria, who was governor 1577-78, won back the southern (*Walloon*) provinces, but the seven northern and Calvinistic (*Dutch*) provinces† were formed by William

* Alva sent in his resignation in 1573, and was succeeded as governor by Requescens, a moderate man, whose governorship was marked by the famous seven months' siege of Leyden. On his death, in 1576, Don John took his place. He had just annihilated the Corsairs, as an organized force, in the great naval victory of *Lepanto* (1571), but he failed in the Netherlands, partly because he attempted too much (*e.g.*, he intrigued to marry Mary), partly through the jealousy of his brother Philip.

† The incompatibility of temper between these two sets of provinces was again shown in 1830, when the settlement of the Treaty of Paris (1816) was set aside, and *Belgium* separated itself from *Holland*.

of Orange into the *Union of Utrecht* (1579). These now began to definitely strike for independence, whereas earlier they had simply demanded the withdrawal of the Spanish soldiery, the restoration of the old constitution, and religious freedom. Even so early as 1575 the Netherlanders had offered the sovereignty of Holland and Zealand to Elizabeth as the price of her assistance; but she had refused it then, offering her mediation instead. Finding themselves unable to stand alone, they now called in the Duke of Anjou, who, previous to his brother Henry's accession to the French throne, in 1574, had been known as Alençon; and Elizabeth, in alarm lest they should fall into French hands without any guarantee for the friendship of France, renewed her negotiations for marrying that prince.* Some years later, after Alençon had ignominiously failed, she made a formal alliance with the United Provinces, and sent them some solid help.

France, 1574-80.

The causes of this gradual gravitation towards the lasting hostility which culminates, though it does not conclude, in the defeat of the Armada in 1588, are largely to be found in the condition of France. Amongst the results of the *Paris Matins* had been the strict organization of the Huguenots as an almost independent State, and the development of a middle party known as the *Politiques*. As a set-off to these two facts, the Catholics drew closer together in the *League* of 1576. The League soon became an all-powerful weapon in the hands of the Guises; to secure the supremacy of Catholicism, it threw itself without reserve into the arms of Spain. Against so dangerous a combination, what else was left for Elizabeth but to swallow her scruples, and ally herself to the houses of Orange and Bourbon,† rebel though they were?

* She petted her pock-marked, blotchy *Frog* in an extravagant fashion during his long courtship, and even arranged the terms of the marriage treaty. The marriage was misliked in England, and a pamphlet against it had a wide circulation. Stubbe, the author of this *Discovery of a Gaping Gulf*, 'wherein England is like to be swallowed up by another French marriage,' left the scaffold, where his right hand was chopped off for writing it, waving his hat in his left hand and shouting, 'God save the Queen!'

† See the Genealogical Table of French Kings, p. 71. The results of these two

§ 15. The League was prepared to sacrifice its patriotism to its religion. This solidarity of Catholicism is the characteristic feature of the close of the sixteenth century. The Reformation made for division and disintegration: the Counter-Reformation was emphatically one and indivisible. The reason was simply that it was directed and guided throughout by a body of men such as has always sprung up to save Rome in the day of Rome's danger. This was the *Order of Jesus*, which was started by Ignatius Loyola in 1530, and which, after some delay, received the papal sanction in 1540. It was a militant not a contemplative order; its strength was its unswerving obedience to its general; its weapon was its system of education; its passion, unquestioning loyalty to the Pope.

The Jesuits and the Catholic Reaction of 1580.

The Jesuits were the soul of the League, as they were of the Inquisition. They won back to the Church the South German peoples, and stamped all heresy out of Italy. They made a desperate attack on the British Isles about 1579-80. In Scotland their agent was Esmé Stuart, Count d'Aubigny, cousin of Lord Darnley. He landed in Scotland in 1579, regained his inheritance and the title of Earl of Lennox, got Morton executed on the charge of participation in Darnley's death, and was preparing to restore Catholicism, not only in Scotland, but in England as well. His plans were, however, partly suspected, and were effectually checked by the enthusiasm with which the *First Covenant* was signed in 1581, for the defence of Presbyterianism.

In Ireland the efforts of the Jesuits fostered a disturbance for a time (VII. § 10), and their assiduous preaching

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religious wars may be summed up briefly here. (1) *Netherlands.* Soon after the assassination of William the Silent in 1584, Philip's attention was distracted by the hostile attitude of England and by his activity as Protector of the League. The war dragged on, however, till 1609; and the independence of the United Provinces was not formally recognised till 1648.

(2) *France.* The civil wars were brought to a close in 1593. Henry III. had been assassinated in 1589; and, after four years' hard fighting, Henry of Navarre (pp. 71, 119) won over the allegiance of his late enemies by becoming a convert to Catholicism. He thought a 'kingdom well worth a Mass,' and became king as Henry IV. He procured toleration for his old friends by the *Edict of Nantes*, 1598.

did much to promote that devotion to the Pope which is the characteristic of the Irish Catholic of to-day.

In England the Jesuits Campion and Parsons landed in 1580; they were only the leaders amongst a crowd of seminary priests who poured forth from Dr. Allen's English College at Douay and its copies. Their mission was to impress upon the Catholics the duty of dissembling their disloyalty to the Queen, until the time came to strike, and to prevent the Catholics drifting, *viâ* conformity, into Anglicanism. In the latter object they succeeded: in the former they failed. The spectacle of the religious wars abroad was not alluring; and in the hour of need—despite the repressive anti-Catholic legislation that begins with 1581—the English Catholics rallied round the Queen.

CHAPTER VII.

Ireland under the Tudors, 1485–1580.

§ 1. The Pale, the 'King's Irish Rebels,' and the 'King's Irish Enemies'—§ 2. The *Statute of Drogheda*, 1495—§ 3. The Rule, the Revolt, and the Ruin of the Geraldines, 1496-1535—§ 4. Lord Leonard Gray and the *Act of Supremacy*, 1536-1540—§ 5. Sir Antony Saintleger and the Policy of Conciliation, 1540-1548—§ 6. The Irish Church and Monasticism—§ 7. Religious Changes under Edward VI. and Mary and Elizabeth—§ 8. Irish Misrule under Elizabeth : Shane O'Neil, 1559-1567—§ 9. The First Desmond Rebellion, 1569-1571, and Essex's Plantation in Ulster, 1573-1574—§ 10. Spain and the Jesuits : Second Desmond Rebellion, 1579-1583.

§ 1. THE latter part of the fifteenth century was the nadir of English authority in Ireland. What is called the Conquest of Ireland in the twelfth century had resulted in the nominal acceptance of Henry II. as 'lord' of the whole country; but neither he nor his successors found time to make their supremacy a reality. A small number of Norman barons had been allowed to take and keep what they could; and they succeeded in forming detached English settlements all over the island. But these were separated by independent native tribes who were at constant war amongst themselves and with the new-comers. Yet, strangely enough, despite deep racial hostility, despite the superiority of the Normans in civilization and instinct for government, the *comeling* Normans gradually adopted the customs, dress, and even language, of the *homeling* Irish whom they despised and had seemingly conquered. Attempts to stop this tendency by law, as in the *Statute of Kilkenny*, 1367, or by armed interference, as under Richard II., had failed completely; and at the

Ireland at the Accession of Henry VII.

end of the long neglect which civil troubles at home had enforced on the Lancastrian and Yorkist Kings, Ireland was in a condition of organized unrest, with government, colonists and natives struggling for supremacy. The words of the Spaniard were as true in 1485 as at the end of the next century:

'When the devil upon the Mount did show Christ all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them, I make no doubt that the devil left out Ireland and kept it for himself.'

There were three grades of English political impotence in Ireland. First there was the *Pale*, where the King's writ ran. Secondly, there were the 'degenerate English,' owning the King's suzerainty indeed, but really petty kings of their districts. Thirdly, there were the 'Irish enemies' who had 'justly renounced all allegiance to a government which could not redeem the original wrong of its usurpation by the benefits of protection' (Hallam).

The geographical limits and political conditions of each of these three divisions deserves attention. The

1. The Pale.

Pale was the name given in the fifteenth century to the small patch of land round Dublin which was still governed on the English model, sent representatives to the infrequent Irish Parliament, and was visited by the King's judges. It embraced so late as 1515 'but half the county Uriel (*Louth*), half the county of Meath, half the county of Dublin, half the county of Kildare.' It was, perhaps, twenty miles in depth by thirty miles in length. Though protected by dykes and forts and a barrier of waste marshes, it was the ready prey of the Irish enemy, who received a regular 'black rent' for abstention from its plunder; and it was also liable to military duties and Parliamentary taxes. In the *Pander's Report* of 1515 the condition of the Pale folk was described as

'more oppressed and more miserable than any other in the whole country; nor in any part of the known world were so evil to be seen in town and field, so brutish, so trod under foot and with so wretched a life.'

Outside the Pale, the 'Irish rebels' and the 'Irish

enemy'—these are their statutory names—lay in streaks.

2. The Degenerate Englishry.

Of the former the chief families were the Geraldines, the Butlers, and the Bourkes. The Geraldines had two huge districts under their control, each of which gave its name to an earldom. That of Kildare lay along the western frontier of the Pale: that of Desmond stretched across Munster from Cork to the estuary of the Shannon. These two branches were parted by their great rivals, the Butlers, whose district, known as the Earldom of Ormond or Ossory, lay between the rivers Barrow and Suir. The South rang incessantly with the slogans of these two families—*Crom-a-Boo!* and *Butler-a-Boo!* The Geraldines were the stronger: they were allied by marriage with half the Irish chieftains, and crowds of dependents wore a 'G' on the breast in token that they owed their hearts to the Fitzgeralds. The Butlers were traditionally loyal. But both had freely adopted Irish customs, though not to such an extent as had the Bourkes of Connaught, who by their very change of name—originally the Norman de Burgo—showed how Irish they had become. Hallam concisely sums up what this tendency to 'Irish condition' meant:

'They intermarried with the Irish; they connected themselves with them by the national custom of *fostering* and *gossiprede*, which formed an artificial relationship of the strictest nature; they spoke the Irish language; they affected the Irish dress and manner of wearing the hair;* they adopted in some instances Irish surnames; they administered Irish law, if any at all; they became chieftains rather than peers; they neither regarded the King's summons to his Parliaments nor paid any obedience to his judges.'

3. The Irishry.

The most independent of the Irish tribes were those in Ulster, whence the De Courcy family had been altogether expelled by Edward Bruce, the destroyer of the English supremacy in Ireland. Of these the O'Neils of Tyrone, and the O'Donnels in Donegal were the most important. North of the Pale dwelt the McMahons and the O'Hanlons. West of the Shannon, in what is now County Clare, dwelt the powerful O'Briens

* By a statute of Henry VI., any Englishman wearing a moustache might be assumed to be Irish and killed with impunity.

of Thomond—whose hand could reach as far as Dublin. Between the two branches of the Geraldines and north of Ormond still survived the O'Connors of Offaly and the O'Moores of Leix (§§ 3, 8). The south-west and south-east angles of the island were also Irish—the latter being in the hands of the McMurroughs, a tribe formidable enough to be pensioned by the crown.

Against each other and their semi-English neighbours these tribes maintained a fitful independence. With the exception of five tribes (known as the *quinque sanguines*) and individuals to whom the rights of Englishmen had been granted, the Irish were out of the protection of the English law. 'It was no felony to kill an Irishman.' Their own *Brehon* law was a 'primitive code of customs in which crime was a word without meaning, and the most savage murder could be paid for with a cow or sheep' (Froude). Their general social arrangements were just as little conducive to order. They were based on the *sept*, or tribe, compared with which the family was unimportant, while the State was as yet unheard of. By a custom known as *tanistry*, the chieftainship went not to an eldest son, but to the worthiest relation of the late chief, and he was regarded as holding the tribal lands in trust for the tribe. Other lands went by a custom known as *gavelkind*, which in Ireland, theoretically at least, involved the redivision of all the lands of the tribe whenever a member of it died. The rights of the chief over his tribesmen illustrate pretty clearly the meaning of the Irish tenant's traditional maxim—'Spend me and defend me!' The principal ones were *coshery*, the right to use their houses and provisions at will, and *bonaght*, the right to distribute dependents at free quarters amongst the tenantry. Both were eagerly caught at by the Norman nobility in preference to their own more fixed and regular feudal customs. With such facilities for the trade, no wonder that 'strife and bloodshed were the sole business of life' amongst the sixty Irish chiefs and thirty great captains of the English noble folk enumerated in the Pander's Report. The effect of *coyne* and *livery*—

as *bonaght* was called by the Englishry—was put tersely enough :

'Though they were invented in hell, they could not have been practised there, or they would have overturned the kingdom of Beelzebub.'

§ 2. Such was Ireland as Henry VII. found it. Evidently it was hopeless to attempt a revolution there till he had obtained a firm hold on England. All he could do was to leave Ireland alone, if it would leave him alone : as Ireland gave him some trouble, he was driven to take active measures. In the recent wars few families, save the Butlers, had favoured the Red Rose : the Geraldines had been strong Yorkist partisans. When Richard of York had taken refuge across the Channel in his old governorship after the battle of Bloreheath in 1459, an Irish Parliament had asserted its independence in his behalf. So now the eighth Earl of Kildare, lord-deputy though he was, supported the successive pretenders to a Yorkist title. In 1487 Lambert Simnel was crowned, and helped with Irish *kerns* and *gallowglasses*,* who were for the most part cut to pieces with their commander, Kildare's brother, at Stoke (I. § 5). 'In the absence of your King, you will crown apes,' said Henry. Yet Kildare remained deputy till his support of Perkyn Warbeck (I. § 6) led to his supersession by Sir Edward Poynings, who attainted him and sent him over to England (1494). The deputyship of Poynings is almost the first real effort to secure order in Ireland, both in the parts under direct English rule and elsewhere. He began his term of office with the defeat of the tribes of O'Hanlon and McGennis, who pressed on the Pale from the North, then turned to crush a Geraldine rising at Carlow. But his efforts were, in Professor Goldwin Smith's phrase, 'baffled by the nimbleness and ubiquity of an almost impalpable foe'; and his real fame rests on the legislation which he forced through the Irish Parliament that met at Drogheda in 1495, and which is known collectively as *Poynings' Law*.

Yorkist Ireland, and the *Statute of Drogheda*, 1495.

* The kerns were light-armed foot, carrying *skeins* and darts ; the gallowglasses wore defensive armour and carried huge axes. Bacon says the battle of Stoke 'was more like an execution than a fight upon them.'

Private hostilities without the deputy's license were made illegal; to excite the Irish to war was made high treason; owners of land were to reside on their estates, and it was felony to let Irish rebels pass the border of the Pale; murder was in no case to be commuted by a fine; the requisitions of coyne and livery were forbidden; and royal officers were in future to hold office not for life but during the King's pleasure.

All this was little more than a re-enactment of the *Statute of Kilkenny*—'an Act perpetually renewed, habitually set at nought, and constantly evaded by licenses of exemption' (Walpole). Yet it was shown to be meant seriously by the fact that some of the provisions of the latter were dropped as hopeless: to speak Irish and to ride without a saddle were no longer penal.

Two other measures were novel and significant:

(1) 'All statutes lately made in the English Parliament shall be deemed good and effectual in Ireland.

(2) 'No Parliament shall in future be holden in Ireland till the King's lieutenant shall certify to the King the causes and considerations and all such acts as it seems to them ought to be passed thereon, and such be affirmed by the King and his Council, and his license to hold a Parliament be obtained.'

The outcome of the former of these was the enforcement in Ireland *en bloc* of all English legislation passed up to date, while later measures did not come into effect there till specially adopted by the Irish Parliament. The result of the latter—probably meant to transfer the real power from the Anglo-Irish oligarchy to the crown—was simply the death and burial of the Irish Parliament. It was not a very dignified or potent institution*—it has been called a 'scratch assembly'—but it might have become of some account. The initiative of the Irish Parliament was thus destroyed, and when it came to represent not merely the Pale and its outlying towns, but the whole of Ireland, it was still gagged by this law.

§ 3. The differentiation between English and Irish law

* Its composition was somewhat different from that of the English Parliament. In the Upper House, the lay peers obtained exemption from attendance, and the bishops and abbots were largely absentees: in the Lower House, side by side with a varying number of knights and burgesses—the latter summoned irregularly, sometimes by name, without even the forms of election—sat two clerical proctors from each diocese. At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign the Upper House mustered 3 archbishops, 7 bishops, and 23 temporal peers; the Lower, 76 members—from 10 counties and 28 cities. Twenty-five years later the Lower House had grown to 122 members.

and the destruction of Irish Parliamentary initiative were the permanent results of Poynings' rule: his action against the Anglo-Irish was not sustained. Henry could not afford for the present the series of petty wars which its maintenance would entail on the crown: he returned to the policy of trusting the dominant family. In addition to their influence amongst the Irish (p. 126), the Pale itself —Thomas Cromwell was later told—'was so affectionate towards the Geraldines that they covet more to see a Geraldine triumph than to see God come among them.' Henry resolved to press this power into his service. 'All Ireland cannot rule the Earl of Kildare,' said the Bishop of Meath. 'Then it is meet that he should rule all Ireland,' was Henry's answer; and the earl justified the trust reposed in him. From the date of his restoration to office in 1496, he faithfully served the King without neglecting the interests of his family. He crushed the O'Briens and Clanricade at the battle of *Knocktow*(1497), and 'taught the Irish, both "enemies" and "rebels," that in their intestinal conflicts victory lay on the side of the English sword' (Walpole). He rebuilt the castles that protected the Pale and the outlying towns that still remained English; and ultimately he fell in battle against the O'Moores in 1513, and Gerald his son ruled in his stead.

The Rule of the Eighth Earl of Kildare, 1496-1513.

The career of the ninth earl was a chequered one. Thrice was he summoned to London to give an account of his governorship: twice the increasing confusion which his absence caused demonstrated even to his enemy Wolsey that the predominance of Kildare was the least in the choice of evils. In 1520-22 the Earl of Surrey was sent to replace him: he advocated military repression and colonization, but was not given the necessary men and money, and so resigned (II. § 8). Kildare's next term of office, after a short trial of his rival Ormond, lasted three years: his refusal to arrest Desmond, the head of the southern Geraldines, who was in treasonable correspondence with Francis I. (1524-26), led to a fresh sojourn in

The Ninth Earl, and the Geraldine Revolt of 1534-35.

the Tower. Henry, Duke of Richmond, was given the title of lord-lieutenant that his father, Henry VIII., had held during Poynings' time; but his deputy, Sir William Skeffington, was so unsuccessful that Kildare had to be sent back to help him (1530). He became lord-deputy in 1532; but his warlike preparations excited suspicion, and in 1534 he was again recalled. A report having spread across Channel that he was dead, his son, *Silken Thomas*, renounced his allegiance, and headed a revolt against Henry, in which Allen, Archbishop of Dublin, was brutally murdered. The intelligence caused his father's death: he had seen too much of English power to have any hopes of his son's success. The event proved him to be right. Skeffington's troops were not so greatly superior to the half-naked and ill-armed kernes and gallowglasses or to the nimble cavalry of his opponent; but before his artillery the impregnable castle of Maynooth fell after but twelve days' siege. The capture of their stronghold and the execution of its garrison were fatal to the Geraldines. Lord Thomas surrendered (1536) to Skeffington's successor, Lord Leonard Gray, and after a year's detention was somewhat unfairly executed, along with five of his uncles, who had taken no part in the rebellion. Only his brother remained to preserve the race; and he was brought up by Henry VIII.'s arch-enemy, Cardinal Pole.

§ 4. Lord Leonard Gray's career as lord-deputy is even more eventful than Poynings'. Its opening was a forecast of Henry VIII.'s future policy: he was resolved that his rule in Ireland should be no half-and-half affair, but a real supremacy. The harsh treatment of the Kildares was meant to signify in an unmistakable manner that Henry would have no more 'ironical allegiance to a distant suzerain.' The lesson was driven home by Gray's two vigorous campaigns, one in the South and West, the other in the North. In 1536 he crushed the O'Connors, the Fitzgeralds and Barrys; then, turning north, broke down the O'Briens' bridge over the Shannon, and overawed the Bourkes by the capture

Lord Leonard Gray, 1536-1540.

of Athlone. In 1539 he inflicted a severe blow on the hitherto untouched O'Neils at *Belahoe*. Between-whiles he had obtained the assent of the Irish Parliament to the *Act of Supremacy* and to the suppression of thirteen abbeys. The former was so bitterly opposed in one session that it had to be adjourned, and on the reassembling of Parliament it was announced that the proctors of the clergy, 'being neither members nor parcel of the body of Parliament, were excluded from all voice or suffrage.' On their displacement the Bill was accepted without demur. The laity were quite indifferent with regard to the former measure, and distinctly in favour of the latter, as they each had hopes of a share in the spoil. Within the Church itself there were two parties: one, headed by Archbishop Browne of Dublin, supporting the King; the other, under two successive archbishops of Armagh, Cromer and Dowdall, doggedly opposing him. As the consequences of the Supremacy grew clearer, the latter party became more firm in their resistance: Browne's efforts 'to pluck down images and extinguish idolatry' failed signally, and his reports to Cromwell were of the dismallest.

Gray's kinship with the Fitzgeralds—his sister was the wife of the ninth Earl of Kildare—brought him into suspicion, which was intensified by the intrigues of his jealous coadjutor Ormond, and he was recalled in 1540, to be executed the following year.

§ 5. Sir Antony Saintleger continued Gray's work with skill and judgment, and internal peace seemed at last dawning upon Ireland. Henry VIII. wished to make Ireland as orderly as he was making England, and of the two methods open to him —extermination and colonization, or coercion and conciliation—deliberately chose the latter.

Extermination? or Conciliation?

'To win over the chiefs, to turn them by policy and patient generosity into English nobles, to use the traditional devotion of their tribal dependents as a means for diffusing the new civilization of their chiefs, to trust to time and steady government for the gradual reformation of the country, was a policy safer, cheaper, more humane, and more statesmanlike' (Green).

But this policy of 'sober ways, politic drifts, and amiable persuasions, founded on law and reason'—as Henry himself put it—required time: Henry was not allowed time, and his successors would not take time. They impatiently followed the recommendation of the Irish Council, and the ghastly cruelties of Elizabeth's reign, and their long-lived issue—a deadly hate of the *Saxon*—were the result.

Saintleger's long rule was marked by few military operations, but by many ecclesiastical changes and a steady effort to win the Irish chiefs and people to English ways. He entered into extensive negotiations with both Irish and English chiefs, the result of which was for the most part that indentures were signed whereby they bound themselves to abstain from war on their fellow-subjects, to come to the King's courts of justice, to support the King with a fixed money-tribute and personal service, to attend Parliament, to send their sons to be educated at the English court, and to renounce the authority of the Pope. These promises were not obtained for nothing. The chiefs were liberally bribed with abbey-lands, and were each given a house in Dublin, in the hope that they would come to Parliament and there 'suck in civility with the court air.' They were allowed to retain much of their authority over their tribesmen, and titles of nobility* were showered upon them. There was subtlety in this last move, for the fledgling nobility was regarded as governed by the English law of descent and inheritance, not by tanistry. In other words, titles were handed on by primogeniture, and the new peers were looked upon as the feudal lords of land of which they were really only demesne lords for life by the will of the tribesmen.

Saintleger's first Deputyship, 1540-48.

§ 6. This revolution—it was nothing less—took a

* The O'Brien became Earl of Thomond and Baron Inchiquin (with reversion to the Tanaist of Thomond). The McGilapatrick took the name of Fitzpatrick, and became Baron of Upper Ossory; the McMurrough took the name of Kavanagh, and became Baron of Ballyan; the O'Connor, Baron of Offaly; the O'Donnel, Earl of Tyrconnel; and the O'Neil, Earl of Tyrone.

dramatic form when, in 1542, Saintleger gathered in Dublin a Parliament, in which Gaelic chief and 'Saxon' noble sat side by side, and Ormond translated the royal address for the benefit of the former. The session was important: it raised Ireland from a lordship to a kingdom, the former name seeming to imply dependence on the Pope; it re-enacted the Act of Supremacy; and it vested in the crown all religious houses which had, or ought to have, surrendered. The houses thus dissolved were 400 in number, having a personalty valued at £100,000, and an annual rental of £31,000. Though some of the smaller houses became parish churches, and part of the revenues of the larger went to a bishop's sustentation fund, the greater part of the spoils went to members of the Council in Dublin and to the Irish chiefs.

The Irish Church and the Monasteries.

It is hardly possible to justify this course of action in Ireland as it is in England. The Irish Church was poor and divided. The Archbishop of Dublin's plate was in pawn for eighty years, and the religious buildings were scanty and meagrely furnished. Ecclesiastically, the Irishry had no dealings with the Englishry: an Irishman could not be a member of a monastery within the Pale, and *vice versâ*. None the less, the religious houses were 'as lamps in the darkness and rivers in a thirsty land.' They served as inns and hostels; they did works of charity; the Cistercians and Augustinians were the only educators of Ireland; they conducted most of the pastoral work.

For years after the dissolution parishes were left without spiritual ministrations, save those of the friars. Thirty years later Sidney reported that half the churches were vacant. In the last decade of the century Spenser could still say that the 'intellectual part' was neglected, though by that time provision had been made for free schools in every parish, and Trinity College, Dublin, had been founded (1591). It was unfortunate that this last was so richly endowed that it earned its name the *Silent Sister*.

§ 7. Sir Edward Bellingham was the next lord-deputy of note. He continued the rule of firmness tempered

with kindness; he encouraged agriculture and suppressed piracy; he opened up the passes leading to Munster and Connaught, and placed a garrison in Athlone. 'There was no fault in his deputyship,' says Fuller, 'save that it was too short' (1548-49). Under his successor the policy of violence again began. The use of the English Prayer-book and Bible was ordered, and though there was talk of Irish versions, they were never made: it was 'difficult to print or read in Irish,' so Latin was allowed for the time. Only five bishops accepted the change: Dowdall was expelled, and the primacy transferred from Armagh (where the King's authority was weak) to Dublin; and Protestant bishops, *e.g.*, 'Bilious' Bale of Ossory, of more zeal than discretion, were appointed, but exerted little influence. The roughness with which the innovations were now enforced, and the pillage of time-honoured shrines like Clonmacnoisie, estranged the mass of the people. Staples, the Bishop of Meath, was told, after preaching against the Mass:

Religious Changes under Edward VI., and Mary and Elizabeth.

> 'The country folk would eat you if they wist how. . . . Ye have more curses than you have hairs on your head.'

On Mary's accession the old faith and its professors were restored, and by the 'able opportunist' who had begun their displacement, Saintleger (1553-1558). There was no persecution in Ireland: there were no heretics to persecute. The country was rather a refuge for English Protestants.

When Mary died, Sir Henry Sidney was sworn in with full Catholic ritual as lord-justice. But when the Earl of Sussex superseded him as lord-deputy a packed Parliament* at once repealed the religious measures of the late sovereigns, and applied to Ireland the English Act of Uniformity (1560). Henceforth, there were two Churches in Ireland: the one supported by the State, the other by the Papacy; the one sans congregation, the other sans endowments. The result was that the Catholic Irish

* Representatives were summoned from only ten out of the twenty then existing counties; many towns that had hitherto had no franchise were asked to send members; town members were often self-elected magistrates or nominees of the crown.

were gradually drawn closer and closer to the Catholics of the Pale; they became one, 'not as the Irish nation, but as Catholics.' Identity of religion overcame diversity of race.

§ 8. The setting up of this phantom of Protestantism was one of the least of the evils which make the tale of Elizabeth's rule in Ireland one of the gloomiest chapters in history. The government was starved; the governors constantly changed just as they were getting an insight into their business; the claim of the country was the last of the calls on her consideration to which Elizabeth listened; her policy oscillated between misplaced trust and misplaced severity. And, above all, the policy of extermination and colonization which Henry VIII. had rejected was carried out with cruelty, yet without consistency or judgment. Distrust produced severity, severity insurrection, insurrection confiscation, confiscation murder—this is the whole story of Ireland under Elizabeth. Irish lawlessness suggested an opening for that adventurer spirit of the Elizabethan age which has its seamy as well as its heroic side.

Irish Misrule under Elizabeth.

'The eagles took wing to the Spanish main: the vultures descended upon Ireland. A daring use of his sword procured for the adventurer in the Spanish colonies romantic wealth in the shape of ingots and rich bales: a dexterous use of intrigue, chicanery, and the art of exciting rebellion procured for the sharper in Ireland wealth, unromantic but more lasting, in the shape of confiscated lands.' (Goldwin Smith).

The policy of plantation began under Philip and Mary. The lands of the O'Moores and the O'Connors (p. 127) had been in part confiscated and settled in 1548. In 1558 they were formed respectively into Queen's County and King's County: Campa, the old head town of Leix, was renamed Maryborough, and Dangen, the head town of Offaly, became Philipstown.

The First Plantation (1558) and Shane O'Neil (1559-67).

This example was not at once followed up by Elizabeth, whose earliest trouble sprang from a disputed succession in the north. In the patent whereby Con Bacagh O'Neil had in 1542 been created Earl of Tyrone (note, p. 133), the succession had, under the impression that he was a legitimate son, been fixed on Matthew, the Bastard

of Dungannon. Even during his father's lifetime Shane O'Neil, Con's eldest legitimate son, had disputed Dungannon's title and had slain him. On Con's death, in 1559, he attacked with success the younger Dungannon, and his ally, O'Donnel. He was persuaded to come over to England to urge his claims in person, but though he made a good impression on the Queen, he was not allowed to return till after the death of the young Earl of Tyrone. In 1564 he crushed the Scotch immigrants, newly arrived in Antrim, for the English, but was three years later attacked by Sir Henry Sidney (lord-deputy, 1565-71) and the O'Donnels, and, being defeated at Letterkenny, fled to his enemies, the Scotch McDonnells, and perished in a drunken bout.

§ 9. If Sidney displayed such harshness to a friendly, order-loving chief like Shane O'Neil, it was only natural that he should wish to put down the uneasy Geraldines of Desmond. He wished to damage the Desmond power by establishing a presidency in Munster, supported by the smaller chieftains and by a partial colonization. Elizabeth preferred to strike in a different way. In 1568 a long-standing lawsuit between Desmond and Ormond was decided in the latter's favour—he was a Protestant—and Desmond was summoned to London on a charge of high treason. He surrendered his lands—nearly half Munster—in the hope of appeasing the Queen and receiving them back. The rumours of their intended plantation, and the actual arrival of Sir Peter Carew and other Devonshire gentlemen as settlers, drove Desmond's brother, Sir James Fitzmaurice, and the Earl of Clancarty, into rebellion (1569). Their appeal to Spain was not successful, as Philip was at the time engaged in promoting Mary Queen of Scots' cause elsewhere. The rebels being thus left to themselves, the struggle simply became a series of detached sanguinary onslaughts and reprisals, conducted by Fitton in Connaught and Gilbert in Munster. Sidney grew tired of this, and threw up his appointment in 1571. He was succeeded by Sir John Perrot, who, like himself, was inadequately supported. He induced Fitzmaurice to give

The First Desmond Rebellion, 1569-72.

in his submission in 1572, and in the following year Desmond was let loose on promising to put down Catholicism, and soon regained his authority.

The next important effort to colonize was in Ulster, where Scotch settlements had been lately formed with success. The Earl of Essex was granted the district of Clandboy (Antrim) on condition of conquering it and, after four years, paying rent for it. The hostility of the natives, the astuteness of Sir Brian O'Neil, and the severity of the winter were too much for him as a colonist. In 1574 he got himself appointed Governor of Ulster, in which capacity he murdered Sir Brian, and massacred the Scotch settlers at Rathlin. All this profited him nothing: he was ruined before his death in 1576.

The Colonization of Ulster, 1573-76.

The following year was disfigured by a treacherous slaughter, at Mullaghmast, of the principal Irish still left in Leix and Offaly. Sir Francis Cosbie murdered in cold blood some 400 guests he had invited for the purpose. Only one escaped to become a terror to the English settler under the name of Rory O'Moore; and the cry of *Remember Mullaghmast* is still heard in the land.

Before this Sir Henry Sidney had been persuaded to resume the lord-deputyship. Despite his former cruelty, he retained great influence over the Irish, and much was hoped from him. During his four years' rule (1575-1579) he lost ground everywhere. Great dissatisfaction was caused within the Pale by his unsuccessful effort to convert an occasional liability for the maintenance of troops into a regular *cess* or tax fixed at about £2,000 a year. And the conduct of Drury and Malby, his presidents in Munster and Connaught, was not exactly conciliatory. Drury hung 400 men during his first circuit: Malby's report of his dealings with an insurrection of the Bourkes reads like the records of an Assyrian king.

'I marched into their country with determination to consume them with fire and sword, sparing neither old nor young. I burnt all their corn and houses, and committed to the sword all that could be found.'

§ 10. Little wonder that an island so treated should be thought a good place wherein to attack Elizabeth. The

long-continued activity of both the Spanish and the Jesuits began in the year 1579 with an effort to take advantage of Irish discontent. Spain was the natural geographical ally of Ireland amongst the Continental Powers, for England, wedged in between Ireland and France, kept the two latter countries apart. And, besides, at this time France was too divided to lend help to the Catholic cause: Philip was daily becoming more and more able and willing (VI. § 14). He was getting nettled not only by Elizabeth's increasing tendency to thwart him in Europe, but by the intrusion of English sailors into what he wished to regard as Spanish preserves. In 1578 Drake penetrated to the Pacific and plundered the towns on the coast of what is now Chile and Peru. Much as Philip resented this, he would not yet openly countenance any movement. The Spanish troops which Stukely collected were volunteers rather than royal forces; and even these were diverted to Africa, where they perished.

The Second Desmond Rebellion, 1579-80.

Fitz-Maurice, however, obtained from the Pope a blessing, some money and a legate—his name was Sandars—with which he landed at Dingle in the summer of 1579. Desmond, 'a vain man neither frankly royal nor a bold rebel,' hung back at first; but the murder of two English officers at Tralee by his brother forced him to arms, and in a moment the whole South was ablaze. The English were taken by surprise. They were used to a sort of *dacoity:* this looked like war. Drury was driven back to his headquarters at Kilmallock. Malby, after a temporary success marked by the capture of Ashketyn, a Desmond stronghold, thought it prudent to give way, and the rebels advanced to sack Youghal. With this the year 1579 closed.

The greatness of the danger roused Elizabeth to action. Ormond was appointed Governor of Munster, and 'marched through the land consuming with fire all habitations, and executing the people wherever he found them.' He claimed to have put nearly 5,000 to death. In June he blew up the castle of Ashketyn, and was then relieved by Lord Grey de Wilton, the new lord-deputy—

the *Arthegal* of Spenser, who, with Raleigh, was serving under him. Lord Grey began badly. He was defeated in Glenmalure by Feach M'Hugh, the 'Firebrand of the Mountains,' who had headed a subsidiary rising in Wicklow. He then turned his attention to the West, and in November captured Smerwick in Kerry. There some 800 Spanish and Italian troops had recently arrived, but were quite unable to hold their own when pressed hard, not only by land, but by a small fleet under Admiral Winter. The garrison surrendered only to be butchered. This was the end of the insurrection, though not of bloodshed. Sandars perished obscurely in 1581; Kildare died in the Tower; Desmond was betrayed and killed in bed two years later; Clanricade, head of the Bourkes, fell about the same time. Some 500,000 Irish acres were confiscated and leased on quit rents of a penny per acre. The country people were ruthlessly killed, or reduced to such privations that they had to scrape up the corpses from the churchyard for food. When Sir John Perrot—whom Goldwin Smith calls 'the best and most honourable of the governors during the Tudor period'—became lord-deputy, in 1584, 'the lowing of a cow or the voice of a ploughman was not heard from Dun-casine to Cashel.'

CHAPTER VIII.

Tudor England.

§ 1. The Social and Economic Features of the Sixteenth Century—§ 2. Tillage *v.* Pasturage: Enclosures: Enhancing of Rents—§ 3. Vagabondage and the Poor Law—§ 4. Domestic Trade and Manufacture—§ 5. Foreign Commerce and English Seamen—§ 6. Governmental System of the Tudors.

§ 1. 'It is from this period,' says Green, 'that we can first date the rise of a conception which seems to us a peculiarly English one—the conception of domestic comfort.' How true this is may be seen by glancing through the list of improvements given in Harrison's *Description of England**—stoves for sweating baths, glass for windows, brick and stone instead of timber, plate, tapestry, carpets, 'fine naperie,' the multitude of chimneys, amendment of lodging, etc. By all these things the old parson thought that 'the wealth of our country doth infinitely appear.'

Comfort, Capital, and Competition.

This is the pleasant side of the picture. The sixteenth century was one of great activity in all directions, especially in that of commerce: what is called 'private enterprise' may almost be said to find its beginnings in this period. The century in its social, as in its religious aspects, begins and ends well; but in the middle is a veritable slough of despond. Throughout it is marked by a spirit of adventure, which too often takes the form of money-grubbing: how easily one of these passes into the other one might gather from the history of the word

* This forms part of Holinshed's *Chronicle* (1577). It is reprinted by Walter Scott in the Camelot Series. Chap. ix. in that edition—'Of the Manner of Building and Furniture of our Houses'—is the source whence most modern accounts are taken, and may as well be read at first-hand.

adventurer. Those who prefer to think of the heroic side should read Green;* those who prefer the seamy side will find it in Mr. Hall's minute studies on Elizabethan life. All we can do here is to briefly recount the chief features in the economic condition of town and country, and the beginnings of England as an oceanic Power.

In all three aspects the thing that stands out most distinctly is the dislike of stagnation and settledness. 'Home-keeping youths have ever homely wits' is the pervading feeling of society. Not that there was not a good deal of journeying about in the Middle Ages; but that was animated by love of glory or of grace: war and worship were its objects. Now that self-interest became almost professedly supreme, change grew to be universal. Men could not see why they should act in a certain way simply because their fathers had done so before them. The landlord shook off the traditions of cultivation, and took up what paid best; the townsman grew impatient of the restrictions of the craft-gilds; the merchant could not be shackled by the old regulations, but traded where he would and how he would. Each class fell into discontent with the old humdrum style of working moderately and earning a bare living: each class plunged into risk in the hope of profit. These were the early days of Capital and Competition. In Harrison's grumbling words:

'Every function and several vocation striveth with other, which of them should have all the water of commodity run into her own cistern.'

§ 2. The main feature in the country-life of the time has a very close connection with both these facts. It was more profitable to grow wool than to grow food-stuffs (*i.e.*, practically, grain): hence the conversion of tillage into pasturage, which was already being complained of during the fifteenth century. It was more profitable because it required fewer labourers (and labour was dear), and because the looms of the Low Countries were insatiate of English wool, whereas the export of corn was discouraged. Further, as sheep-farming pays best on a large scale, the landowners found the system by which manors were hacked

Sheep-Farming? or Agriculture?

* J. R. Green's *History of the English People* (Vol. II., Bk. VI., chap. v., pp. 384-94), or in his *Short History* (VII. § 5); Hall's *Society in the Elizabethan Age*, *passim*.

up into unfenced strips—some directly occupied by the lord, some by tenants having varying conditions of tenure—a great obstacle to cheap wool-raising. The most obvious thing to do was to get rid of tenants and form huge sheep-walks by throwing their holdings together. This was done to a still greater extent when the 'old acres' held by the ecclesiastical bodies, who were easy, even improvident, landlords, passed to 'new men' who saw their way to make money and were not squeamish about other folks' rights or feelings.

The profit of this economic change fell to the capitalist, the burden to the labourer. The rustics who were not evicted were to a considerable extent shut out of their enjoyment of common and waste lands, of which they had hitherto the usance: those that were expelled knew not whither to turn. They were not allowed to dig; there were no manufactures wherein to use their hands; they were driven to beg. The consciousness of these evils led to much ineffective though well-meaning legislation, sometimes in hope to prevent, sometimes to cure.

Enclosures.

Henry VII. passed in 1489 a law against 'depopulating enclosures and depopulating pasturage,' mainly with the idea of keeping up the yeomanry for purposes of war. It aimed at maintaining for ever all houses of husbandry that were used with twenty acres of ground and upwards.

'Thus,' notes Bacon, 'did the King secretly sow Hydra's teeth; whereupon, according to the poet's fiction, should rise up armed men for the service of this kingdom.'

But in most districts the measure failed completely. So did Henry VIII.'s attempt of 1516, to restrict the number of sheep on one farm to 2,000. It was no use: the process went on and caused much privation till it was completed. Its legacy to us was pauperism (§ 3): of its social outcome let Latimer and Harrison speak.

'My father was a yeoman and had no lands of his own, only he had a farm of three or four pound by year at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had a walk for a hundred sheep; and my mother milked thirty kine. He was able and did find the King a harness, with himself and his horse, while he came to the place that he should receive the King's wages. I can remember that I buckled his harness when he went into Blackheath

Field. He kept me to school, or else I had not been able to have preached before the King's majesty now. He married my sisters with five pound, or twenty nobles, apiece, so that he brought them up in godliness and fear of God. He kept hospitality for his poor neighbours, and some alms he gave to the poor. And all this he did off the said farm, where he that now hath it payeth sixteen pounds by year or more, and is not able to do anything for his prince, for himself, nor for his children, or give a cup of drink to the poor.' (Latimer's *First Sermon before Edward VI.*).

When Harrison wrote, twenty years later, this bitterness is overpast. Speaking of the yeoman of the type of Latimer *père*, he mentions

'three things that are grown to be very grievous to them, to wit: *enhancing of rents, the daily oppression of copy-holders*, whose lords seek to bring their poor tenants almost into plain servitude and misery, daily devising new means, and seeking up all the old, how to cut them shorter and shorter, doubling, trebling, and now and then seven times increasing their fines, driving them also for every trifle to lose and forfeit their tenures, to the end that they may fleece them yet more. The third thing they talk of is *usury*, a trade brought in by the Jews, now perfectly practised almost by every Christian,* and so commonly that he is accompted but for a fool that doth lend his money for nothing.'

On the other hand, his testimony is weighty in proof that these are farmers' grievances; in fact, they depict too exclusively the seamy side.

'Although peradventure four pounds of old rent be improved to forty, fifty, or a hundred pounds, yet will the farmer, as another palm or date tree, think his gains very small toward the end of his term, if he have not six or seven years' rent lying by him, therewith to purchase a new lease . . . and that it shall never trouble him more than the hair of his beard, when the barber hath washed and shaved it from his chin.'

§ 3. The farmer suffered through the enhancing of rents brought about by the *competition* for land for sheep-rearing purposes: the labourer suffered from many things. At the beginning of the period he was fairly well off: a wage of threepence halfpenny a day was not bad when a carcase of mutton cost but a shilling. At the end of the period he was again flourishing. The intermediate stage was full of misery. His wages remained at the same level,

Vagabondage and the Poor Law.

* For the relation between this fact and the beginning of the conception of capital, see Mr. Cunningham's *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, Bk. IV., chap. i.

whilst prices were going up, and the intrinsic value of a debased coinage was going steadily down. His own services were less and less in demand for tending the sheep, to which 'the farming gentlemen and clerking knights,' who took over the monastic lands, gave their attention. He was not wanted in the country, nor could he find aught to do in towns. Being no longer bound to work for a lord, he could no longer claim his support; and so, with the ejected retainers (I. § 9), the labourers swelled the ranks of the unemployed—or, in Tudor phrase, *vagabonds*.

'They be cast into prison as vagabonds because they go about and work not, whom no man will set to work, though they never so willingly proffer themselves thereto.'

So wrote, sympathetically, Sir Thomas More. There soon became recognised three degrees of poor: the *poor by impotence;* the *poor by casualty;* and the *thriftless poor*. For the first two sorts relief was provided: for the last punishment, or, later on, work. The method of punishment was old: it dated from the Statutes of Labourers which began with Edward III. It is only in Henry VIII.'s reign that the attempts for the maintenance of the aged and deserving poor appear alongside of the repression of the sturdy beggar. As regards the deserving poor, the churchwardens of each parish were in 1536 authorized to make collections for the poor, promiscuous giving being discouraged; in 1551 churchwardens, curates, or, failing them, bishops, were bidden to exhort the backward in giving or collecting; Mary appointed Christmas as the time for raising the fund; Elizabeth, in 1563, enforced such contributions by the penalty of imprisonment, and in 1572 facilitated them by providing that the money should be raised by assessment, and in 1597 enacted that the assessment should be levied by distraint.

Meanwhile, the variety of punishments provided by Henry VII. for the idle beggars had proved as futile as the severity of Edward VI.'s *Vagrancy Act* (IV. § 4). Elizabeth began in 1576 the system of providing work, the justices being then empowered to buy buildings and hemp for this purpose. In 1601 the best of the previous

provisions were codified in the *First Poor Law*, which arranged how rates were to be levied, and overseers of the poor (later called guardians) appointed.

'Maintenance for those who cannot, punishment for those who will not work, and work for all who will do it—such were the principles of this memorable law' (Cunningham).

§ 4. In town as in country the sixteenth century is characterized by the abandonment of traditional methods.

Towns and Manufactures.

The artisan would no longer conform to the rules of the craft-gild restricting his output, prescribing the quality of his work, etc.: the merchant refused to be further bound by the regulations of the *Steelyard*—as the London branch of the great Hanseatic League was called. Some of the results of this increase of 'private enterprise,' this shaking off the old leading-strings of commerce, may be briefly reviewed. A craftsman found himself hampered by the rules of his gild: he could not do what he liked, how he liked, when he liked, and to what extent he liked. He could not well exercise his craft within the town where a craft-gild existed, and so was constrained to move into suburbs or into fresh ground. Hence old towns decay and new ones arise—*e.g.*, Birmingham (hardware), Halifax (broadcloth), Manchester (friezes), and Sheffield (cutlery). A great impetus to this shifting of trade-centres was given by the advent of hosts of refugees from the Low Countries during Elizabeth's reign. These taught the art of making good cloth—in the fifteenth century 'one might as well have been clothed in a hurdle as in English-made cloth'—and so provided the indigent with employment in spinning, weaving, fulling and dyeing at home the wool hitherto sent abroad. The linen and silk manufactures* were in a vigorous infancy.

The new methods of work did not give complete satisfaction—witness Harrison:

'Our husbandmen and artificers were never so excellent in their trades as at present. But as the workmanship of the latter sort was never more fine and curious to the eye, so was it never less strong and substantial for continuance and benefit of the buyers. Neither is there

* Harrison already noted that coal-mines would soon be the only fuel, 'if wood be not better cherished than it is at this present.'

anything that hurteth the common sort of our artificers more than haste, and a barbarous or slavish desire to turn the penny, and, by ridding their work to make speedy utterance of their wares: which enforceth them to bungle up and despatch many things they care not how, so they be out of their hands, whereby the buyer is often sore defrauded and findeth to his cost that *haste maketh waste*, according to the proverb.'

§ 5. Harrison did not think much of our business capacity: 'foreigners will buy the case of a fox of an Englishman for a groat, and make him afterwards give twelve pence for the tail.' None the less, English commerce grew apace during the Tudor period: it not only extended to hitherto unknown parts, but greatly increased to the old centres. Henry VII. did much for the Flemish trade with his treaties of 1496 and 1506, and by granting a charter of incorporation to the *Merchant Adventurers* in the former year. This was 'the name given to any merchant who shipped cargo to any port other than that where the staple was held.' This company was thus made strong enough to protect its members abroad; its fleet of fifty or sixty ships soon came to annually carry over 100,000 bales of cloth to Flanders. And the privileges of the English merchant were protected in 1579, by the forfeiture of the German privileges in the suppression of the *Steelyard*. Associations similar to the Merchant Adventurers were the *Russian Company*, founded in 1554 to trade with Russia, an all-sea route to the White Sea having been discovered by Richard Chancellor the year before; the *Levant Company*, the *Easterland Company*, and finally (in 1600) the *East India Company*. The 60,000 refugees Alva drove over here did service to England in commerce as in manufacture. It is owing to the merchants amongst them, to a great extent, that London supplanted Antwerp as the emporium of Western Europe.

Expansion of English Commerce.

Closely linked with this expansion of legitimate commerce was that passion for roaming the seas as discoverers, plunderers, and even pirates, which became so common during the latter part of the sixteenth century. England had a small but early share in this work, when, in 1497, the Venetians

The Rise of English Seamanship.

John and Sebastian Cabot, sailing under the English flag, discovered the mainland of America and coasted along it from Newfoundland to Nova Scotia. Both were claimed as English, and various attempts at settlement were made, especially in Newfoundland, where the cod-fishing attracted one Hore in 1536, and Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1576 and 1583. Neither of these attempts was successful, any more than were the repeated efforts which Sir Walter Raleigh, especially in 1584, and others made to colonize the huge tract further south to which Raleigh, courtier-like, gave the name of *Virginia*. There was down to the end of Elizabeth's days no inducement powerful enough to draw men away as settlers, other than hope of gold; and wherever gold was, Spaniards were.

But Englishmen sailed everywhere, if they did not settle. Henry VIII. founded three colleges on a Spanish model for the training of pilots and sailors, and made Sebastian Cabot his Grand Pilot. This training bore fruit during Elizabeth's reign, which was marked by all kinds of essays to reach India and Cathay by a new route. A belief in a North-East Passage led to Sir Hugh Willoughby's expedition, whose survivors, under Chancellor, had in 1553 found Archangel. A search for a North-West Passage took Martin Frobisher as far as the straits that bear his name in 1576; and his supposed finding of ore containing gold in Labrador led to the equipment of an expedition of fifteen vessels to work it—being the first of our many attempts to make use of criminals in enterprise beyond the seas. Finally, Drake's pillaging and circumnavigating cruise of 1577-80 was equivalent to the tracing out by an Englishman of a South-West Passage; but the route was too long and exposed to outside interference to become a regular trade route. Besides these and many other voyages described in *Hakluyt* or forgotten, the founding of the slave-trade on the Guinea coast by John Hawkins, in 1562-64, deserves to be noticed.

§ 6. This development of commerce was encouraged by

the Tudor sovereigns in various ways. These were sometimes characterized by good intention rather than wisdom, *i.e.*, the attempted fixing of prices and wages by law or by the justices. Still, such mistakes were futile rather than harmful; and occasionally much good was done. Elizabeth, for instance, did an unmixed good by restoring the coinage to its old fineness of quality, though to do this she had to call it down a further twenty-five per cent., the testoon being now regarded as equivalent to four pence half-penny (cf. IV. § 7). She also patronized the *Royal Exchange*, built for the merchants' convenience (and his own profit) by Sir Thomas Gresham in 1571. And she took shares in many of her subjects' ventures.*

The Crown and Commerce.

But it was by the internal peace they secured that the Tudors made their best contribution to commercial progress. Their love of order displayed itself amongst other ways by a thorough overhauling of the executive. All departments were brought into direct touch with the crown; and this, so long as the crown was in capable hands, was a great good. The old machinery of local government was worn out. The *municipalities* were becoming close corporations filled by co-option: the crown now began to keep a hold over them, by appointing in most cases a high steward to supervise them. Hence came the 'rotten boroughs' of a later day (cf. VI. § 11). The *township* was reorganized as the parish, whose vestry-meeting† elected one of the churchwardens who administered the poor relief (§ 3), and looked to the repair of the highways; which last, by an Act of Philip and Mary, were to be mended during four days in the spring, by the obligatory labour of all parishioners. The *shire* was strengthened by the institution, in Edward VI.'s reign, of the lord-lieutenant, 'to levy and lead the militia against the enemies of the King;' by the enlargement of the powers of the justices, so as to investigate

The Tudor Governmental System.

* She kept a sharp eye on the balance-sheet. When Hawkins excused himself for an unprofitable voyage in 1590 with the words, 'Paul might plant and Apollos might water, but it was God only that gave the increase,' her retort was quick and pointed: 'This fool went out a soldier, and came home a divine.'

† When this came to be filled by co-option, it took the name of *select vestry*.

criminal cases in *petty sessions* as well as in quarter sessions (1542), to regulate wages, punish vagabonds, examine the distribution of poor relief, etc.; and by the imposition of a county rate for the repair of bridges (1530).

This improved organization is of a piece with the absorption of Wales and the palatine counties into the ordinary government of the country (III. § 15), and with the establishment of the *Council of the North* in 1537, and the retention of the *Council of Wales and the Marches* (established 1478), to keep order where the Privy Council could not reach. For it was the latter body that was the heart of the new system: it kept up the circulation of the government in an almost maddening manner. Its public business was distributed under six chief heads: (1) The English Pale in France; (2) the Scotch Border; (3) the Guarding of the Narrow Seas; (4) Commercial Relations; (5) Home Affairs; (6) Ireland. Besides this, its activity—what we should now call its interference—in private or semi-private matters was boundless. Let its latest historian illustrate this:

The Privy Council.

'Its habitual method of enforcing its authority was by exacting recognisances for good behaviour. . . . Disputes between private individuals, between members of corporations, between the City and University of Oxford, questions as to the legality of captures at sea, as to the ownership of property supposed to belong to the enemy (whether French or Scottish), application for privateering licenses, infractions of trade regulations, charges of rioting in the City, the liability of a gaoler for the escape of a prisoner, commercial disputes of all kinds, and even questions as to the interpretation of Scripture—all resulted in the binding in recognisances of those who appeared before the Council, with or without sureties, either to obey the decision of the Council, or be ready to appear again at a given date.' (J. R. Dasent, *Acts of the Privy Council*, Vol. I.)

CHAPTER IX.

Literature: from the Introduction of Printing to the Publication of the 'Shepherd's Calendar.'

§ 1. The Fifteenth Century—§ 2. The Printer and his Work—§ 3. The Men of the New Learning and the Reformation—§ 4. Early Poetry of the Renaissance—§ 5. Ascham and Lyly—§ 6. The Drama.

§ 1. SINCE England first began to have a literature, down to the present day, there has perhaps been no century more barren of work of literary merit than that which lies between Chaucer and Langland at the one extreme, and the spread of printing and the dawn of a revived interest in letters at the other. The civil wars have always been held largely responsible for this, and no doubt, as far as wide lack of culture is concerned, rightly so: but that no genius, even of a minor kind, appears during the whole of the fifteenth century is a fact which can only be accepted, and not in any way explained. Similarly, we cannot hope to fully understand why in the latter half of Queen Elizabeth's reign we have a whole company of men to each of whom we can, without exaggeration, give the name of genius, though we can trace during the period (1485-1580) with which this chapter has to deal certain influences and events which, if they were not necessary to produce the later Elizabethan literature, were at least instrumental in determining the form which it should take. 'Poetry, above all,' says Carlyle, 'we should have known long ago, is one of those mysterious things whose origin and developments can never be what we call explained; often it seems to us like the wind, blowing where it lists,

The Fifteenth Century.

coming and departing with little or no regard to any the most cunning theory that has yet been devised for it.' That that is so, and that it applies to all art alike, seems certain enough; but it may be well to remind the student that the shape and condition of the instrument, the way in which it is strung, and its mechanical efficiency, will have a good deal to do with the music it yields when swept by the wind. The mechanical condition of the instruments, if we may be permitted to continue the simile, was poor in the middle part of the fifteenth century, the result of inferior models, careless workmanship, feeble taste, ignorance, and the lack of demand for literary ware, so that even a great artist, had there been one then, might have been much hampered thereby: but towards the end of the next century the instruments were in a high state of perfection, the result of fine models, competent workmanship, improving taste, more knowledge, and a large demand for finished work, so that even performers of only moderate talent were able to produce very pretty music.

Let us try and see, in the works of certain representative men, the steps by which this better state of things was reached.

§ 2. It was when culture had sunk to a very low ebb in England that Caxton began to use his printing-press at Westminster (1477—see note, p. 21), after having learnt and exercised the craft in Bruges, where he had long dwelt. It was in Bruges that he produced his *Histories of Troy*, the first of many romances and tales of chivalry and adventure (such as the *Morte d'Arthur*, and *Godfrey of Boulogne*) with which he provided the English public. Other typical productions of the early press are the mediæval stories of the saints, such as *The Golden Legends*, didactic works like Lord Rivers' *Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers* (a translation), and the popular tale (translated from the Dutch) of *Reynard the Fox*. So far, it was largely a literature of translation and compilation, and is important as having stimulated a considerable amount of literary activity and as having been instrumental in helping to substitute

The Printer and his Work.

English for Latin as a prose medium; for the printing-press, appealing to a wider public than the scribe had done, looked at once for its chief support (as it has done ever since) to the semi-educated — to those who had little more learning than enabled them to read the vernacular. Another large class of publications which issued from Caxton's press, consisted of editions of the older poets, of Chaucer, of Gower, and of Lydgate, and of old chronicles; and these, too, stimulated literary composition. Lydgate especially was closely imitated, notably by Stephen Hawes, in Henry VII.'s reign, and by the projectors of the *Mirror for Magistrates*, in Mary's. The chronicles Caxton printed were enlarged and continued by Elizabethan compilers, and largely drawn on for material by Elizabethan playwrights and poets. But the days of mediæval poetry and prose were numbered, and it is curious that the man who first employed the means which have since been so powerful in the spread and development of modern literature should have been destined to use it merely for the last days of the old order.

The Men of the New Learning and the Reformation.

§ 3. This old order was slowly yielding place to the new, in the first two decades of the sixteenth century, helped to its end by the new models of style and the new subjects that the classical scholars were holding up to admiration. The impulse to the study of the classics came to England from Italy, which had re-discovered the treasures of antiquity and devoted itself to them, even to the detriment of her own original literature. Still more intense was the ardour of the Italians for ancient literature when the language and works of the Greeks began to become known to them. Learned Greeks in the fifteenth century, leaving their country, now being overrun by the Turks, sought refuge at the courts of Italian potentates, and found liberal patrons and assiduous students there. To a great extent, Italy became in her turn the teacher of the world again, and Englishmen were among her pupils. Notable among these latter are Grocyn, who, returning from Italy in 1491, began to teach Greek in Oxford; and

Linacre, a student of medicine, who translated Galen. The spread of the New Learning in Henry VII.'s reign may not have been very rapid, but the enthusiasm among those who pursued it was deep. Erasmus, who first visited England in 1497, speaks in terms of high admiration of Oxford, and declares that there such was the state of 'erudition, not of a vulgar and ordinary kind, but recondite, accurate, ancient, both Latin and Greek, that you would not seek anything in Italy but the pleasure of travelling.' No doubt, as Hallam points out, the praise is exaggerated (the letter is addressed to an Englishman), but the great scholar's liking for the ardour for study he found in the country is evident, and he himself was induced to come to teach at Cambridge in the year following the accession of Henry VIII., a young king of good education and cultivated tastes. Means of spreading culture were now quickly multiplying. 'Of grammar schools whose date is known, there are only eight before the foundation of Eton in 1441. The number of foundations, however, begins to be great even as early as the closing years of Henry VII.'s reign. . . . In Henry VIII.'s reign (thirty-eight years) the number of schools founded is 49; in the six years of Edward VI. the number is 44.'* Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, founded his famous school there in the first year of Henry VIII.'s reign, setting at its head Lilly, who had learned his Greek at Rhodes. Wolsey founded a school and college (on the model of Eton) at Ipswich, besides establishing chairs for Greek and Rhetoric, and endowing a college (now Christ Church). Similarly Fox, Bishop of Winchester, had previously (1517) founded Corpus Christi College at Oxford, attached to which was a Greek lecturer. The King endowed Trinity College at Cambridge, and paid Richard Wakefield, a Greek scholar, to lecture in that university. These are some typical examples of the shape that the zeal for the New Learning took among the noble and the wealthy, but the best proofs of its influence are to be found in the books of the age.

* 'Cyclopædia of Education.'

The immense stimulus given to the intellectual activity of England by the revival of the study of the classics and by renewed contact with Italy, as well as by the knowledge spread abroad of the discoveries of new worlds, was aided rather than hindered by the keen struggles of the Reformation. This latter with its ally, the printing-press, further popularized the use of English as the prose-medium for Englishmen, and the experiments made during the first half of the sixteenth century did much to help in the future development of English prose. The scholar, it is true, would write his book for the European cultured public in Latin (*e.g.* More's *Utopia*); but he would not disdain to use English, if he wished to address a large English audience, as we see in the mass of the Reformation literature (as exemplified, for instance, in More and Tyndale's controversy); before the close of Henry VIII.'s reign we find a scholar like Ascham bold enough to write his *Toxophilus* in English (though it is true he apologizes for so doing), and what is far more important, we have the Scriptures completely translated by scholars who could write grand English, whose work has survived as the basis of the 'authorized version:' the value of their labours from a merely literary point of view it would be difficult to over-estimate.

§ 4. The New Learning and the Reformation seem to form a sort of barrier in England, between mediæval and modern literature; the writings of Wyatt and Surrey (written in the latter part of Henry VIII.'s reign, but not published till the year before Elizabeth's accession), stand clearly at the head of the new poetry. The form especially of these is more remarkable than the matter: to Italy they went for their models, and they implanted on English soil the sonnet and the blank verse line, besides some more exotic metres which have not become naturalized. The delicacy of versification, the correctness of metre, which had distinguished Chaucer, had been totally unknown in England since his time, till this 'New Company of Courtly Makers,' as Puttenham in his 'Art of Poesy'

Early Poetry of the Renaissance.

called them, learned it again from the same land, where Chaucer himself had learned something. The writers in the earlier half of Elizabeth's reign went on with the lessons that the Italians were teaching, and rendered good service to the technical perfecting of versification. One poet, however, who belongs to the old rather than to the new school, appears in the first years of Elizabeth's reign, and is, indeed, the only poet of real genius we have between Chaucer and Spenser. He is Sackville, the writer of the *Complaint of Buckingham*, and the 'Induction' to it in the *Mirror for Magistrates:* his work however, splendid as it is, is of less importance, perhaps, in the history of the development of form than many of the experiments produced by minor writers, who, dissatisfied with the old and well-read in the new, were trying their hands at imitation, translation, etc.* A collection of fine poems of this experimental, imitative character is the *Shepherd's Calendar*, Spenser's first considerable work.

§ 5. No attempt has been made in this chapter to give any detailed account of the various works written during the period: such writers or books as are here referred to are mentioned only as illustrating the tendencies of, or the influences bearing on, the literature of the day. Of the earlier prose-writers, and of Ascham's *Toxophilus* some mention has already been made: Ascham is the representative of the younger men of the New Learning, but he is no favourer (as he shows in *The Schoolmaster*) of the practice now become prevalent of the young men of means travelling into Italy, and (according to him) getting corrupted there. Lyly takes up the same text in his *Euphues*, a 'novel'; the style in which it is written—its excessive antithesis, its fondness for parallels and similes, its alliteration, etc. —has received the name of 'Euphuistic,' as if Lyly invented it; but as a matter of fact it was the fashionable

Ascham and Lyly.

* Reasons similar to those which have made us say little of Sackville here have also been the cause of our entirely omitting Skelton and the Scotch poets. The former, a man of original power, seems of little importance in connection with the development of English literature; the latter of still less.

style of prose of the day, owing its origin apparently chiefly to translations from Spanish and Italian.

The Drama.

§ 6. A few remarks on the drama may fitly close this chapter. It is here that the influence of Italian and Latin is particularly strong: the 'morality' and the 'interlude,' flourishing under Henry VIII., are vanishing before the close of the period, while the 'miracle' and 'mystery' play become practically obsolete, or, rather, all of these are blending with new kinds of productions to give us the English drama. 'Regular' comedies, written by scholars in English, but on a classic model, and similarly 'regular' tragedies, appear: to the former class belongs Udall's *Ralph Roister Doister*, modelled upon Plautus and Terence (produced apparently in Mary's reign); to the latter Sackville and Norton's *Gorboduc* (1561), modelled upon Seneca, and notable as the first play written in English blank verse. Moreover, not only were Seneca's plays being imitated and rapidly translated into English, but the Italian comedies were beginning to be adapted and put on the English stage, both of which things are of great importance in connection with the subsequent history of the drama.

APPENDIX.

Some Leading Biographies.

Albany, John Stuart, fourth Duke of. The son of Alexander, Duke of Albany, who had taken shelter with Louis XI. from his brother James III. He was Admiral of France and a French subject, and was thus a fit agent for Francis I.'s intrigues in Scotland, after James IV.'s death at Flodden. He displaced the regent Margaret in 1515, secured the persons of the infant James V. and of Angus, the Queen Dowager's new husband, who was a member of the rival family of Douglas. They were restored in 1516, and Angus held the regency (not undisputed) till 1522, when Albany returned. Though he had 80,000 troops and 45 pieces of ordnance, he was checked by the unarmed bluster of Lord Dacre, Warden of the Western Marches. In the following year he again landed from France with ample supplies of men, ammunition and money; and the Scotch rallied round him rather than submit to the English designs of Margaret: yet he failed to take Wark Castle, and retired before Surrey 'with shame and fear.' Having thus proved himself, as Wolsey observed, 'a coward and a fool,' he finally quitted Scotland in 1524, and so far as France was concerned, that land had rest for eighteen years.

Angus, Archibald Douglas, sixth Earl of (1489-1557). Married Margaret, the Queen Dowager, within four months of the birth of her posthumous son (August, 1514), but did not help her very much in her struggle to maintain the English influence. He submitted to the return of Albany, and his election as regent, July, 1515. He went to England with his wife in 1516, but soon returned, only to quarrel with Arran. Margaret, on her return in 1519, sided against her husband, whom she nicknamed her *Anguish*, and wished to divorce. After she had obtained possession of her son in 1524, Angus returned and was supported by Henry VIII., who was annoyed by the infidelities of his sister, and by 1526 was completely successful. Against his will he was in 1528 divorced from Margaret, who at once married her lover, Henry Stuart, later created Lord Methven. Angus was not long afterwards expelled the country by the King, and lived in England from 1529 till 1542, under the protection of Henry VIII. On the death of James V. he returned, but exercised little influence.

Audley, Thomas, Lord (1488-1544). An Essex gentleman and member of the Inner Temple, brought under Henry VIII.'s notice by Suffolk. He sat in the Parliament of 1523, and was made speaker of

the Commons in the next Parliament (the Long Parliament, 1529). He actively promoted the Bills by which the severance from Rome was brought about, until January, 1533, when he was succeeded as speaker by Humphrey Wingfield. In the preceding year he had taken over the Great Seal from Sir Thomas More—whom he had previously succeeded in 1529 as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster: early in 1535 he exchanged the title lord keeper for lord chancellor. He was created Baron Audley of Walden in 1538, and died in 1544. 'Never was so much criminal jurisdiction committed to a lord chancellor,' says Gairdner; and this is a sure sign of his subservience to the King's will. He also managed, says Fuller, to 'carve for himself the first cut in the feast of abbey lands, and that a dainty morsel.'

Beaton (*or* **Bethune**), **David, Cardinal Archbishop of St. Andrews** (1494-1546). He was made a cardinal in 1537, and two years later succeeded his uncle as Archbishop of St. Andrews, and thus Primate of Scotland. Like his uncle, he was the head of the French party, and had a leading share in James V.'s two French marriages. On the King's death, in 1542, he produced a will naming himself, Huntley, Argyle, and Arran, joint regents. The will was declared a forgery, and Arran became governor. Arran entered into a marriage treaty with England, July, 1543; but two months later Beaton got the upper hand, and the Estates repudiated the treaty. This led to Hertford's invasion of 1544. Beaton was also, again like his uncle, a persecutor of the new faith: his burning of George Wishart in March, 1546, was avenged by his murder at the hands of Norman Leslie and Kirkaldy of Grange on the following May 29.

Beaufort, Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby (1441-1509). Daughter and heiress of John, first Duke of Somerset. Suffolk tried to obtain her hand for his son John; but Henry VI. married her in 1455 to his half-brother, Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, who, however, died next year, leaving her the mother of an infant son, afterwards Henry VII. In 1459 she married Sir Henry Stafford, son of the Duke of Buckingham, and on his death, in 1481, Lord Stanley, afterwards Earl of Derby. Though her son was nearest to the throne among the Lancastrians, she was treated with respect by the Yorkists. She took an active part in planning her son's invasion, and especially his alliance with the Wydvilles. Soon after Henry VII.'s accession she separated from her husband and took monastic vows, mainly under the influence of Fisher (*q.v.*). She was a patron of Caxton and Erasmus; she founded the 'Lady Margaret' divinity professorships at Oxford and Cambridge, in 1502; and got permission to refound a corrupt monastery as St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1508. 'It would fill a volume,' notes Stow, 'to recount her good deeds.'

Bedford, John Russell, first Earl of (d. 1555). A gentleman of Dorsetshire, who, as a member of Henry VIII.'s court, obtained large grants of the sequestered Church-lands. He took part with Suffolk in repressing the Lincolnshire rising of 1536, and in 1539 was made a peer. He was one of the executors under Henry VIII.'s will, and in 1549 crushed the religious insurrection in the West. Made Earl of Bedford in 1550, he attached himself to Warwick, and aided in

bringing about Somerset's fall. In 1551 he was appointed lord privy seal, and continued in office under Mary, conforming to the Catholic religion.

Bonner, Edmund, Bishop of London (1500-1569). After being a fellow-servant of Cromwell's under Wolsey, he was sent to Rome in 1532, to protest against the summons of the King to Rome. He displayed much zeal for the Divorce, and in 1533 was appointed to make an appeal at Marseilles from the Pope to a General Council. In 1538, after performing several missions for the King, he was chosen Bishop of Hereford, but was next year translated to London. He was a member of the Moderates under Henry VIII.; but, disgusted by the excesses of the reforming party under Edward VI.—against which he early protested, and was consequently deprived and imprisoned in 1549—he threw himself heart and soul into Mary's plans for reconciliation with Rome. He was one of the first to restore the Mass, and won much hate through his zeal in persecution. On Elizabeth's accession he was deprived and committed to the Marshalsea, where he spent the rest of his days.

Burghley, William Cecil, Lord (1520-1598). His early career was highly characteristic of 'an age in which it was present drowning not to swim with the stream' (Fuller). He was in turn friend to Somerset, to Northumberland—whose 'device for the succession' he signed, but only as a witness—to Cardinal Pole, and to Elizabeth. He became secretary of state to this last immediately on her accession, and for forty years was 'the oracle whom she consulted on every emergency, and whose answers she generally obeyed.' On him she showered estates and honours: he had three hundred landed estates when he died; he was made a peer in 1571; and he alone had the privilege of sitting in the Queen's presence. He bitterly opposed her proposed marriage with Leicester (*q.v.*), and encouraged the Queen's thrifty habits even to parsimony. In foreign policy he early began to advocate the adoption of an attitude of open hostility with Spain: at home, though an *Adiaphorist* himself—that is, he did not set much stock by doctrinal differences—he persecuted the Catholics. He is not usually credited with greatness, but he was an adroit and industrious statesman. 'He had,' says Macaulay, 'a cool temper, a sound judgment, great powers of application, and a constant eye to the main chance.'

Cranmer, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury (1484-1556). He was educated at Cambridge, where he became a Fellow of Jesus College. In 1528 he met Gardiner and Fox, commissioners engaged in the Divorce, and suggested that the spiritual courts in England were quite competent to declare such a marriage void, as contrary to the law of God. He wrote a thesis in support of this position and was sent to negotiate with both Pope and Emperor. While in Germany he contracted an uncanonical marriage with the niece of Osiander, a prominent Protestant. None the less, he was designated successor to Warham, in 1532, and, immediately after his consecration, declared the marriage with Katharine null and void (May 23, 1533), and crowned Anne Boleyn Queen (June). He was required to dissolve the latter marriage in May, 1536, and to divorce Henry from Anne

of Kleves in 1540. He also gave the King the information which ultimately brought Katharine Howard to the block (1541-1542). He took little part in politics, being absorbed in theological studies which resulted in his *Bible* (1539), in his English version of the old *Uses* (the *King's Primer*, 1546), and in a revision of the Canon Law. Still, he was as distinctly head of the party of the 'New Learning' (note, p. 59) as Gardiner of the 'Old Learning'; and twice the latter, when in the ascendant, tried to ruin him. Henry, however, stood by him, and named him one of the executors of his will. Under Edward VI., though he largely influenced the religious changes, he only took part in two political actions of importance: (1) he placed the coronation oath after the expression of popular assent, thus implying that the latter was unnecessary; and (2) he gave a reluctant adhesion to Northumberland's scheme for diverting the succession from Mary. For this he was condemned of high treason (1553), and in 1555 he was convicted of heresy. After failing to save his life by recantation, he was burnt at the stake in Oxford (March 21, 1556).

Drake, Sir Francis (1545-1596). Early took to the sea under his relative, Sir John Hawkins (*q.v.*), and after several minor expeditions (1570, 1572, etc.) whereby Spain suffered, undertook one in which he plundered the towns on the west coast of South America, and circumnavigated the globe (1577-1580). For this exploit he was knighted. In 1585 he captured Cartagena and other towns in the Spanish Main. Two years later he 'singed the King of Spain's beard' by burning 10,000 tons of shipping in Cadiz harbour, and returned home to take a leading part as vice-admiral in the defeat of the Armada (July, 1588). Next year he burnt Corunna. In 1595 he again sailed to the West Indies with Hawkins, and died off Porto Bello early in 1596.

Dudley, Sir Edmund (1462-1510). Son of a Sussex gentleman, and member of Gray's Inn, he accompanied Henry VII. to France in 1492, and is said to have been made a privy councillor at the early age of three-and-twenty. He was speaker in 1504, but his main business was by means of legal finesse to drain the purses of the nobility. Bacon says of him and his colleague Empson, that they were accounted the King s 'horse-leeches and shearers, bold men and careless of fame, and that took toll of their master's grist.' On Henry VIII.'s accession they were arrested on the charge of conspiring against the new King's life, and were both attainted and executed in August, 1510.

Essex, Thomas Cromwell (or **Crumwell**), **Earl of** (1490-1540). Little is known of his youth: he seems to have been the son of a blacksmith at Putney, and to have been a soldier in Italy, a Venetian trader, a clerk at Antwerp, and a wool-merchant at Middlesborough, before entering Wolsey's service, about 1527. It was, however, in Italy that his character was formed; and *Inglese italianato diavolo incarnato* was a proverb of his time not inapplicable to him. On Wolsey's fall in 1529 he managed, while standing alone in fidelity to his master, to make friends of many nobles, and to please the King by urging him to solve the Divorce-question by the use of his dormant supremacy. He became a knight and privy councillor in 1531, and chief secretary and master of the rolls three years later; and when at last Henry followed

his advice, Cromwell was appointed as vicar-general, to exercise the ecclesiastical powers attributed to the crown in the *Act of Supremacy* (1535). As such he ranked before his friend the Primate Cranmer. His first work was a general visitation of the monasteries: this resulted in the suppression of the smaller ones in 1536, and the enforced surrender of the larger ones during the three following years. In this business he was experienced, having done the same thing for Wolsey when founding Cardinal College. By means of numerous spies he was able to find out and punish any of the clergy who spoke against the religious innovations. Though untrammelled by any religious feeling, he supported the advanced party, and even forced the marriage with Anne of Kleves on Henry, in order to form a link with the Lutheran princes of North Germany against Charles V. (1540). He was created Earl of Essex for this, but his policy was both distasteful to the King and unsuccessful. He was quite alone—the gentry hating him as an upstart, and the clergy as a meddling layman—when he was accused of malversation, heresy and treason. He was condemned unheard by Bill of Attainder, and executed July 28, 1540.

Essex, Walter Devereux, Earl of (1540-1576). He became Earl of Essex in 1572. The title had already changed hands twice during the period; the last of the Bourchiers died in 1539; Cromwell enjoyed the honours for a few months next year; they then passed to William Parr, brother of Henry VIII.'s sixth Queen, who was attainted in 1553; it became extinct in the Devereux family in 1646, and passed to the Capels in 1661. He aided in the repression of the northern revolt of 1569, and soon afterwards went to Ireland (VII. § 9). 'He sacrificed his fortune in vain in that quagmire of anarchy' (Hall), and died there in 1576 as Earl Marshal of Ireland. He is supposed to have been murdered by his wife, Lettice Knollys, who then became Leicester's third wife.

Fisher, John (1459-1535). He was one of the chief supporters of the New Learning at Cambridge, both in Greek and in theology. Was created Bishop of Rochester in 1504, and was especially recommended as an adviser to Henry VIII. by his grandmother, the Lady Margaret (*q.v.*), whose benefactions he to a large extent directed. He came into conflict with Henry's ecclesiastical aims so early as 1529; he had even before that taken up his stand against the Divorce; and he was thought to be concerned in the Nun of Kent's treason. He was imprisoned for refusing the oath of the succession in 1534, and was beheaded on June 22 in the following year, for denying the supremacy. He had shortly before been made cardinal, and in 1886 he was beatified by Leo XIII.

Gardiner, Stephen (1483-1555). After a distinguished career at Cambridge, became chancellor of the university in 1540. Before then he had won great favour with Henry VIII. for his services in promoting the Divorce. He and Fox, Bishop of Winchester, were sent to see the Pope at Orvieto in 1528; he persuaded his university to declare against the legality of marriage with a deceased brother's wife in 1531; and he wrote a book, *De Vera Obedientia*, upholding the supremacy. For this he was rewarded with the See of Winchester, of which he was

deprived in 1551. He was restored on Mary's accession, and became lord chancellor, and chief adviser to the Queen. He quite forsook the moderate position he had taken up during Henry VIII.'s reign, recanted his anti-papal views, and joined in the Marian persecution. He died, shortly before his great rival, Cranmer, in October, 1555.

Hawkins, Sir John (1520-1595). Adventurer and merchant-mariner during Elizabeth's reign. Established the slave-trade by purchasing a cargo of slaves in Guinea (1562) and selling them in Hispaniola (1564). Appointed treasurer of the navy, 1573; and later commanded the south-west fleet against the Armada; was knighted for his services. He died in a subsequent expedition with Drake to the West Indies.

Howard Family. The most prominent members of this family during the Tudor period were :—(1) John, the first duke, d. 1485; his mother was the heiress of the Mowbrays, the previous holders of the title; (2) his son *Thomas, second duke*, d. 1524; (3) his son *Thomas, third duke*, d. 1554; also four other children—(*a*) Sir Edward (II. § 3); (*b*) Edmund, father to Katharine, Henry VIII.'s fifth wife; (*c*) William, Lord Howard of Effingham, whose son Charles defeated the Armada in 1588; (*d*) Elizabeth, who married Thomas Boleyn, and was the mother of Mary and Anne Boleyn (II. § 10); (4) *Henry, Earl of Surrey*, son to the third duke, d. 1547; (5) his son *Thomas, fourth duke*, d. 1572. (The italicized names are treated separately.)

Latimer, Hugh (1470-1555). Son of a Leicestershire yeoman, educated at Clare Hall, Cambridge. Brought forward by Cromwell, he became chaplain to Henry VIII., and finally Bishop of Worcester (1535). Refusing to accept the *Six Articles* he was deprived (1541), and imprisoned until the accession of Edward VI., during whose reign, though occupying no official position, he worked hard for the Reformation. Imprisoned at Mary's accession, and burnt with Ridley at Oxford, October 16, 1555. A popular and eloquent preacher, he maintained throughout his career a vigorous and fearless warfare against ecclesiastical and social abuses; on the latter especially his sermons throw much light (VIII. § 2).

Leicester, Robert Dudley, Earl of (1532-1588). The fifth son of Northumberland, he early became a favourite at the court of Elizabeth, who long seemed likely to marry him. Her partiality was prevented from going such lengths by Cecil's cogent arguments against the marriage:

1. Nothing is increased by marriage of him, either in riches, estimation, or power. 2. It will be thought that the slanderous speeches of the Queen with the earl have been true. 3. He shall study nothing but to enhance his own particular friends to wealth, to offices, to lands, and to offend others. 4. He is infamed by the death of his wife. 5. He is far in debt. 6. He is like to be unkind and jealous of the Queen's majesty.

Though she did not marry him, Elizabeth bestowed many marks of favour on him besides the endearing epithet of *Sweet Robin*. In 1562, when she thought she was dying, she appointed him protector; in 1563 she proposed him as husband to Mary, Queen of Scots; in 1564 she made him Earl of Leicester; in 1585-1586 she placed him over an expedition to the Netherlands, which he bungled sadly; and was

about to make him Lieutenant-General of England and Ireland, in face of the Armada, when he fortunately died. He hated Cecil, and all who supported any marriage proposal for the Queen. In 1560 he is supposed to have had his wife Anne (or Amy) Robsart put out of the way at Cumnor, in order to be free to marry the Queen. In 1578 he married the Countess of Essex, who is said to have poisoned one husband to secure the other. After 1567 he posed as the champion of Puritanism.

Lethington, William Maitland of (d. 1573). 'An able and inscrutable politician,' who began his career as a friend of Mary, to whom he acted as secretary of state. He was one of the Lords of the Congregation, opposed the Darnley marriage, helped to defeat and expel the Queen (1567-1568), and then put himself at the head of the party which sought her restoration. He said he 'would make the Queen of England sit upon her tail and whine like a whipped dog,' and died of grief when his hopes were blasted by the capture of Edinburgh Castle in May, 1573.

More, Sir Thomas (1478-1535). Son of Sir John More, justice of the King's Bench: spent his childhood in the household of Cardinal Morton, who predicted that the boy would turn out a marvellous man. At Oxford, 1497, he made the acquaintance of Erasmus. Joined Lincoln's Inn in 1499, and acted as Under-Sheriff of London, 1510. He is said to have begun his political career in opposing Henry VII.'s demand for an *aid* in 1504 (?), but was employed in several missions for Henry VIII. in 1514-1516. As speaker of the Commons in 1523, he resisted Wolsey's attempt to coerce the House into granting the large sum of £800,000. He succeeded Wolsey as lord chancellor in November, 1529, and as such opened the Seven Years' Reformation Parliament. Though an earnest champion of reform, he was opposed to schism, and soon after the *Submission of the Clergy* gave up the seals in May, 1532. He was accused of complicity in Elizabeth Barton's 'treason,' but, on the prayer of Cranmer, etc., was pardoned (1534). A few months later he was committed to the Tower for refusing to swear to the preamble of the *Act of Succession*, and on July 6, 1535, was executed for declining to accept 'the whole effects and contents' of the *Act of Supremacy*. By a decree of Leo XIII. he was in 1886 declared a *Martyr*. He was one of the foremost scholars of the New Learning, and anticipated many modern improvements in the treatment of labour, education, sanitation, religious toleration, etc., in his political and social romance, *Utopia*.

Morton, John, Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury (1410-1500). Educated for the law at Balliol College, Oxford, he was a devoted adherent of Queen Margaret till the battle of Tewkesbury, 1471. On submitting to the victor, he was made master of the rolls (1472), and Bishop of Ely (1479). He attended the death-bed of Edward IV., but was suspected by Richard III. He joined in Buckingham's rising of October, 1483, but escaped from Brecon to Flanders, where he acted in Henry Tudor's interests. On Henry's accession his attainder was reversed, and he became a member of the Privy Council. Later he was raised to the primacy (1486), and the woolsack (1487). In 1493 he was made a cardinal. As Henry's leading minister he retained

the Lancastrian practice of ruling through Parliament, but 'was not,' remarks Bishop Stubbs, 'in his financial administration faithful to the constitutional principle.' For his use of benevolences see I. § 11. Bacon considered that 'he deserveth a most happy memory in that he was the principal means of joining the two Roses.'

Morton, James Douglas, fourth Earl of (1530-1581). A nephew of Angus (*q.v.*), he became a privy councillor on Mary's return to Scotland in 1561, and supported her loyally till he suspected she had designs on his lands. He then joined Maitland in promoting the bond which led to Rizzio's murder (1566), commanded the 150 men who seized Holyrood to cover the deed, and gave refuge to the conspirators while they were negotiating a bond of security. Driven across the border by the 2,000 troops Bothwell and Huntley had raised for Mary, he returned next year and took an active part in the proceedings against the Queen. Though he had been a party to the bond for promoting the Bothwell marriage, he was one of the earliest to join the secret council against the royal couple; and it was he who produced the famous *Casket Letters* (1567). He was rewarded by being restored to his offices of lord high chancellor and lord high admiral; and after the death of Mar in October, 1572, he was appointed regent, on the very day of his friend John Knox's death, November 24, 1572. Owing to the animosity of Athole and Argyle, he lost the favour of the young King, and retired to Lochleven. He came back to public life only to be accused of a share in Darnley's murder, to be condemned by sixteen peers, and to be executed (June 2, 1581). As regent he relied chiefly on the towns, and sought by adopting a moderate Protestantism, and enforcing peace on the borders, etc., to further the future union of Scotland and England. He seems to have spoken truth when he said: 'The King sal luse a gude servand this day!'

Murray (or **Moray**), **James Stuart, second Earl of** (1533-1570). An illegitimate son of James V. by Margaret Erskine, he was made Prior of St. Andrews when but five years old. He showed, however, no inclination for monasticism, and was among the earliest to join in the reforming movement in 1559. At the head of the National party, he urged his half-sister Mary's return home from France in 1561, and, as her chief adviser, induced her to acquiesce in the late religious changes in Scotland (VI. §§ 4, 5). In 1562 he was created Earl of Mar, but on the title being claimed by Lord Erskine gave it up, with the property attached to it, and was compensated with the Earldom of Murray. He was outlawed in 1565 for defending John Knox, accused of high treason, and for opposing the Darnley marriage, but was allowed to return after the death of Rizzio, March, 1566. He withdrew to France during the ensuing troubles, but was recalled after Mary's abdication, in July, 1567, to act as regent to the infant King James VI. He filled his difficult position with rare honesty, moderation, tact and courage, and was able to put down both Mary's attempt to oust him in 1568 (*Langside*, May 13), and that of the Duke of Chatelherault shortly afterwards. He was shot down while riding through Linlithgow by James Hamilton, of Bothwellhaugh, January 23, 1570.

Norfolk, Thomas Howard, second Duke of (d. 1524). Fought

against Henry VII. at Bosworth, where his father was killed. After suffering imprisonment he gave in his allegiance to Henry. As Earl of Surrey was appointed commander in the North, and acted against James IV., whom in the next reign he defeated at Flodden, 1513. In 1514 he received back the dukedom, and became lord marshal. Engaged in the fruitless operations against France (1522), and checked the invasion of Albany in 1523, thus securing peace with Scotland for eighteen years.

Norfolk, Thomas Howard, third Duke of (1473-1554). On his father's death, in 1524, became prominent as leader of the nobility in the Council, and chief opponent of Wolsey, whom on his fall, in 1529, he succeeded as chief adviser to the King. Was commissioner with Shrewsbury, to negotiate with the leaders of the Pilgrimage of Grace, 1537, and instrumental in passing the Six Articles, 1539—a triumph of his policy. Commanded English army in Scotland in 1542. The reform party in 1546 acquired sufficient influence to secure his arrest and condemnation for treason. Only the King's death saved him, and he remained a prisoner throughout the next reign. On Mary's accession he was released, and took an active part in the condemnation of Northumberland and the suppression of the Kentish rising.

Norfolk, Thomas, fourth Duke of (1536-1572). Commanded the army in the North during Elizabeth's earlier years, and in 1568 was president of the commission of inquiry at York into charges against Mary, Queen of Scots. Concerned in a plot in Mary's favour—he was to marry her—he was arrested in 1569, but next year released. Again conspiring against Elizabeth, he renewed his engagements with Mary, intrigued with Spain, and—publicly professing the old faith—allied himself with the Catholics of the North. He was arrested in September, 1571, condemned of high treason, and executed in June of the following year.

Northumberland, John Dudley, Duke of (1502-1553). Son of Henry VIII.'s extortioner, executed in 1510. Like Somerset—whose daughter his eldest son married in 1547—he was knighted in 1523. In 1542 was raised to the peerage as Viscount Lisle, and made lord high admiral. In that capacity he conveyed Somerset's troops to Scotland, and during the next two years was occupied in defending the south coast against a French fleet of superior numbers. He took a leading part in the battle of *Pinkie*, 1547, and was again on his way to Scotland in 1549 when he turned aside to crush Ket's insurrection at *Dussindale* (August 27). Two months later he assisted the Council in expelling Somerset from power, and became president of the Council. He took up the late Protector's forward policy in religion, but lacked his sincerity. He was hardly more successful, and much less popular, than his predecessor, whom, early in 1552, he brought to the block for conspiring against himself. He had been created Earl of Warwick in 1547 : he now (October, 1551) became Duke of Northumberland. He foresaw that with the accession of Mary his day would be over, so worked on Edward's Protestant feelings to set aside her and her sister Elizabeth, and make Lady Jane Grey his successor. This was effected in June, 1553, before which time the selected heiress had been forced

to marry his son, Lord Guildford Dudley. On Edward's death, July 6, 1553, Queen Jane was proclaimed, but Northumberland found the country against him, and surrendered at Cambridge to Mary. He was found guilty of treason, and on August 22 was beheaded on Tower Hill, a professed Catholic.

Paget, William, Lord (1506-1563). Of humble origin; became one of the secretaries of state 1543, and negotiated the French peace of 1546. Was an executor of Henry VIII.'s will, and during Edward VI.'s reign a consistent and faithful supporter of Somerset, by whom he was entrusted with a diplomatic mission in 1549, and raised to the peerage. On Somerset's fall he was imprisoned, but released in 1551, and, as lord keeper under Mary, urged moderation in ecclesiastical matters and alliance with Spain, but inclined towards the French alliance after Elizabeth's accession.

Parker, Matthew, Archbishop of Canterbury (1504-1575). Chaplain to Henry VIII., became in 1552 Dean of Lincoln, and, having escaped the Marian persecution, was elevated by Elizabeth to the primacy in 1559. Revised the *Thirty-Nine Articles* (1562), took part in the translation of the *Bishops' Bible* (1563-1568), issued the *Advertisements* (1565), and generally aimed at organising a system of Church government, strictly enforcing uniformity, and opposed to both Catholicism and Puritanism. His theology was Calvinistic, and—married himself—he ran counter to the Queen's prejudice in favour of a celibate clergy.

Pole, Reginald, Cardinal and Archbishop (1500-1558). The son of Sir Richard Pole, by Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, daughter to George, Duke of Clarence. He was educated under Henry VIII.'s direction at Magdalen College, Oxon, for the Church, and spent five years at Padua. He was offered the See of York in 1531, but would not give in the adhesion to the Divorce required in return. 'I love him in spite of his obstinacy,' said Henry; 'and were he of my opinion in this matter, I would love him better than any man in my kingdom.' He was allowed to retire to Italy, where he and Contarini were the leading advocates of an attempt to meet the Lutherans half-way, especially in the matter of justification by faith. In the last days of 1535 he was created cardinal by Paul III., and sent next year as legate to Cambray to aid the northern Catholics. This mission, and a second mission early in 1539 to urge on Charles V. and Francis I. the enforcement of the Bull of deposition against Henry, only resulted in the death of his mother and brother and many others (III. § 13). His political importance, so far as England was concerned, ceased with this: the only other thing to be noted in his relations with Henry VIII. is his treatise *Pro Ecclesiasticæ Unitatis Defensione*—posthumously published. He was one of the leaders of the party which sought to win back the Lutherans by accepting their tenet of justification by faith, etc., and on three occasions missed the tiara by small majorities. On Mary's accession his attainder was reversed—he had been included in the Bill against his mother—and in November, 1556, he entered London as legate, and in that capacity formally reconciled England with Rome. He succeeded Cranmer as Archbishop of Canterbury in April, 1556. His moderation

brought him into disgrace with Pope Paul IV., who suspended his legatine authority, but Mary stood by him. He died on the day after Mary, November 17, 1559.

Rich, Richard, Lord (d. 1560). As solicitor-general in 1535, secured the condemnation of Sir Thomas More ; and rewarded with the speakership in 1537, was henceforth a willing and able instrument of the royal will. In 1547 named one of the Council, and became lord chancellor. Was concerned in Lord Seymour's fall, and afterwards deserted Somerset and became active in the cause of the opposition.

Ridley, Nicholas (1500-1555). Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and royal chaplain during Henry VIII.'s reign ; he was made Bishop of Rochester in 1547, and in 1550 translated to London, dispossessing Bonner. One of the authors of Edward VI.'s *First Prayer-Book*, he was zealous in clearing his diocese of the forms of Catholic worship, and in his anxiety for Protestantism supported Northumberland's scheme for the disposition of the crown in 1553. On Mary's accession he was deprived and imprisoned, and in 1555 condemned of heresy by a legatine commission and burnt with Latimer at Oxford (October 16).

Somerset, Edward Seymour, Duke of (d. 1552). A Wiltshire gentleman who was knighted for his services in France under Suffolk in 1523. He rose to importance, with the title of Viscount Beauchamp, when Henry VIII. married his sister Jane in 1536. Four years later he was made Earl of Hertford. In 1544 he conducted an expedition to the Forth, which burnt Leith, but failed to take Edinburgh Castle, and which he transported later in the year to join Henry before Boulogne. He sided with the reforming party, and thus the fall of the Howards in 1546-47 was in his favour. Named one of the sixteen executors of Henry's will, he got himself named Protector, and acquired much influence over his royal nephew. He jealously pressed on religious and social reforms, but the only practical outcome was the risings of 1549 in the West and in Norfolk. These he did not meet vigorously, and that, combined with the barrenness of his victory at Pinkie Cleugh (September 10, 1547) and the ill success of his foreign policy, enabled his rival Warwick to supplant him. The Council sent him to the Tower (October, 1549), but he was released in February, 1550. An attempt to regain his influence led to his arrest in October next year for treason and felony. Being found guilty on the latter count, he was, to the regret of the populace, executed January 22, 1552.

Surrey, Henry Howard, Earl of (1516-1547). Son of the third Duke of Norfolk. Engaged in French and Scotch wars, superseded in 1546 owing to a defeat as Governor of Boulogne, and in 1547 fell a victim to the ascendancy of the reforming party in the Council, being accused of treason, condemned and executed. For his position as a writer, see *U. C. C. Hist. Lit.*, 1485-1580, ch. ii.

Sussex, Thomas Radcliffe, third Earl of (d. 1583). A rough soldier and a favourite cousin to Elizabeth. He was Lord-Deputy of Ireland from 1560-1567. He restored the ecclesiastical *régime* of Edward VI.'s reign, but later quarrelled with Sidney and was recalled. He was then sent to Vienna to negotiate the Queen's marriage with the Archduke

(VI. § 10), and on his return was made President of the North. Though in favour of the suggested union of Norfolk and Mary, he loyally put down the revolt of the northern earls in 1569, and a few years later invaded Scotland thrice in order to compel their extradition.

Tunstall, Cuthbert (1474-1559). Bishop of London (1522) and Durham (1524); was one of the executors of Henry VIII.'s will, but was at once expelled from the Council by the reforming party, and afterwards imprisoned, ostensibly for complicity with Somerset. Released under Mary, he was, with Bonner, Gardiner, and Day, a commissioner for purifying the episcopal bench; but on Elizabeth's accession refused the oath of supremacy, and was deprived of his see. He has been described as 'a spirit without a spot.'

Walsingham, Sir Francis (1536-1590). Was ambassador to France during the earlier years of Elizabeth's reign, and in 1573 became privy councillor and a principal secretary of state. Was chiefly engaged in the suppression of plots against the Queen—secured the condemnation of Mary of Scotland—and in negotiations with foreign Powers. In his anxiety about the succession, he urged the marriage with Anjou in 1567-72; pressed on severe measures against that 'dangerous woman,' Mary, whom he is said to have bidden Sir Amyas Paulet to murder; and befriended the Puritans. Hallam refers approvingly to a tract of his on Elizabeth's religious attitude (*Const. Hist.*, v., last page). He married his daughter Frances successively to Sir Philip Sidney and the second Earl of Essex.

Warham, William, Archbishop of Canterbury (1456-1532). A supporter of the New Learning and patron of Erasmus. Became keeper of the great seal in 1502, and lord chancellor the following year. Was also successively Bishop of London and Archbishop of Canterbury. Resigned the chancellorship to Wolsey in 1515, opposed Wolsey's administration, resented the King's claim to ecclesiastical supremacy, and in 1532 resigned office, and soon after died.

Wolsey, Thomas, Cardinal (1471-1530). The son of a rich Ipswich grazier, he was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he took his degree at the age of fifteen, and thus acquired the nickname of *The Boy Bachelor*. Thanks to his patrons, the Marquis of Dorset and Archbishop Deane, he entered Henry VII.'s service, and was rewarded with the deanery of Lincoln. He made himself indispensable in work and play to Henry VIII., who in 1513 gave him the bishopric of Tournay. In 1514 he was raised successively to the sees of Lincoln and York. He also administered, and enjoyed the revenues of, the sees of Bath and Wells, Winchester, and Durham. In 1519 he succeeded Warham as lord chancellor, and received a cardinal's hat from Leo X., who in 1517 appointed him also *Legatus a latere*. The latter powers he used in trying to get rid of abuses, more particularly by suppressing useless religious houses and founding with their revenues Ipswich Grammar School and Cardinal College, Oxford (now Christ Church). He also had hopes of reforming the whole Church should he attain the papacy. As chief minister, he relied little on Parliament—which only met once, in 1523, during his sway, and was not easy to deal with—but rather strengthened the Council; while in foreign policy he leaned to alliance

with Charles V. until 1525, when he joined in Henry's change of front and favoured Francis. It was with a view to arranging a marriage-connection with the latter that Wolsey at first encouraged the Divorce: having failed to secure which from the Pope, the long-impending charge of having infringed the Statute of Præmunire was allowed to fall in October, 1529. He had to give up the Seal, and was soon afterwards impeached. He retired to his sole remaining possession, the See of York, where his popularity caused him to be summoned to London on a fresh charge of treason. He died of dysentery at Leicester Abbey on the way up to town, November 29, 1530.

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