second and third rank among European powers, in consequence of the disgraceful treaties of Westphalia (1648) and of the Pyrenees (1659), which closed the long wars with the Netherlands and with France. By 1659 the political, social, and material decline of Spain was patent to every observer.

Outburst of art and literature.

It is something of a mystery why Spain, during her decline under the later Philips, should have enjoyed a remarkable literary and artistic outburst. It is true that there was no broad or general intellectual activity; the Inquisition saw to it that no such movement should gain ground. But art and literature flourished for a time, possibly signifying the last flicker of that national energy which was exhibited in such an imposing manner in the Age of Discoveries. At any rate, Spain was endowed with a great national literature, to which Cervantes (d. 1616) contributed his inimitable "Don Quixote," a satire on chivalry, floated on the most tender and uproarious humor that ever tickled poet's brain, and which Lope de Vega (d. 1635) and Calderon (d. 1681) helped enrich with a national drama, inviting comparison with the English drama of the Shakespearian period. At the same time Velasquez (d. 1660) and Murillo (d. 1681) founded a national school of painting for which the world must remain forever grateful.

CHAPTER VII

ENGLAND UNDER THE TUDORS; TRIUMPH OF THE REFORMATION UNDER ELIZABETH (1558–1603)

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SOURCE READINGS: MORE, Utopia (Camelot series, 50 cents; Cassell's Library, 10 cents); TRANSLATIONS AND REPRINTS, University of Pennsylvania, Vol. I., No. 1 (letters of Henry VIII., Wolsey, Erasmus, More, etc.); PROTHERO, Statutes and Constitutional Documents, 1559–1625; GEE and HARDY, Documents Illustrative of English Church History; ROBINSON, Readings, Vol. II., Chapter XXVII. (Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary), Chapter XXVIII. (Mary Stuart, Elizabeth).

Henry VIII. (1509–47).

England and the revival of learning.

DURING the period of tranquillity imposed upon England by the firm administration of the first Tudor sovereign, Henry VII., the country first began to show in a marked degree the effects of the revival of learning. The two universities, Cambridge and Oxford, but especially Oxford, became the centres of the new classical and historical studies which had been brought to honor again upon the Continent,

and undertook their dissemination through the land. The fact that Erasmus of Rotterdam, the acknowledged prince of the humanists, spent much time in England between 1498 and 1506 added new zest to the labors of the English scholars, with two of whom, John Colet and Sir Thomas More, he became linked in enduring bonds of friendship.

John Colet, 1466–1519.

John Colet first rose into prominence as a lecturer at Oxford, where he attracted a large audience as an expositor of the New Testament. Like Luther, he was drawn to the Apostle Paul by his simple and holy personality, and like Luther, though many years before him, he upheld Paul's doctrine of justification by faith. Later, because of his power as a preacher, he was called to London to be dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, and while at this post he built himself a monument which has proved more lasting than brass. Convinced that the surest way to effect the improvement of society was to begin with the young, he founded with his own means St. Paul's school for boys, where Latin and Greek taught in a fresh way crowded out the old and barren studies of the schoolmen. St. Paul's school was a new departure in education, and became the model for many similar foundations throughout England.

Sir Thomas More, 1480–1535.

Sir Thomas More, after attending the university, entered public life, and rose under Henry VIII. to be Lord Chancellor, the highest civil honor in the kingdom. As a humanist his most important deed was the publication of a book called Utopia (1515). Utopia was an imaginary realm beyond the sea (the word utopia is derived from the Greek and means nowhere) which, being grounded on justice, reason, intelligence, and liberty, nourished a race of men and women who lived in peace and happiness. To describe such a country was to point out to men the shortcomings of their own state and society, and spur them on to higher things. The breadth of the book is characteristic of the author, for

Utopia.

More's implied criticism does not stop with ecclesiastical abuses or theological absurdities, but covers the whole conduct of life. In Utopia education was general; religious toleration was an accepted rule of state; there were wise sanitary provisions in the cities to avoid pestilence; and such perfect equality reigned that there were neither rich nor poor. The book was in essence a comprehensive socialistic programme, but in the eyes of contemporaries, at least, contained matter so unrealizable that the term Utopian came to signify an amiable and somewhat idle dreamer. Nevertheless, many of the features of More's ideal republic have been adopted by our civilization in the course of the advancing centuries.

The revival of learning is the forerunner of revolution.

We have already seen that it was such critical activity as this which prepared the Reformation. England followed in the main the same lines of development as Germany, except that no Luther appeared at the critical moment to turn the accumulated discontent against Rome and head a movement of revolt. Revolt came in due time in England, too, but it was carried through by the king in person, as a last and desperate remedy in a most unsavory divorce suit. We shall examine this incident, but should guard even now against giving it a greater importance than it merits. Henry VIII. did indeed snap the ties binding England to Rome, but he did not make England Protestant. No man and no sovereign could effect such a change in the realm of the mind. The Protestantism of England was a slow mental evolution, which did not become confirmed in the blood till a generation later, in the time of Elizabeth; and it was, like its German counterpart, the outgrowth of the humanistic movement.

The accession of Henry VIII., 1509.

Henry VIII. mounted the throne of England in 1509, on the death of his father, Henry VII., famous as the healer of the civil woes of England and founder of the "strong mon-

archy." He was not yet twenty years old, a youth of attractive presence, skilled in gentlemanly sports, such as riding and tennis, condescending with all people, free-handed and fond of pageantry, and altogether the idol of his nation, which received him with acclamations of joy. And not least exultant over his coming to power were the English humanists. For Henry had been brought into the circle of the new learning by his tutors, and was reputed to be favorably inclined toward it.

Breach between Henry and the humanists.

The joy of the humanists over the accession of Henry was not destined to last long. The king, indeed, distinguished the propagandists of the new learning by various honorary appointments; but he soon showed that he did not take their principles of reform of Church and state seriously, would adopt of their programme only what suited his caprice, and was clearly determined upon following the bent of his own mind. Under the smooth exterior of the king there appeared an iron personality, which, as the years rolled on, tossed aside more and more all restraints upon its despotic will.

Henry's foreign policy.

A few years sufficed to show that Henry was not so much concerned with realizing Utopia in England, as with raising his own and his country's prestige by playing a rôle in European politics. His father had sat quietly at home, had perfected the administration, and amassed a considerable treasure. Henry VIII. saw immediately that with France and Spain holding each other in check and engaged in permanent enmity over Italy, there was a splendid opportunity for an ambitious sovereign, who was free to throw his weight into the scales for either party. It is true that the French-Spanish controversy hardly touched the interests of England; still, an English ruler of the sixteenth century could not forget that less than a hundred years before a warlike predecessor had been crowned king of France, and that from the port of Calais on the French coast, the last stronghold

on the Continent which floated the English flag, a descent could be made at any time upon Paris. That Henry therefore kept a sharp lookout across the channel requires neither apology nor explanation. If in the eternal warfare between France and Spain England threw in her lot with Spain, she might ask in reward the restitution of a part of France. This speculation determined Henry's general attitude. But though leaning by preference toward Spain, contingencies might arise which would make it advantageous for him to comport himself for a time as the ally of France. In that case he could demand some territorial reward, or, if that was too remote a chance, could stipulate for French gold in payment for his efforts.

Relations of England and Scotland.

Such in outline was Henry's foreign policy, modified, however, by one factor—Scotland. Henry VII. had inaugurated a policy of reconciliation with Scotland, which he hoped would lead in the course of time to a complete union. In this expectation he had married his oldest daughter, Margaret, to the Scottish king, James IV. But matters did not progress as favorably as he had planned. The enmity between Scots and English was bred too deep in the bone to be easily eradicated, and the Scots, suspicious for centuries of their more powerful neighbor, had looked so steadily toward France for aid and protection that they could not abandon the habit. A war of England with France had generally in the past brought Scotland into the field with the object of making a diversion in favor of France along the northern border, and this traditional alliance, which caught England between two fires, was usually maintained during Henry's reign. Thus Henry was obliged to wage frequent war with Scotland, but only in moments of intense resentment did he forget what we may name the Tudor policy, with reference to the northern kingdom, of reconciliation and ultimate union.

Henry's wars.

After these general remarks we can dispense with following in detail the intricate game which Henry played upon the diplomatic chess-board of Europe. He joined the Pope and Spain in the Holy League of 1512, the object of which was to drive France from Italy. When Emperor Charles V. in 1521 renewed the war against France, Henry again fought shoulder to shoulder with Spain, until the great victory of Pavia and the capture of the French king frightened him with the spectre of a universal Spanish domination and drove him for a time into the arms of France. Late in his reign, in 1543, he joined the emperor once more in an attack upon Francis I., in which the chief English success was the capture of Boulogne. During these wars Scotland was very troublesome and several times invaded England, though with small effect, since at Flodden (1513) and at Solway (1542) her armies were crushingly defeated. To sum up we may say that Henry won small profit for England from his military enterprises, but that he acquired at least a proud personal position as a factor in international politics.

Wolsey.

The favorite adviser of Henry in the early period of his reign was Thomas Wolsey. Wolsey was a commoner by birth, but having joined the clergy rose rapidly by virtue of his talents from post to post, until the king's favor won for him the archbishopric of York and at the same time raised him to the position of Lord Chancellor, the highest post in the civil administration of the realm (1515). His civil position he filled honorably on the whole, proving himself an able administrator and exercising a check upon the king's martial inclinations, but his immersion in political affairs led him to neglect his spiritual functions and filled him with a sense of importance which induced him to order his life on a scale of munificence altogether out of keeping with the English conception of a churchman. Stimulated by the criticism of the humanists, Wolsey undertook to consider some of the abuses of the Church, but he was not yet launched upon his enterprise when Luther's theses against Indulgences (1517) made the Reformation the question of the hour. The development of England's attitude toward the greatest contemporary issue is the kernel of Henry's reign.

Henry's attitude toward Luther.

Henry watched Luther's first attack upon the Papacy and Catholic doctrine with instinctive aversion. In fact, such was his resentment that he did not disdain to descend into the lists in person against Luther, and in 1521 published a vehement pamphlet, wherein he defended the sacraments and the authority of the Pope. In return the gratified Leo X. conferred upon Henry the title still used by English sovereigns—of Defender of the Faith. Of such nature was the understanding between Pope and king in Henry's early days. In another ten years the wind had veered and couriers were speeding from Rome not with messages of friendship, but with bulls of excommunication. This radical change was brought about by the peculiar circumstances of Henry's marriage and his suit for divorce.

Henry's marriage

Henry's marriage deserves close consideration. The reader will remember that Henry VII., in pursuance of his peace policy, had sought to associate himself with Spain. The outcome of this political intimacy was a contract of espousal, by which Arthur, the prince of Wales, was married to Catharine, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. Shortly after the ceremony Arthur died, and as the desire for the alliance continued as before, the idea naturally occurred to the families concerned to marry Arthur's widow to his surviving brother, Henry. However, an obstacle to this project was offered by a law of the Church, which forbade a man to marry his deceased brother's wife. In this dilemma Pope Julius II. when appealed to had recourse to his dispensing powers, by virtue of which he could make a law non-

The dispensation.

operative in a particular case. He issued what is called a papal dispensation, and on the strength of this the marriage took place in 1509. Now it will be readily understood that if the Pope, as Luther was affirming every day with increasing violence, was an impostor, the exercise of the dispensing power was a usurpation, the law remained the law whatever happened, and Henry's marriage was illegal. In addition, therefore, to the natural inclination of a despotic mind to uphold the cause of authority everywhere and at all times, Henry had a very personal reason for wanting to see Luther put down and the sovereignty of the Pope raised above reproach and challenge. Thus it happened that Henry crossed pens with Luther and became the Defender of the Faith.

Henry desires to be divorced.

But time brings about surprising changes. Only a few years after Henry had broken a lance in behalf of the Papacy, his attitude toward his marriage altered. He had hitherto shown much attachment to his queen, but now he thought he had weighty reasons for divorce from her. He had had several children by her, but only one child, Mary, had survived infancy, and owing to Queen Catharine's age there was no hope of further offspring. Even if Mary had not been a very sickly child, the king might well feel that he was playing a dangerous game to stake the succession upon one fragile life. On dynastic grounds, therefore, Henry felt troubled and desired to marry again. But he had also an incentive of a more personal nature. The aging Catharine had long since lost her attractiveness for him, and he was now madly infatuated with her young and charming maid of honor, Anne Boleyn. In 1527 he first whispered to his confidant, Wolsey, the word divorce.

Henry desires the Pope to annul the dispensation.

Questions of marriage and divorce belonged, as we have seen, to the exclusive competence of the Church, and the Church absolutely refused to countenance divorce except in

certain exceptional circumstances. Henry, however, thought he had a very strong and simple case. The dispensation on which his marriage rested he now declared in his altered frame of mind to be defective. The reigning Pope, who was Clement VII., would have only to acknowledge that defectiveness and cancel the dispensation, wherewith the marriage would be dissolved without further ado. This simple course Wolsey, who had meanwhile in addition to his other dignities become cardinal and papal legate, undertook to urge upon the Pope, but without avail. The Pope, partly perhaps from conscientious scruples, certainly because he did not dare offend the powerful emperor Charles V.—who as head of the Spanish house championed the cause of his aunt, the English queen—proceeded with extreme caution. He would examine, he would not pronounce. In 1529 he agreed to send to England a legate, Campeggio, who together with Wolsey, already on the ground, was to hold a legatine court and ascertain the facts. The king put aside his dignity so far as to appear in court like a common suitor, but even this humiliating act profited him nothing, for the Pope, still proceeding on his original plan of delay, suddenly transferred the case to Rome. Henry was furious at this crumbling of his hopes, and in his eagerness to make a scapegoat of someone, let fall the weight of his displeasure on the head of Wolsey. He stripped him of his civil honors and exiled him to the country; still unappeased, he had just ordered his arrest, as a measure preparatory to his execution, when the great cardinal was stricken ill and died (1530). At the last he cast a regretful backward look upon his life, using to his attendants words which Shakespeare has employed almost literally in his play of Henry VIII.: "Had I but served my God with half the zeal I served my king, He would not in mine age have left me naked to mine enemies."

Wolsey's disgrace, 1530.

Henry resolves to renounce the Pope.

What to do now? Almost any other man would have given up, but Henry had the kind of will which grows terrible with opposition. If the Pope could not be got to act in what the king considered a just and necessary case, he would repudiate the Pope altogether and establish the English Church on a purely national basis. Further, he would no longer permit the Church to remain an independent power in the state, but would reduce it to subjection to the civil power, which was, of course, himself. The officers of a church cut off from Rome on the one hand, and dependent on the king upon the other, could be trusted to settle the divorce question as the king desired. Upon this plan Henry proceeded, but not without frequent pauses, to give the Pope time to reflect upon the dangers he was running. For his separation from the Papacy was a matter of policy, not of conviction, and he would have avoided it at any cost short of the sacrifice of the divorce. As the Pope remained deaf both to Henry's threats and pleas, the anti-papal enactments succeeded each other without interruption, until every cable binding England to Rome had been slipped. Let us follow the leading steps in this procedure.

Destruction of the bonds between England and Rome.

The assembly of the English clergy is called Convocation. In 1531 Convocation was summoned and a decree wrested from the clergy, declaring Henry Head of the Church; owing, however, to the qualms expressed by many of the members the qualifying phrase was added, "as far as the law of Christ allows." The next year the king destroyed the legislative independence of the clergy by requiring them to permit him to revise their statutes and to adopt no new laws without his consent. By this means he had put the English clergy, so to speak, into his pocket. Now it remained only to repeal the laws by which Rome possessed a foothold in England. These laws being acts of Parliament could be repealed only by Parliament, which body Henry accordingly

summoned, and by mingled threats and persuasion bent to his will. In 1532 Parliament abolished the payment to Rome of First Fruits, which were the first year's revenues of ecclesiastical benefices and constituted the chief income that the Pope drew from England. The next year followed the prohibition to appeal a case to any court outside the kingdom. This gave to the English ecclesiastical courts the right to pronounce, and pronounce finally, upon the king's suit. And now longer delay was neither necessary nor possible. In February, 1533, Cranmer, a creature of Henry's and half a Protestant at heart, was made archbishop of Canterbury and primate of England; and four months later he pronounced the desired sentence of divorce in his own court and sanctioned the coronation of Anne Boleyn as queen. When the Pope heard of these doings he at last recovered his power of unambiguous speech and fulminated at Henry a bull of excommunication (July, 1533). But Henry was now secure and could meet the Pope's wrath as an equal. In 1534 he had Parliament pass a culminating act, the Act of Supremacy, by which the last traces of connection with Rome were removed, and the king confirmed in the title already voted by the clergy of Supreme Head of the English Church, to which there was now attached no qualification whatever.

First Fruits

Appeals to Rome prohibited.

Cranmer.

Anne Boleyn crowned queen.

The Act of Supremacy, 1534.

Thus while the English Church became national by being cut off from Rome, it also lost its independence and became subject to the state. Naturally there were many who regretted these changes. If they thoughtlessly crossed Henry's path they were not likely to escape with their lives. His marriage with Anne Boleyn, the Act of Supremacy, and all that hung thereby could only be criticised at the risk of death. When Sir Thomas More, the humanist, although he had been Henry's chancellor, and was the most famous Englishman alive, refused to take the oath involving acquiescence

Henry suppresses opposition.

in these high-handed measures, he was convicted of treason and hurried to the block (1535).

Henry makes Protestant concessions.

From the first it was an interesting question how far Henry would depart from the accepted Catholic system and approach the Protestant position. In his own heart and mind he was as much a Catholic before as after the separation. The sole distinction between Henry then and Henry now was that he had taken, as regards England, the Pope's place at the head of the Church. But to a certain extent he could not fail to be influenced by the Protestant Reformation, for the Pope and the Roman Catholic world had solemnly repudiated him, and he was just then under the influence of a counsellor, Thomas Cromwell by name, who entertained secret Lutheran sympathies. A number of minor changes were therefore carried through. Every church was ordered to provide itself with an English Bible for general use, Indulgences were condemned, pilgrimages forbidden, and a few miraculous images destroyed. But the only incisive innovation was the suppression of the monasteries.

The suppression of the monasteries.

We have seen on several occasions that monasticism was the feature of the Church which chiefly invited the ridicule and criticism of the humanists. On this account wherever the Reformation was victorious monasticism was the institution which was first thrown overboard. Doubtless there was exaggeration in the tales of depravity circulated by such virulent enemies of the orders as Hutten and Erasmus; still, where there was so much smoke it is safe to assume there was some fire. Even under Wolsey, long before the policy of separation was entertained, a number of smaller institutions had been discontinued, and when Cromwell now suggested a plan of suppression on a much larger scale the king gave his consent, prompted in part, no doubt, by the immense material advantage which would accrue to the royal exchequer from the confiscation of the extensive

monastic lands. So Cromwell, as a preliminary step, sent agents through the land to investigate the monastic houses. Their reports were steeped in gross exaggeration, but they served the purpose of the minister, for Cromwell presented them to Parliament, and influenced that body, outraged by the thought of so much wickedness, to adopt the desired legislation. In 1536 a bill was passed ordering the suppression of the lesser houses—the exact provision was of all houses of less than £200 revenue—but Henry and Cromwell managed to include the richer institutions as well by bringing pressure to bear upon the abbots. Before five years had rolled by, monasteries in England were a thing of the past, and the vast tracts which had fallen home to the king had been given to greedy courtiers, or sold to meet the royal necessities, or dedicated in a few honorable instances to the support of schools and churches.

The English people accept the royal policy.

The majority of the English people, as far as it is possible to ascertain their attitude toward the ecclesiastical revolution inaugurated by Henry, gave their hearty consent to the separation from Rome, for the Papacy had for some time past been growing in unpopularity; but though they indorsed the Act of Supremacy, they were, like Henry, thoroughly conservative and Catholic in spirit. Apart from a small band of reformers, influenced from the Continent, they had no desire for any change in the familiar features of the Church. Therefore, the suppression of the monasteries caused much discontent, and in the backward northern counties, where attachment to tradition was particularly strong, led to a dangerous revolt, known as the Pilgrimage of Grace (1536). Henry, as might be expected, put down the insurrection with vigor, but did not fail to read the lesson which it conveyed. From policy now as well as from conviction he refused to go farther along the path blazed by the Lutheran princes of Germany. For the rest of his life he

Henry's doctrine remains Catholic.

was content to stand fast, force the acknowledgment of his supremacy upon his subjects, and keep the service and the doctrine of his Church free from the taint of Protestantism. From time to time, in order to remove all doubt, he informed his subjects what they were authorized to believe, and these various pronouncements contained very little to which a strict partisan of Rome might not have set his name. Thus

The Six Articles of 1539.

the confession of faith known as the Six Articles, which he had Parliament pass in 1539, upheld such Catholic doctrines as the sacrament of the Mass, auricular confession, and the celibacy of the clergy, and made diversity of opinion punishable with death. Under such a *régime* there was no peace in England either for supporters of the Pope or for adherents of Protestantism, and both these groups were vehemently persecuted. Cromwell himself, though his fall was coupled with other causes, could not be saved by a record of long and faithful service, when his secret support of the religious radicals came to the knowledge of the king. In 1540 he

Execution of Cromwell, 1540.

was charged with treason and beheaded. The only safety for Englishmen lay in the quiet acceptance of the system which their masterful sovereign had imposed, and which was substantially Catholic except for the separation from the venerable capital of Rome.

His six marriages.

A personal page in Henry's history demands at least passing recognition. It presents the story of his marriages. His native brute force, which served him well in politics by enabling him to impose his will triumphantly on his environment, stands out, in the tenderer associations of the family, in appalling nakedness. We have already followed the tragedy of Catharine of Aragon to the coronation of Anne Boleyn. Anne Boleyn gave birth to a daughter, Elizabeth, and soon afterward was executed on the charge of unfaithfulness (1536). The next wife, Jane Seymour, died in childbed, leaving a son, Edward. The fourth wife, a German

princess, Anne of Cleves, did not suit Henry at all, and was married only to be immediately divorced (1540). As the fifth wife, Catharine Howard, proved untrue, she was beheaded (1542), and so room was made for a sixth, Catharine Parr, who managed, by dutiful submission, to outlive her royal consort.

The succession.

Henry died in 1547. Before his death he had been granted by Parliament the right to regulate the succession by will. Accordingly, he devised his crown to his son Edward, with the provision that it pass, on the failure of Edward's blood, to his daughters Mary and Elizabeth, in the order named. As Edward was but a boy nine years old, his father provided further, during his son's minority, a council of regency, at the head of which he put Edward's maternal uncle, the duke of Somerset.

Edward VI. (1547–53).

The Protector Somerset pursues a Protestant policy.

Henry was hardly dead when the council of regency met, and without regard to Henry's wishes practically resigned its powers to Somerset, who was authorized to assume the title of protector. This measure was of decided consequence because Somerset was a man of unusual religious tolerance and was well inclined toward the reforming party. As a majority in the council held similar opinions, Somerset had no difficulty in inaugurating an era of Protestant legislation, especially as he was heartily seconded in his policy by Cranmer, the archbishop of Canterbury. We have herewith touched upon the real significance of the rule of the protector. The English Church, which Henry had zealously protected from theological innovations, was now for the first time launched upon Protestant waters.

Protestant changes.

If we admit that it was probably impossible to keep the English Church, after its initial breach with the Catholic world, exactly where Henry left it, we shall incline to defend