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

Somerset against the charge of precipitate change which is frequently made against him. Convinced that a reform could not be staved off, he resolved to swing wide the door to Protestant influence. English was gradually substituted for Latin in the services, priests were allowed to marry, the use of holy water was discontinued, and all images were removed from the churches. Finally, to lend dignity to the conduct of the new services in English, there was published in 1549 the First Book of Common Prayer, which vindicates the essential conservatism of Somerset's revolution, for Archbishop Cranmer, who is mainly responsible for it, based it largely upon the ancient Catholic breviaries.

The First Book of Common Prayer, 1549.

The agrarian revolution.

But Somerset's fall was at hand. Not because of discontent caused by these religious innovations, at least not in a marked degree, but owing primarily to prolonged economic misery, the peasantry of England rose in the summer of 1549 and threatened civil war. The troubles among the English peasants, who were freemen, bore little resemblance to the situation which provoked the German peasants, held in galling serfdom, to wage the bloody war of 1525. The main complaint of the English peasants was directed against what were called enclosures. The great English landlords had discovered that their returns were larger from sheep-herding than agriculture, owing to the steady demand for wool in the markets of the Netherlands. They therefore, by letting their lands run to pasture and enclosing them, with perhaps the addition of the common lands of which the whole village had once had the use, threw hundreds of peasants out of work and occasioned great misery. This conversion of agricultural land to pasture had been going on for decades, and many were the laws by which the government had tried to put a stop to it. But economic causes, operating like forces of nature, are stronger than legislation, and the peasants were not relieved. When in 1549 they rose, Somerset, who

Enclosures.

had a heart that beat for the oppressed, did not hesitate to declare his sympathy with them. The rest of the council, members to a man of the landlord class, waited until the army of the government had scattered the insurgent hosts and then proceeded to rid themselves of the traitor in their midst. In October Somerset was arrested and deposed, and although he was allowed to live for a while, his opponents did not feel perfectly secure until his head had been severed from his body. He was executed in 1552.

The fall of Somerset, 1549.

The leader of the landlord party in the council which had caused the overthrow of the protector was Warwick, created afterward duke of Northumberland. He became Somerset's successor as real governor of the kingdom, without, however, assuming the title of protector. He was a clever, unscrupulous, ambitious man, who, although he had no particular religious convictions, became loud in his profession of the Protestant faith when he discovered that a majority of his colleagues were in favor of it. He not only adopted Somerset's programme, but multiplied and sharpened its measures. Now first occurred violent scenes of iconoclasm in England, when the people, incited by the so-called "hot gospellers," entered the churches and indiscriminately broke altars, statuary, and stained-glass windows. Now, too, came persecution of orthodox Catholics, although the government never entirely lost the tolerant quality impressed upon it by Somerset. In 1552 there was issued the Second Book of Common Prayer, which was again largely the work of Cranmer, and differed from the earlier edition in the more Protestant turn given to many of its passages. The Forty-two Articles of Religion—a new confession of faith—followed, and therewith the reconstruction of Henry's national Church on Protestant lines was completed. An Act of Uniformity imposed the reformed Church upon the nation.

Northumberland in control.

Radical Protestantism.

Protestant service book and creed.

The Protestant revolution of Edward's reign was, as

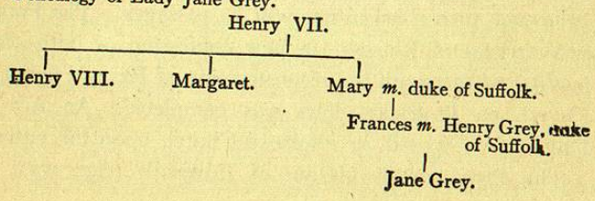
The boy king.

we have seen, the work of Somerset and Northumberland. Nevertheless, the king, who was, as is frequently the case with feeble children, a boy of remarkable precocity, followed the religious changes with intense sympathy. When he was twelve years old the German reformer Bucer wrote of him "No study enjoys his favor as much as the Bible." His favorite diversion was a theological discussion, which he would follow with a countenance whence every touch of childish grace had been banished by an unnatural austerity.

Edward changes the law of succession.

Such a boy was only too likely to exhaust in a very few years his low measure of vitality. Early in 1553 Northumberland perceived that Edward was dying. By Henry's will the succession would now fall to Mary, who, like her Spanish mother Catharine, was a devout Catholic. Northumberland and the governing clique, with their Protestant record, had everything to fear from her, and in order to secure himself and them he played upon the young king's Protestant conscience with such skill that he persuaded him to devise his crown away from his sisters Mary and Elizabeth upon his cousin, Lady Jane Grey, who could trace her lineage back to Henry VII.[1] In Northumberland's eyes Lady Jane not only had the advantage of being a Protestant, who would presumably sympathize with his religious measures, but as he had lately married her to one of his own sons, Guilford Dudley, he might hope through these young and inexperienced people to perpetuate his power. It was a base and despicable intrigue without a vestige of legality. For Henry's arrangement of the succession by will was in accordance with an express permission granted by Parliament, but Edward, having been accorded no such power, signed an utterly worthless document. Northumberland was still completing the arrangements for his plot when, on July 6, 1553, Edward breathed his last.

[1] Genealogy of Lady Jane Grey.



Mary (1553–58).

Public sentiment declares for Mary.

Edward had hardly expired when Northumberland proclaimed Lady Jane Grey. But if he had any hope of carrying his candidate, he was soon disillusioned. The mass of the people saw through his selfish intrigue and rallied around Mary, their lawful sovereign. They hailed Mary gladly, because not only their sense of justice, but also their religious prejudices designated her as their queen. For the majority of the people were still Catholic in sentiment, and the radical Protestantism of Northumberland had aroused their animosity. From Mary they expected the return of the Mass and other familiar Catholic usages from which they were not yet weaned in their hearts.

Downfall of Northumberland and Lady Jane Grey.

The Lady Jane Grey was, in consequence of this unhesitating devotion of the English people to their rightful sovereign, crowned only to be deposed again. Northumberland, deserted by his followers, gave himself up and was beheaded. His fate was just, but unfortunately Jane Grey, who was merely the tool of an ambitious man, paid the same penalty. It is true Queen Mary felt compassion for her and delayed the execution, but a rebellion of the following year exasperated her to such a degree that she gave her consent to her young cousin's death. The gentle and refined young girl, queen of England for nine agitated days, has always excited a pathetic interest. The great public stage on which she died was not her choice; a quiet country seat, where her bright nature might have shone

among a circle of friends and scholars, would have suited her better. Therefore, she called the day on which she gave back her crown to the commissioners who arrested her, the happiest day of her life.

Mary plans a full Catholic restoration.

It seems likely that if Mary had adopted a moderate Catholic policy, taking her stand upon the platform of her father, Henry, her reign would have met the wishes of her people. But Mary had nothing about her suggesting compromise. Her Spanish blood called upon her to be faithful, above all things, to her faith. She therefore planned nothing less than a return of England to the Pope's fold—a full Catholic restoration. And that was a delusion. For however the English people were attached to Catholic practices, the Act of Supremacy, proclaiming the English independence of Rome, had the full consent of the nation.

The Act of Supremacy abolished.

The first acts of Mary's reign left no doubt about her policy. The Parliament, obedient to a word from the throne, rescinded the religious legislation of Edward and brought the Church back to the condition in which it was at Henry's death. The Mass was again celebrated in the Latin language, altars were set up, and the married clergy were expelled from their livings. So much was acceptable to the nation. But doubtful and impolitic measures soon followed. Urged on and exhorted by Mary, the Parliament abolished all the legislation of Henry's reign pertaining to the Pope, and then voted the return of England to the papal obedience.

Cardinal Pole receives the nation into the Catholic fold, 1554.

To crown her policy of reconciliation, Cardinal Pole arrived in England as the legate of the Pope, and in November, 1554, in a pompous ceremony, extended absolution to the nation and received it back into the papal fold. But even so, England had not yet been carried back to the point where it was when Henry began his memorable conflict. There were still the alienated monastic lands. Mary in her honest zeal would have restored them to their owners, but here the

Parliament, which was made up largely of landholders who had profited by the spoliation of the Church, showed itself intractable.

Mary marries Philip of Spain, 1554.

If the uncompromising Catholic policy of Mary alienated many sympathizers, she hurt herself still more in popular estimation when she rejected marriage with one of her own countrymen and accepted the proffered hand of her kinsman Philip, son and heir of Charles V. Such a union could not but inspire vague fears of a foreign domination, and although every provision was made in the marriage contract to insure the independence of England, the country was, nevertheless, unavoidably drawn into the Spanish system. In the summer of 1554 the marriage was celebrated, and although Philip proved himself afterward to be a cold and bigoted Catholic, it must be set down to his credit that he comported himself during his occasional visits to England with much discretion.

The persecutions under Mary.

Although the religious persecutions which gave the finishing stroke to Mary's dying popularity, and won for her from Protestant writers the terrible title of "Bloody Mary," date from about the time of her marriage, they cannot be fairly ascribed to her Spanish consort. If Mary persecuted, the incentive was chiefly furnished by her own fiery enthusiasm. It was she who stimulated the Parliament to pass severe enactments against heresy, and it was she who urged the bishops to carry them out. Soon the prisons were filled with the Protestant leaders of Edward's time, and soon, too, the fires of persecution were lighted over the realm. It is the period of the Protestant martyrs. Some two hundred and eighty died by the fagot—a number inconsiderable compared with the slaughter in the Netherlands, but enough to rack the nerves of a race whose wavering attitude led them to favor a more gentle procedure. The stanchness of the victims in death contributed more toward establishing Protestantism than could have been done by the doctrinal

fervor of an army of Calvinistic preachers. It was even as Bishop Latimer said to Bishop Ridley at the stake: "Master Ridley, play the man; we shall this day, by God's grace, light such a candle in England as I trust shall never be put out." For the stout part they played, Latimer and Ridley head the Protestant martyrology. But the persecution struck a more prominent, if not a more noble victim than these, in the person of the deposed archbishop of Canterbury. This was the celebrated Cranmer, who had served under two kings. Cranmer, who was a peculiar mixture of strength and weakness, flinched when the trial came and denied his faith. But in the face of death his courage came back to him. He thrust his right hand into the flame, and steadying it there said, resolutely: "This is the hand that wrote the recantation; therefore, it first shall suffer punishment."

Her unpopularity.

If Edward's violent Protestantism made his reign detested, Mary's violent Catholicism produced the same result. The hatred of her subjects soon pursued her even into her palace. She was a quiet, tender woman, whose intolerance was more the crime of the age than her own, and the harvest of aversion which was springing up about her was more than she could bear. Besides, her marriage was unfortunate. She loved Philip, but Philip cared little for her, and did not much trouble to hide his indifference to the sickly and ill-favored woman, twelve years older than himself. To crown her misfortunes, she allowed her Spanish husband to draw her into a war with France, in which Philip won all the honor, and Mary suffered all the disgrace by the loss of the last point which remained to England from her former possessions in France, Calais (1558). Doubtless the loss of Calais was for England a benefit in disguise; she was thereby cut off from the Continent and directed to her true sphere, the sea. But to the Englishmen of that day the capture seemed an insufferable dishonor. No one felt

She is drawn into war and loses Calais.

it more keenly than Mary. "When I die," she is reported to have said shortly before her death (November, 1558), "Calais will be found written on my heart."

Elizabeth (1558–1603).

The glorious reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Elizabeth, Anne Boleyn's daughter and Mary's younger half-sister, succeeded to the throne on Mary's death, and inaugurated a reign which proved to be one of the most glorious in English annals. Under her, Protestantism was firmly established in England, the great Catholic sea-power, Spain, was challenged and defeated, and English life flowered in the poetry of Shakespeare and his contemporaries more exuberantly and more exquisitely than ever before or since. To the national greatness to which England suddenly raised herself in the sixteenth century, Elizabeth has lent her name. She appeared to the English people, and still appears, mirrored in a great time, and their generous loyalty, which gave her in her lifetime the title of Good Queen Bess, has also encouraged them in the view that she was the fountain and the summary of all the virtues which throve in her day. Modern historians have scattered this delusion. They have separated the woman from her time, and it is a very different Elizabeth who appears to the eye now that the curtain of the myths which concealed her from view has been withdrawn.

Elizabeth as a woman.

Elizabeth had few of the graces of womanhood and many of its weaknesses. Her vanity was so great that, although she was a very plain-featured woman, she succeeded in conceiving herself as a beauty of a particularly rare type. She could not live without flattery and flirtations, and accepting the compliments of the courtiers for true coin, allowed herself to be persuaded to dance and sing in her maladroit manner before a brilliant court of gentlemen and ladies, who could hardly hide their amusement behind their handkerchiefs. Her manners were rude, especially at the council board,

and her ministers were frequently annihilated by language which would have done honor to the camp and the fish-market.

Elizabeth as a statesman.

If Elizabeth lacked many of the special graces and virtues of her sex, she certainly possessed what are generally known as masculine talents, for she had an inflexible will and an exceptional intelligence. Above all, she loved her people and identified herself with them. All her statesmanship and all our praise can be expressed in the single sentence that she was a national sovereign.

Elizabeth's religion.

But one of the qualities by which she rendered England a great service her contemporaries would have been quick to condemn if they had been more clearly informed about it: she was lukewarm in matters of faith. However such want of conviction may be regarded in the case of a private individual, in the England of that day, shaken by religious passions, the sovereign's indifference was an undisguised blessing to the commonwealth. By reason of it Elizabeth was delivered from the destructive religious radicalism of both Edward and Mary, and being relatively disinterested was peculiarly fitted to play her royal part of mediator between antagonistic faiths. We should remember that the sixteenth century was the century not only of the Reformation, but also of the Renaissance. Elizabeth had been brought up to read Latin and Greek, and was not unacquainted with the languages and the literatures of the Continent. It is, therefore, not so very strange that, like Shakespeare, Jonson, and the poets of her time generally, she gave more heed to the voices coming from Italy than to the messages of Luther and of Calvin.

The Privy Council.

The chief organ of Elizabeth's government was the Privy Council, a sort of cabinet, the advice of which she regularly heard before she arrived at a decision. In this body was gathered the best political talent which the country boasted.

It is no small credit to Elizabeth to have exhibited such discernment in the choice of her ministers. Most prominent among them was William Cecil, Lord Burghley, who devoted a life of exemplary patriotism to the advancement of English Protestantism and the English sea-power.

The position of Parliament.

Though Elizabeth was willing to consult in her affairs the Privy Council, which was a body of her own choice, she was not inclined to grant much political influence to Parliament, which was elected by the people. Parliament remained, therefore, what it had been under the other Tudors, an obedient recorder of the royal will. Thus the sovereignty of England was practically concentrated in Elizabeth's hands.

Elizabeth inclines to religious moderation.

The first question of Elizabeth's reign was the question of the Reformation. Edward had followed a policy of radical Protestantism and had failed; Mary had followed a policy of radical Catholicism and had failed; after these two experiments it was plain that extremes would have to be abandoned. Elizabeth showed her sound judgment by deliberately taking up a moderate policy. When her first Parliament assembled in 1559 she had it pass again an Act of Supremacy, asserting the English independence of Rome and declaring the sovereign the highest authority in the realm in religious as well as in civil matters; and also an Act of Uniformity, which imposed upon every minister the forms of worship laid down in a new Book of Common Prayer. The new book was nothing but the second Prayer-Book (1552) of Edward's reign, with some few revisions. The plan was to make the national Church thus reëstablished as broad as possible, in order that the moderates of all parties might be embraced by it. Such was Elizabeth's moderation that it even bred fond hopes in the Pope's breast, but after waiting for ten years for her to return to the fold, he lost patience and issued a bull excommunicating and deposing her (1570).

The Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity.

From that moment Elizabeth was definitely pledged to the Protestant cause and was forced into active hostility against Catholicism. Stringent measures were passed against the adherents of the Pope, but never in blind passion without recognition of varying degrees of culpability. Catholics who refused to attend service in the new Church were simply visited with money fines, while heavier fines, culminating in imprisonment, were inflicted for saying or attending Mass. Fanatic Catholics, whose enthusiasm led them to go further and to engage in political plots, were repressed by special treason bills, which authorized the seizure and execution of conspirators, but which were sufficiently elastic to strike down any inconvenient Catholic zealot. Under these various laws a considerable number of Catholics were put to death, and all of them, by the system of fines, were gravely molested; but compared with the contemporary persecutions in Spain, France, and the Netherlands, Elizabeth's methods have an unmistakable imprint of moderation.

Her persecution political rather than religious.

A church on these broad foundations met the wishes of the majority of Englishmen. They gave it their adherence in increasing numbers, accepted its form and government, and gradually forgot the Latin Mass. Elizabeth could, therefore, proceeding in her deliberate manner, gradually complete its structure by new legislation. The most important of the complementary acts is the publication of a confession of faith under the name of the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion (1563). These, too, like the Book of Common Prayer, were based upon the enactments of Edward's time, and were steeped in the Protestant spirit. The Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, the Book of Common Prayer, and the Thirty-nine Articles are still in our own day the essential features of the Anglican or English National Church, which may, therefore, claim Elizabeth much more truly than Henry as its founder.

Elizabeth is the real founder of the Anglican Church.

Throughout Elizabeth's reign the Roman Catholics decreased in numbers. But as they diminished, there rose into prominence another body of religious opponents, Protestant radicals, who were dissatisfied with what they called Elizabeth's half-measures, and clamored for a thorough Protestant revolution. These radicals, it soon developed, were of two kinds, Puritans and Separatists. The Puritans were the more moderate opponents, who, while accepting the national Church and attending its services, hoped to eliminate from it certain features like the elaborate vestments of the clergy, which they despised as "Romish" trappings. Their demand for what they called a purer worship won them as a nickname, in the first instance, the party designation of Puritans. The Separatists, on the other hand (also called Brownists, after their founder Robert Brown), were radicals of the most thorough-going sort. The national Church with its bishops, its surplices, its ceremonies, was hardly better to them than the Roman Church, and they refused to attend it. As their propaganda spread, they were sharply persecuted, while the Puritans, who in the main yielded obedience and worshipped as demanded by the law, were left comparatively undisturbed.

The Puritans.

The Separatists.

On turning to the political developments of Elizabeth's reign we are immediately struck by the fact that they are intimately associated with her religious policy. We have seen that her plan was to move cautiously, to give as little offence as possible. In consequence, she remained for a surprisingly long time on reasonably good terms with both the Pope and Philip of Spain. But as her Protestant policy took a more definite shape, a coolness sprang up which the bull of excommunication of 1570 converted into open hostility. Turn as Elizabeth would in her shifty manner, there was now no way by which she could avoid being identified with the Protestant cause. The Catholic reaction

Caution the chief note of Elizabeth's policy.

on the Continent was growing stronger every day, more aggressively set on winning back its lost ground, and unless the Protestants closed their ranks in their turn, it was only too likely that their forces would be broken and routed. The great fact in the second half of the sixteenth century is the world-war between Catholicism and Protestantism, in which Philip of Spain stepped forward as the champion of Rome, and Elizabeth, almost against her will, became the paladin of the newer faith.

She is driven into war with Spain.

The affairs of Scotland.

Every event in Elizabeth's reign contributed to precipitate the struggle; notably the queen's relations with Scotland and Scotland's sovereign, Mary Stuart. Scotland had been England's foe for centuries. We have seen that Henry VII., with a view to the better understanding and possible union of the two countries, had married his daughter Margaret to James IV. But war was not thereby averted. James IV. and James V. both sympathized with France and both died while fighting England, the latter (1542) when his successor, Mary, was but a few days old. Mary Stuart's descent from Henry VII. and the prospective failure of Henry VIII.'s direct descendants opened for the child the prospect of the English succession. On the death of Mary Tudor (1558), there was, with the exception of Elizabeth, no other descendant of Henry VII. alive as prominent as she. To the Catholics, moreover, who saw in the daughter of Anne Boleyn merely an illegitimate child, she had even a better claim than Elizabeth. Out of this relation of the two women to the English throne sprang their instinctive aversion for each other, and the long and bloody drama of their rivalry, ending in Mary's death upon the scaffold.

Queen Mary sent to France when a child.

When Mary succeeded to the throne of Scotland, she was, as has been said, a child in arms. Her mother, another Mary, of the French family of Guise, assumed the regency, and in order to withdraw her child from possible English

influences sent her over to France, where she was soon betrothed to the heir of the throne, the dauphin.[1] Thus in the face of the Tudor policy of reconciliation the interests of France and Scotland were newly knit to the detriment of England.

The Protestant movement in Scotland.

Mary of Guise soon met with the same difficulties which beset every government in her time. Toward the middle of the century the voices of the Reformation began to be heard in the land. Conversions grew apace, and presently the struggle between the old and the new faiths began with customary vehemence. But nowhere was it so brief and nowhere was the victory of the new teachings so decisive. Scotland was still a backward, feudal land, where the chief power rested with a lawless nobility. The clergy, too, had considerable wealth and power, but their religious indifference and luxurious living had weaned from them the affections of the people. On this account the hold of the Catholic Church on Scotland had become so slight that the fiery Calvinistic preachers, among whom John Knox (1505–72) was the leading spirit, had only to proclaim the new faith to have it accepted by the people. When the nobility, lured by the bait of the rich Church lands, threw in their lot with the preachers, the success of the Reformation in Scotland was assured.

The regent calls in the French to put down Protestantism.

The French gentlewoman who held the regency of Scotland viewed these developments with consternation. She had lost her hold on the country and could think of no other way of getting it back than by the aid of French troops. At her request France sent soldiers, who had put themselves in possession of a number of important places, and were on the road to repressing the Protestant movement altogether, at

[1] The heir to the French throne received the title of dauphin in the Middle Ages. The title is derived from the province of Dauphiny. A similar custom accorded to the oldest son of the English king the title of prince of Wales.