

usefulness, chiefly to the great educational foundations which were then rising. In the suppression under Henry VIII, by far the greater part of the vast revenues of the monastic houses was squandered or gambled away among Henry's courtiers. Churches and churchyards were granted to private men, to be destroyed or desecrated at their pleasure. The tithe which the monasteries had taken to themselves, to the great wrong of the parish priests and their flocks, was now seized with their other property, and was granted away to lay rectors. Cranmer, who gave up several estates of his see to the king, did not scruple to receive grants of lands and tithe for the enrichment of his own family. Only a small portion of the monastic revenues was saved for public purposes of any kind. A little was spent on the defence of the coasts. Of a magnificent scheme for the foundation of new bishoprics, a small part only was carried out in the foundation of six slenderly endowed sees. Those cathedral churches which had been served by monks, and which therefore came into the king's hands with the other monasteries, were, with the exceptions of Bath and Coventry, refounded as churches of secular canons. Henry also gained the reputation of a benefactor in both universities. At Oxford his claim rests on several suppressions and refoundations of the college which had been begun by Wolsey, and on his charging the chapters of Oxford and Westminster with the maintenance of certain professors. At Cambridge the like reputation was gained by rolling several small colleges into one large one. The statutes of Henry's various foundations, drawn up in some cases by his own hand, breathe a spirit of piety and zeal worthy of Alfred or St Lewis. Here again there is no need to suspect conscious hypocrisy. It only makes the character of Henry a more wonderful moral study. Besides the suppression of monasteries, a great deal of wealth, to be squandered in the like sort, was brought in by the destruction of shrines and by the seizure of the movable ornaments of many churches which were not suppressed. On the other hand, most of the inmates of the suppressed monasteries¹ received pensions, small in many cases, but enough for their maintenance; and these pensions seem to have been honestly paid. With the usual long life of annuitants, some of them still received their pensions in the reign of James I.

The foundations and refoundations just spoken of went on to the very end of Henry's reign. An Act of 1545 placed the secular foundations, the colleges and hospitals, at his mercy; and he destroyed, refounded, or left untouched, according to his pleasure. But the two great suppressions, the suppression of the greater and of the lesser monasteries, were all done under the rule of Cromwell, and in his time came their immediate political results.

It is not easy to say what was the general feeling of the nation towards the suppressed monasteries. It doubtless differed widely in different places, according to the character of particular houses. It is certain that in 1536 the whole north of England rose in revolt on occasion of the suppression of the lesser monasteries. This revolt, called the Pilgrimage of Grace, was distinctly a religious movement; but it was a political movement as well. We seem to have gone back to the days of Edward the Confessor, when we find the northern insurgents demanding that no man north of Trent should be compelled to appear in the ordinary course of justice anywhere but at York. They demanded also the holding of a parliament at York, which Henry promised, but neglected to summon. The revolt began again, and it was suppressed with a large amount of hanging, beheading, and burning of the abbots, lay lords, ladies, and others who were concerned. A Lord President and Council

¹ All perhaps, except the nuns of the lesser monasteries, who were sent away with only a gown apiece.

of the North were now appointed to keep that dangerous region in order.

But after all, in Henry's reign it is the marriages, the divorces, and the beheadings of his several queens which form, if not the causes, at least the occasions, of the greatest changes. Henry's dissatisfaction with one marriage had led to the fall of Wolsey and the rise of Cromwell; his dissatisfaction with another marriage led to the fall of Cromwell himself. England and Europe had been turned upside down in order that Henry might marry Anne Boleyn. Three years after her marriage, she was got rid of by the twofold process of a divorce pronounced by Cranmer which declared the nullity of her marriage, and of a conviction for adultery by the House of Lords which implied its validity. Anne was beheaded, and the next morning Henry, acting, as we have been told, from the severest principles of public duty, married her maid Jane Seymour. It was now made treasonable to assert the validity of Anne's marriage, as before it had been treasonable to deny it. Anne's daughter Elizabeth was declared illegitimate, as Katharine's daughter Mary had been declared illegitimate, and the crown was settled on the issue of Jane only. The new queen, by unusual good luck, died, neither divorced nor beheaded, at the birth of her only child, Henry's only legitimate son, the future Edward VI. Except as regards the succession of the crown, all this is little more than an episode. Henry's fourth marriage was of greater political importance. Katharine, Anne, and Jane had been at least his own choice. Anne of Cleves was chosen for him by his vicegerent. Her marriage was part of a political scheme for an union between Henry and the Protestant princes of Germany against the emperor. Cromwell, it is plain, went further than the king approved in advances towards these heretical allies, and the queen whom he found for Henry among them found no favour in Henry's eyes. Cromwell had in fact chosen his time badly for any advances in a Protestant direction. While his negotiations with the German princes were going on, the statute of six articles was passed by the parliament of 1539, which enforced the old belief under the deadliest penalties. The marriage took place at the very beginning of 1540. In the course of the year Cromwell was created Earl of Essex, arrested, attainted without a hearing, and beheaded. In the interval between his attainder and his execution, the marriage which he had brought about was annulled by convocation, and on the day of his beheading Henry married his fifth wife, Katharine Howard.

The administration of Cromwell, remarkable as it is in other ways, derives its greatest constitutional importance from the new relations between crown and parliament which now begin. Wolsey, after the example of Edward IV. and Henry VII., had shrunk from meeting the assembly of the nation. Under his rule parliaments were summoned as seldom as might be. Cromwell, on the other hand, never feared to face parliament. From the time of his accession to power till the end of Henry's reign, parliaments were constantly held. And from this time, a practice which had been already followed sometimes rose into special importance. The king's powers of prorogation and dissolution of parliament now come into notice. The early parliaments met; they did the business for which they were summoned, and then they went home again. The prolongation of the life of the assembly beyond the time of its session was not thought of. Each meeting implied a new election of the House of Commons. But it was gradually found that a parliament which suited the king's purposes might be kept in being by prorogations from one session to another. This practice began to be used under Henry VI. and Edward IV., in which last reign the practice became usual; under Henry VIII

it became systematic. Some of his parliaments lived in this way for four successive years. Cromwell was thoroughly master of the art of packing and managing parliaments, an art to which the succeeding reigns added the practice of summoning members from a crowd of petty places, with the express object of securing subservient returns. The parliaments of Henry's time passed, though not always without opposition, whatever the king wanted, even to the act which gave the king's proclamation, with certain exceptions, the force of a statute. But in the fact that parliaments for a while became so slavish lay the hope of the final revival of freedom. It was under the despotism of Henry exactly as it had been under the despotism of the Conqueror. There was no need to abolish institutions which could so easily be turned to work the despot's will. There was no need seriously to encroach upon their formal powers. The institutions and their powers thus remained, to be again quickened into full life in the seventeenth century, as they had before been quickened in the thirteenth century. Had Henry met with a stronger parliamentary opposition, our liberties might have passed away, like the liberties of the lands which went to make up the monarchies of France and Spain. Parliaments went on, because parliaments voted whatever the king wished. Juries went on, because they convicted whomever the king wished. But, because they were allowed to go on, a time came when parliaments learned to pass measures which kings did not wish to have passed, and when juries learned to acquit men whom kings wished to destroy. In this way, as William the Conqueror in one age, so Thomas Cromwell in another, may be looked on as the indirect preserver of English freedom.

Effects of Henry's despotism.

Dealings with Scotland.

After the fall of Cromwell the reign of Henry loses much of its interest; or at least the interest is, as at the beginning of his reign, again transferred to the wars with France and Scotland. But these wars, with their momentary successes, are of little importance, except that in the course of the Scottish war we see the beginning of the train of events which sixty years later united the English and Scottish crowns. James V. of Scotland, it must be remembered, was Henry's nephew, the son of his sister Margaret. According to genealogical notions, he was next in succession to the crown after Henry's own children. The prospect of this contingent succession was dangled by Henry before the eyes of James. And when James died, leaving an infant daughter, the famous Queen Mary, Henry's schemes now took the form of a marriage between her and his son Edward. This was exactly the same scheme which had been proposed by Edward I. when Scotland had an earlier child queen. In neither case did the scheme bear immediate fruit. The marriage of Edward and Mary formed one of the terms of a momentary peace between England and Scotland in 1543. But the war began again, and was carried on, in connexion with the reforming party in Scotland, both during this reign and during the early years of the next, with the avowed object of bringing about the marriage. It is needless to say that the marriage was never carried out. But Mary came to be, on other grounds, a claimant of the crown of England, and her son came to possess it.

Scheme of union.

During these later years of Henry, no commanding figure stands out like those of Wolsey and Cromwell. Henry himself, towards the end of his reign, lost much of his energy. Martyrdoms on both sides still went on, though, as compared with the slaughter of later times, they were rare on both sides. There is yet no open change; but the gap between the two parties gets wider and wider. Katharine Howard, married in 1540, was beheaded early in 1542. In the next year Henry married his last wife, a third Katharine, commonly called Katharine Parr, but who was

then the widow of Neville Lord Latimer. Her leaning was to the new doctrines, and at one time she was in danger on their account. On the whole, the tendency was now in favour of change. Things seemed to sway backwards and forwards between Bishop Gardiner and the duke of Norfolk on one side and Cranmer and Edward earl of Hertford, a brother of Queen Jane Seymour, on the other side. At the moment of Henry's death the reforming party had the greater influence. The last who were sentenced to die in his time were Norfolk himself and his son the famous earl of Surrey. The son perished; the father was saved by the king's death. But though the reforming party had politically the upper hand, no step was taken as long as Henry lived in the direction of strictly religious reformation.

The most important question during these later years was the settlement of the succession. By a statute passed in 1544, the crown was to pass to Henry's three children in order, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth. Both the king's daughters had been declared illegitimate; but now, without any reversal of their illegitimacy, they were placed in the succession to the crown. On no theory could Mary and Elizabeth both be legitimate; the law had declared that neither of them was. The point is of importance, because in truth neither Mary nor Elizabeth reigned by any right of birth, but by a purely parliamentary title. But the statute went on further to bestow on Henry a power which never was bestowed on any other king before or after. In default of the issue of his own children, the crown was to pass to such persons as he might himself appoint by his last will, signed with his own hand. By his last will he exercised this power by leaving the crown in remainder to the issue of his younger sister, Mary the French queen, who, after the death of Lewis XII., had married Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. He thus passed by the queen of Scots and the other issue of his elder sister Margaret. The provisions of this will become of great importance at a later time; and it shows on what small accidents great questions may depend, that it is matter of controversy whether the will was signed by the king's own hand, according to the statute, or whether it was merely signed with a stamp.

In this memorable reign then, though no strictly religious reformation was wrought, yet a step was taken which made religious reformation inevitable. One marked feature of the fully developed English character was now added. England was from this time, with a momentary interruption, the enemy of the Roman see. But the reign of Henry helped in another way towards the welding together of the whole island of Britain. Wales was now fully incorporated with the kingdom of England. It was brought wholly under English law and was fully represented in the English parliament. Ireland too was brought into more complete submission than it had ever been before, and in 1542 Henry exchanged his title of Lord of Ireland for that of King, or, as an Irish Act words it, "King and Emperor of the realm of England and of the land of Ireland." Ireland was a dependent kingdom; still from this time it was a kingdom attached to the crown of England, and by making it such a distinct step was taken towards the union of the British islands.

On the reign of Henry followed the reigns of his three children in succession, according to the order laid down in the statute of 1544. The marked historical feature of these reigns is that they are the time of strictly religious reformation. It was found that the middle system of Henry could not last, that the English Church and nation must throw in its lot with one side or the other in the great controversy of the age. Under Edward the religious reformation was wrought. Under Mary, first the work of Edward, and then the work of Henry, was undone, and the authority of the Roman see was again admitted. Under

Reign of Elizabeth.

Elizabeth the work both of Henry and of Edward was done again. Her reign, four times the length of the two reigns of her brother and sister, is the time when the religious position of England took its final form. The national Church was organized in its essential features as it still remains. And, before the end of her reign, the two parties, those who thought change had gone too far and those who thought that it had not gone far enough, had ceased to be mere parties within the same body. They had become distinct bodies of separatists on either side of the national Church. The reign of Elizabeth saw the beginnings of the Roman Catholic body on the one side and of the Protestant dissenters on the other. As yet both dissentient bodies existed only as objects of persecution. A main feature of the later religious history of England has been the steps by which, first the Protestant dissenters, and then the Roman Catholics, have been admitted to full equality with the members of the national Church.

Relations with France and Spain. Beginning of religious and political parties.

The political history of these reigns, domestic and foreign, is of high importance, but it depends in a large measure on the religious history. It was mainly owing to religious causes that the enmity towards France, so strong in earlier times, so strong again in later times, was during this period exchanged for a temporary enmity towards Spain. And during the reign of Elizabeth we see the beginnings of that alliance between certain religious parties and certain political parties which forms the leading feature of the history of the seventeenth century. In truth, it was during this time that organized parties, either religious or political, had their beginning. In a certain sense there have been Whigs and Tories from the beginning. We can see the existence of different political opinions, of different theories as to the relation of the crown and people, in days before the Norman Conquest; and in every civil war, in the wars of the thirteenth century above all, distinct political parties stand forth and meet one another in arms. But it can hardly be said that such parties lasted beyond the immediate occasion, or that the party of one age was connected by direct succession with the party of an earlier age. But from the days of Elizabeth the political and religious parties of later times can be distinctly traced. From her time they have an unbroken succession; from her time they have the special characteristic of being parliamentary parties.

Reign of Edward V.

The six years' reign of the young son of Henry VIII. might almost be called a revolutionary period throughout. Its beginning marks a stage in the history of kingship in England. Edward VI., succeeding by the express terms of an act of parliament, was the first king at whose accession the last traces of the ancient popular election were dispensed with. He was a minor, and his authority was struggled for by a knot of ambitious men, all of whom had risen into importance during the late reign. The king's uncle, Edward earl of Hertford, named by Henry as one member of a council of regency, contrived to make himself duke of Somerset and sole protector. Finding a rival in his younger brother Thomas, he, Cromwell-fashion, procured his attainder without a hearing. In 1549 he himself fell before the arts of John Dudley, earl of Warwick and duke

Somerset.

of Northumberland, the son of the notorious agent of Henry VII., the father of the notorious favourite of Elizabeth. Somerset was partly restored to favour in 1550; but in 1551 came his trial and execution; strange to say on a charge of felony, though a political felony, and not of treason. The remaining two years of the reign of Edward are the reign of Northumberland. His last act was to persuade the young king to do without parliamentary authority what his father had done by parliamentary authority, and to settle the succession to the crown by will. By this illegal instrument he disinherited both his sisters, and named Jane Grey as his successor. As a granddaughter of the French

Northumberland.

queen Mary, Jane was in the line named by Henry in case of the failure of his own children; but her immediate promotion was due to her being the wife of a son of Northumberland. Jane, proclaimed by the council, was rejected by the nation, and Mary, whose parliamentary title was undoubted, was raised to the throne by a popular movement. Northumberland of course paid his forfeit with his head; but the execution of Jane herself, not at the time, but after a later revolt in which she had no share, was an act of needless harshness.

England under Edward altogether fell from the great European position which she had held under Henry. The chief foreign events of the time are the war with Scotland, the useless and barbarous havoc done by the protector, and the peace both with Scotland and with France by which Boulogne was restored. But the real character of the reign is marked by its ecclesiastical changes, changes which are largely mixed up with a social revolution which was now going on. The strictly religious changes began with the promulgation of a Book of Homilies in the first year of Edward. It marks the state of things at the time that one of these homilies, which are still to this day set forth by authority to be read in churches, was the work of Edmund Bonner. The homilies were followed in 1548 by a form for the administration of the communion in English, and in 1549 by the publication of the complete English Prayer-Book and an act allowing the marriage of the clergy. This first Prayer-Book of Edward marks the first stage of the religious Reformation. It is a purely English stage; the influence of Rome has been cast aside; the influence of continental Protestantism has not yet come in. But some of the foreign Reformers were before long invited to England, and their presence soon made itself felt. In 1552 the Prayer-Book was revised in a more distinctly Protestant direction. Before this, in 1551, a Book of Articles of Religion, forty-two in number, were put forth. The Prayer-Book and the Book of Articles represent two sides of the Reformed English Church. The Prayer-Book, chiefly formed out of ancient service-books, remained, even after the changes of 1552, a link with the older state of things. The Articles, even after some changes in the time of Elizabeth, form a manifesto on behalf of the new state of things and a link with the Reformed Churches in other lands. The Prayer-Book and the Articles have ever since been severally the watchwords of two parties within the Church. It is not too much to say that there has ever since been a party which has loved the Prayer-Book and endured the Articles, and a party which has loved the Articles and endured the Prayer-Book. By the end of Edward's reign, the English Church stood by itself, retaining the old fabric of ecclesiastical government, with a service-book chiefly drawn from ancient sources, but with a system of doctrine breathing the spirit of the more thorough-going Reformers of the continent. Had Edward lived, further changes would probably have followed. As it was, the reaction under Mary opened the way for the final settlement under Elizabeth.

The position of the prelates who clung to the old system during Edward's reign should be carefully noticed. They neither resigned their sees nor refused obedience to the new law. It does not appear that any bishop declined the use of the first Prayer-Book. Gardiner and Bonner were imprisoned and deprived of their sees on various pretences, as were several bishops later in the reign for refusal to comply with various orders, some of which certainly had no parliamentary authority. A large body of the prelates and others were dissatisfied with the changes that were made; but there was not only no separation, there was no disobedience to the law. More than one bishop who appears as a persecutor in Mary's reign had gone considerable lengths under Edward. And, as there was little non-con-

formity, there was little persecution in this reign. The Lady Mary, protected by the emperor, continued the private use of the old service. The heresy statutes were abolished; yet Cranmer found means, under cover of the common law, to send to the flames one Englishwoman and one stranger who ventured to go further in the way of novelty than himself.

Accession of Mary.

Relations with France and Scotland.

Church plunder of the courtiers.

The grammar schools. Legislation of Edward.

The English Prayer-Book.

The Articles.

The bishops under Edward.

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Suppression of colleges.

Church plunder of the courtiers.

The grammar schools. Legislation of Edward.

But, besides ecclesiastical reform, this reign was beyond all other times the time of ecclesiastical spoliation. It was even more distinctly so than the reign of Henry. The suppression of the monasteries, the destruction of the shrines, were at least acts of policy. But in Edward's reign the possessions of the Church were simply thrown to be scrambled for by the courtiers. One of the first acts of the reign, the suppression of those colleges, chantries, and the like, which Henry had spared, was at least done in legal form. But, during the rest of Edward's time, Somerset, Northumberland, and the rest simply seized on whatever they thought good. The nearest approach to legal form in such cases was the show of an exchange by which a valuable estate was exchanged for a paltry rectory. And, as far as the courtiers were concerned, everything went to enrich private men. The one act in which the public good was at all thought of came from the king himself. Edward, of his own act, applied a part of the revenues of the suppressed colleges and chantries to the foundation of that great system of grammar schools which still bear his name.

The legislation of this reign presents some good points. Many of the newly created treasons of the late reign were abolished, and two witnesses were made necessary on trials for that crime. The act which gave the king's proclamation the force of a statute was repealed. On the other hand, there was the severe Statute of Vagabonds, which went beyond even the old Statute of Labourers. This reign too was marked, like those of Richard II. and Henry VI., by popular revolts. One grievance was the throwing land out of tillage and taking it into pasture. This was laid specially to the charge of the grantees of the monastic lands, who were found to be in most respects harder landlords than the monks had been. Risings of the lower people took place, both in the eastern counties where the Reformed doctrines were popular, and in the West where the religious changes were disliked. The western insurrection broke out on the first use of the new Prayer-Book. The insurgents demanded the continuance of the old service and a partial restoration of the monasteries. This last demand perhaps points to the state of feeling into which the various currents for and against the monastic orders had at last settled down. The popular belief clearly was that, in the former state of things, there had been more monasteries than enough, but that the country had not gained by sweeping them away altogether. It was eminently characteristic of the time that this revolt of Englishmen was put down by the help of German and Italian mercenaries.

The reign of Edward was followed by another reign, yet shorter than his own, but not less memorable. The nine days wonder of Jane's reign was followed by the five years of Mary. It is singular that, though the crown of England had so often passed to claimants whose descent was wholly in the female line, yet England had never before seen a crowned queen. The empress Matilda was never crowned, and she bore no higher title than Lady. The novelty gave rise to some cavil, and it was found needful at a later stage of Mary's reign for Parliament to declare that a queen of England possessed all the rights and powers of a king. This first female reign was the time which finally settled the religious position of England. There can be little doubt that throughout Edward's reign the mass of the people were still attached to the system of Henry, that they

did not wish for the religious changes of Edward's reign, but that they had not the slightest wish to bring back the spiritual dominion of Rome. They were for the mass, but not for the pope. The reign of Mary taught them that the middle system would not work, that one side or the other must be taken, that the mass could not be had without the pope. Furthermore, men learned to connect both mass and pope with a political alliance which they hated, and with a persecution different both in kind and in degree from anything which England had before seen. As for Mary herself, it is as impossible to deny her many personal virtues as it is to deny her share in a persecution which, whoever may have been its advisers, she at least did nothing to stop. But her personal position had much to do with the course of events, religious and political. She was the only person in the realm who was bound, not only to the ancient faith and ritual, but also to the supremacy of Rome. The supremacy of Rome was inseparably connected with the validity of her mother's marriage and the legitimacy of her own birth. As it was, she was simply queen by act of parliament. She naturally wished to be queen as the legitimate daughter of her father. And, if she was bound to Rome, she was no less bound to Spain. The emperor had been her firm and her only friend, whose influence had secured her life and her freedom of worship. Another sovereign might have restored the ancient worship with the assent of the greater part of the nation; but, with Mary as queen, the restoration of the ancient worship meant spiritual submission to Rome and political subserviency to Spain; and in this the nation was not prepared to follow her.

The ecclesiastical changes of Mary's reign began at the beginning. She caused the old services to be used on several occasions before their restoration by law, and, by virtue of the ecclesiastical supremacy which she inherited from Henry and Edward, she caused the bishops who had been deprived during the late reign to be restored to their sees. Foremost among these was Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who became the queen's chancellor and chief adviser. There seems reason to think that his share in the persecution has been greatly exaggerated. It is certain that his conduct in secular matters was that of a patriotic, and even a constitutional, statesman. A parliament shortly met, which declared the validity of the marriage of Henry and Katharine and the legitimacy of their daughter's birth. The ancient worship was restored, and some special enactments of the two late reigns were repealed; but the ecclesiastical power of the crown was in no way touched, and nothing was said of the restoration of the papal authority. The middle system of Henry was thus restored, but only for a moment. The next great question was that of the queen's marriage. Gardiner and her English advisers favoured her marriage with Edward Courtenay, earl of Devonshire, whose parents had been among the victims of Henry, and who was descended from one of the daughters of Edward IV. But Mary's fixed purpose from the beginning was to marry her Spanish kinsman Philip. Sir Thomas Wyatt and the duke of Suffolk, father of the imprisoned Jane, took arms to hinder the marriage; but their enterprise led only to their deaths and to those of Jane and her husband. More interesting in the history of our institutions is the fact, almost unparalleled in these times, that one of the accused persons, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, was acquitted by the jury that tried him. His life was saved; but he remained for a while in prison, and the jurors, according to a custom which was not left off till more than a century later, were fined. In the next year, 1554, the queen's marriage with Philip, already king of Naples, took place. This first husband of a reigning queen was made king of England and of Mary's other kingdoms for her life. In the

Effect of Mary's reign.

The middle system impracticable.

Personal position of Mary.

Stephen Gardiner.

The old worship restored.

The queen's marriage.

next year, by the abdication of Charles V., Philip succeeded to the Spanish, Italian, and Burgundian possessions of his father. The difference between the position of Philip and that of Charles is to be noticed. Charles V. was emperor; alliance with an emperor was simply the continuation of a policy older than the Norman Conquest. But Philip was not emperor; his policy was not imperial but Spanish. The marriage made England for a moment, in an European point of view, a mere tool of Spain. At home it no doubt strengthened the movement for complete reconciliation with Rome, and for the persecution of those who, after being dominant in the last reign, were deemed heretics in this.

In the year of Mary's marriage Reginald Pole, now cardinal, came back to England as legate, and the Lords and Commons of England knelt to receive his absolution for the national schism. He confirmed by papal authority various acts done during the time of the separation, and it does not appear that the ordinations of bishops and priests which had been made during Edward's reign were ever called in question. And, to quiet a doubt which made many minds uneasy, the actual owners of church lands were confirmed in their possession. An act of parliament followed, by which the papal authority was restored as it had stood before the changes of Henry. Gardiner and Bonner, the strenuous opponents of the pope in Henry's days, and Thirlby, who had gone a long way with the changes under Edward, were now bishops of a Church in full communion with Rome. That is doubtless, they had seen that, at all events with a Spanish king consort, the middle system could not be kept, and that those who clave to the mass must accept the pope with it. From this time we have two distinct religious parties, the party of the pope and the party of the Reformation. These last were now deemed heretics, and the old heresy laws were revived for their destruction. In 1555 the persecution began, and it lasted till the end of Mary's reign. It differed from the two-edged persecution of Henry's reign in two points. Henry's victims of either faith were comparatively few, and they were mostly persons of some importance. In the three years of the persecution of Mary, more victims were burned than in all the reigns before and after put together. And it was a persecution which, as far as the laity were concerned, fell mainly on victims whom Henry would have scorned to destroy, on the poor, the halt, and the blind. No layman of any distinction suffered; but on the Reformed clergy the hand of the destroyer fell heavily. Five bishops perished. Of these were Ridley and Latimer—true martyrs on one side, as More and Fisher on the other—Hooper, the professor of a straiter sect of Protestantism, and the less famous Farrar of St David's. The primate followed the next year. He had been lawfully condemned to death for his treason in the usurpation of Jane; and his execution under that sentence, though it would have been a harsh measure, would have been a small matter compared with many an execution of the days of Henry. He was spared, probably in mercy; but he was spared only to bring on Mary and her government the deeper infamy of burning one who had recanted his heresies. The persecution was throughout more the work of the council—by whom Bonner was blamed for slackness—than of the bishops. No one was more zealous for slaughter than William Paulet, marquess of Winchester, one of the new men who conformed to every change, and who died in honour under Elizabeth. After the burning of Cranmer, and not till then, though the see had been for some while vacant by his deprivation, Pole succeeded to the see of Canterbury, the last archbishop in communion with Rome.

The last days of Mary showed the impolicy of the Spanish match. Strange to say, one of the first acts of Philip, so pre-eminently the Catholic king, was a war with

The per-
secution.

Burning
of Cra-
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the pope, Paul IV., in his temporal character. Henry of France broke his truce with Spain, and encouraged English traitors to attempt the betrayal of Calais, and to make an actual landing in England. Mary declared war in 1557, and English troops shared in the victory of St Quintin. But at the beginning of the next year, the last of Mary's reign, the French took Calais, and England ceased to be a continental power. She has won back that character in later times by the momentary possession of Dunkirk and the more lasting possession of Gibraltar; but the last relic of the conquests of Edward III. now passed away, as the Calais, last relics of the inheritance of Eleanor had passed away 105 years before. For a few months Mary bore up against sickness and neglect, against sorrow and national discontent. On November 17, 1558, she died, and the cardinal followed her, having been for a few hours the subject of Elizabeth.

This last fact brings us to the great reign which ends the period with which we are now dealing. Under Elizabeth that which was wanting to complete the character of England and of Englishmen was added. The religious character of the nation was now fixed; and its religious character had no small share in fixing its political position at home and abroad. The national Church retained so much of the middle system of Henry as to hold in some sort a middle place between Rome and the Protestant Churches of the continent. But this middle position at no time extended to more than strictly religious points of doctrine, discipline, and ceremony. As a nation, as a power, England has been essentially Protestant from the time of Elizabeth. But the fact of the middle position of the English Church led to the formation of religious bodies at home which parted off from it in opposite directions. And from Elizabeth's day onwards the party of further religious reform has also been the party of political freedom. The Puritan party, it must be remembered, had no more notion of toleration than any other party of those days. Its object, like that of every other party, was not the mere toleration, but the exclusive establishment, of its own system. But, on the one hand, every change, every debate, helped to bring about religious toleration in the end. And, as the Puritan movement was largely a movement against arbitrary authority, it was necessarily a movement in favour of freedom. But in England a movement in favour of freedom did not mean the establishment of anything new, but the restoration of what was old. It meant the carrying out of existing laws which Tudor despotism had trampled under foot. In any new legislation that might be needed, it meant the falling back on the old constitutional principles which had been always acknowledged, if not always carried out in practice, from Edward I. to Henry VI. Politically the struggle of the seventeenth century, which had its root in the controversies of the sixteenth, was the repetition of the struggle of the thirteenth. Even in the religious element in both cases there is a likeness. Earl Simon and his friends did not swerve from the received orthodoxy of their day; for the time for strictly religious controversy had not yet come. But they were none the less the Puritans of their own day. A revived spirit of independence marks the parliaments of Elizabeth, and marks them in proportion as the Puritan element grows stronger. Elizabeth loved arbitrary power as well as any sovereign that ever reigned; but she knew that one condition of holding any power was to know how to yield, and, when she yielded, she yielded gracefully.

Whatever may have been Elizabeth's personal religious convictions, there can be little doubt that the middle system of Henry was that to which she was herself inclined. But she found that its complete restoration was impossible. If it had ever been possible, it was impossible now, after the reconciliation with Rome and the persecution. Her reform

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was therefore obliged to be, not a return to the system of her father, but a return, with some modifications, to the system of her brother. The second service-book of his reign was taken as the standard; but some changes were made, the first of several successive changes, all of which have been in the direction of a return to the first book. It was Elizabeth's policy to make her new system as little offensive as might be to those who still preferred the old state of things. She refused the title of Head of the Church which was offered to her by parliament, and which had been borne by Henry, by Edward, and by Mary up to the reconciliation with Rome. She caused some passages in the prayer-book, which were specially offensive to the papal party, to be left out. The forty-two articles of Edward were not enforced in the earlier years of her reign, and when they were enforced, they were cut down to thirty-nine. One favourite doctrine of the Reformers, the lawfulness of marriage in the clergy, Elizabeth could never be brought to sanction by any legal enactment. The practice was simply winked at during the whole of her reign, and was not legalized till the reign of her successor. On the other hand, the anti-papal legislation of Henry was restored in its substance; but the refusal of the oaths, which under Henry had carried with it the pains of treason, in Elizabeth's first legislation carried with it only loss of office. But we are met at the very beginning with the fact that the changes under Elizabeth, less violent in every way than the changes of Henry and Edward, met with a much more decided opposition from the bishops than the changes of Edward and Henry had met with. Prelates who had gone all lengths with Henry, who had gone a considerable way with Edward, refused the oath of supremacy under Elizabeth. One only of the existing bishops conformed, Kitchen of Llandaff, who had kept his see through all changes. The reason doubtless was that the rest had seen the hopelessness of the middle system, that they had chosen their side with the papacy, and that they could not either in conscience or in decency change again. The mass of the clergy conformed; so did the great body of the laity, including some of the lords who had voted in parliament against all Elizabeth's changes. In the early years of Elizabeth, though there were two discontented parties in opposite directions, and though some still practised the old rites in secret, there was no open separation either way. Elizabeth always professed that she did not force the conscience of any one, but that the English service was established by law, and that the law must be obeyed. And there doubtless were still many who were ready to conform without approving, just as they were ready to obey the law on any other subject, even though they might wish the law to be altered. It has even been said that, when Pope Pius IV. made overtures to the queen, he offered to admit the use of the English service-book on condition of his supremacy being acknowledged.¹ Such a compromise would have put the English Church in the same position as the bodies known in the East as United Greeks and United Armenians, who admit the papal authority, but keep their own national usages. But the pontiffs before and after Pius, Paul IV. and Pius V., dealt with Elizabeth in another fashion. In their eyes, and in the eyes of all the extreme supporters of papal claims, she was not only schismatic and heretic, but an usurper of the English crown.

On this last point much of the history of this reign turns, both domestic and foreign. According to English

¹ The evidence on which this statement is made will be found at length in Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops*, viii. 321. It is certainly not such evidence as would be needed to assert the fact with any positiveness; but the tale is not very unlikely in 1560, though it would be quite out of place in 1570. The deliberate invention of the story, unless perhaps at a much later time, would really be more unlikely than the story itself.

law, nothing could be better than Elizabeth's parliamentary title, a title quite independent of the canonical legitimacy of her birth. But, according to the papal theory, she was illegitimate, and, according to the hereditary theory, her illegitimacy excluded her from the crown. On this showing, the lawful queen was Mary of Scotland, who, at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, was the wife of the dauphin, soon afterwards Francis II., king of France. Francis and Mary took the titles of king and queen of England and Ireland; and Mary, whether at the court of France, on the throne of Scotland, or in her prison in England, was the centre of all the hopes and all the conspiracies of the Roman party. This is not the place to go through her story, closely connected as it is throughout with English history. As regards the succession, it is clear that, by the will of Henry VIII., the claim of the house of Suffolk was undoubted. But it was a kind of claim which needed a claimant of position and ability, like Richard of York in former times, to assert it. The house of Suffolk, on the other hand, was under a cloud, through a series of low or doubtful marriages. Their claim therefore passed out of notice. The queen obstinately refused to name any successor, or to allow any successor to be named; and all claims might be looked on as set aside by an act which made it treasonable to maintain any one to be the lawful successor except the queen's own issue. In this state of things, men's minds naturally turned to the Scottish line, which had at least hereditary descent in its favour. After the death of Mary the religious objection no longer applied, and James, her Protestant son, succeeded on Elizabeth's death, without the slightest opposition from any party. The house of Stewart however came in without any shadow of parliamentary title, and directly in the teeth of the parliamentary title of the house of Suffolk, if the will of Henry VIII. is to be looked on as valid and unrepealed.

The quiet of the first eleven years of Elizabeth's reign was broken in 1569 by a rising in the North in favour of the old religion. This was not a mere popular movement, like the western and eastern revolts of Edward's reign. Its leaders were the greatest nobles of northern England, the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland. It was, in short, the Pilgrimage of Grace over again. The insurrection was put down with a good deal of bloodshed, but not till mass had been again sung in Durham abbey. In the next year, 1570, the bull of excommunication and deposition pronounced by Pius V. changed all Elizabeth's relations at home and abroad. From this time the English Roman Catholics, from a party dissatisfied with change, became a distinct and a persecuted religious body. In the next year the Puritan movement for further change in the church took a more definite shape in the motions of Strickland in the House of Commons. About the same time the first separate Puritan congregations began to be formed. From this time the queen and her ecclesiastical system had to struggle with enemies on both sides, and to deal out persecution in different measures against both. A terrible engine for this purpose was the special creation of the reign of Elizabeth, the Court of High Commission. The queen, as Supreme Governor of the Church, appointed commissioners, clerical and lay, to exercise the somewhat undefined powers of her office. Alongside of the Star-Chamber a kindred power arose, to bring men's souls and bodies into submission. And meanwhile a few men who ventured on specially daring speculations, and whose tenets were condemned alike by Roman, Anglican, and Puritan orthodoxy, were still sent to the flames. The Roman martyrs were many; but in their case religious and political disputes were hopelessly mixed up. Conspirators against the queen's life or crown could not be allowed to escape on any pretence of religious duty. On the other hand, acts of simple religious

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